

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**NATIONAL CONFERENCE**  
**OF**  
**SOCIAL WORK**

Formerly, National Conference of Charities and Correction

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**AT THE**  
**FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL SESSION**  
**HELD IN**  
**KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI**  
**MAY 15-22, 1918**

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National Conference of Social Work

## PREFACE

To comprehend and to report clearly the rapid developments of the year 1917-18 would seem to have been the first responsibility of the National Conference of Social Work, assembled at its meeting last May. The period under review was one of intense activity. Authoritative plans and data, rather than proposals for debate, seemed to be demanded.

The present volume has some of the rare qualities of a battle picture. It has been produced, indeed, under some of the handicaps of war photography. The very assembling of leading participants was a problem of strategy.

An event incomparable in the history of organized social work in America has occurred within the period of the last two National Conferences. Such surging of public opinion and concentration of national forces as the war has occasioned have been of profoundest significance to members of this Conference, concerned as they are with questions of reform and methods of human improvement.

But, great as are the issues of adjustment to the conceptions of the new era, National Conference discussions have not tended toward indefinite generalization. Aided largely by the system of divisional organization recently adopted, the Kansas City meeting went further than its predecessors in the direction of systematic consideration of the technique of social work.

Chicago, December 15, 1918.

W. T. C.



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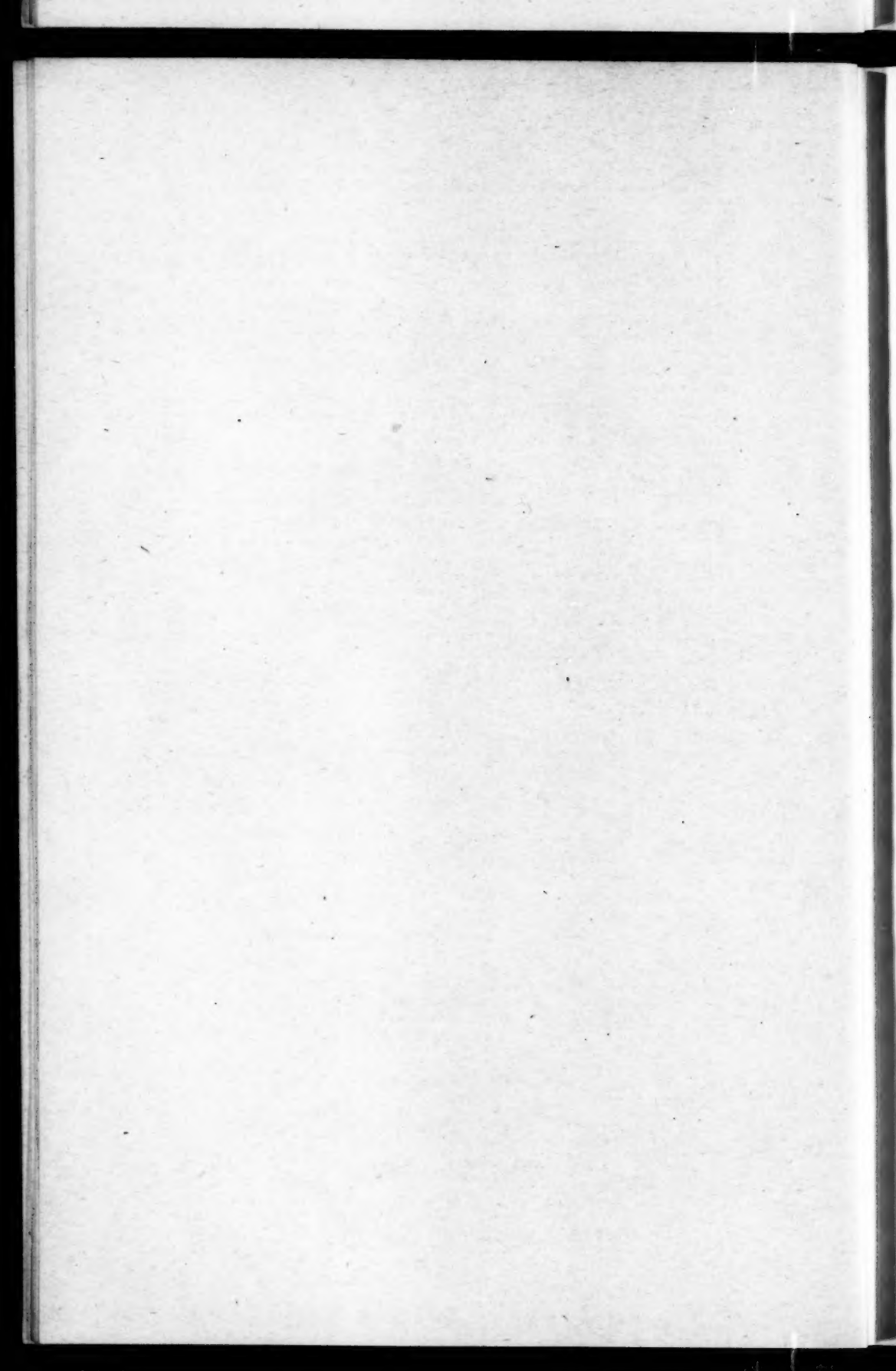
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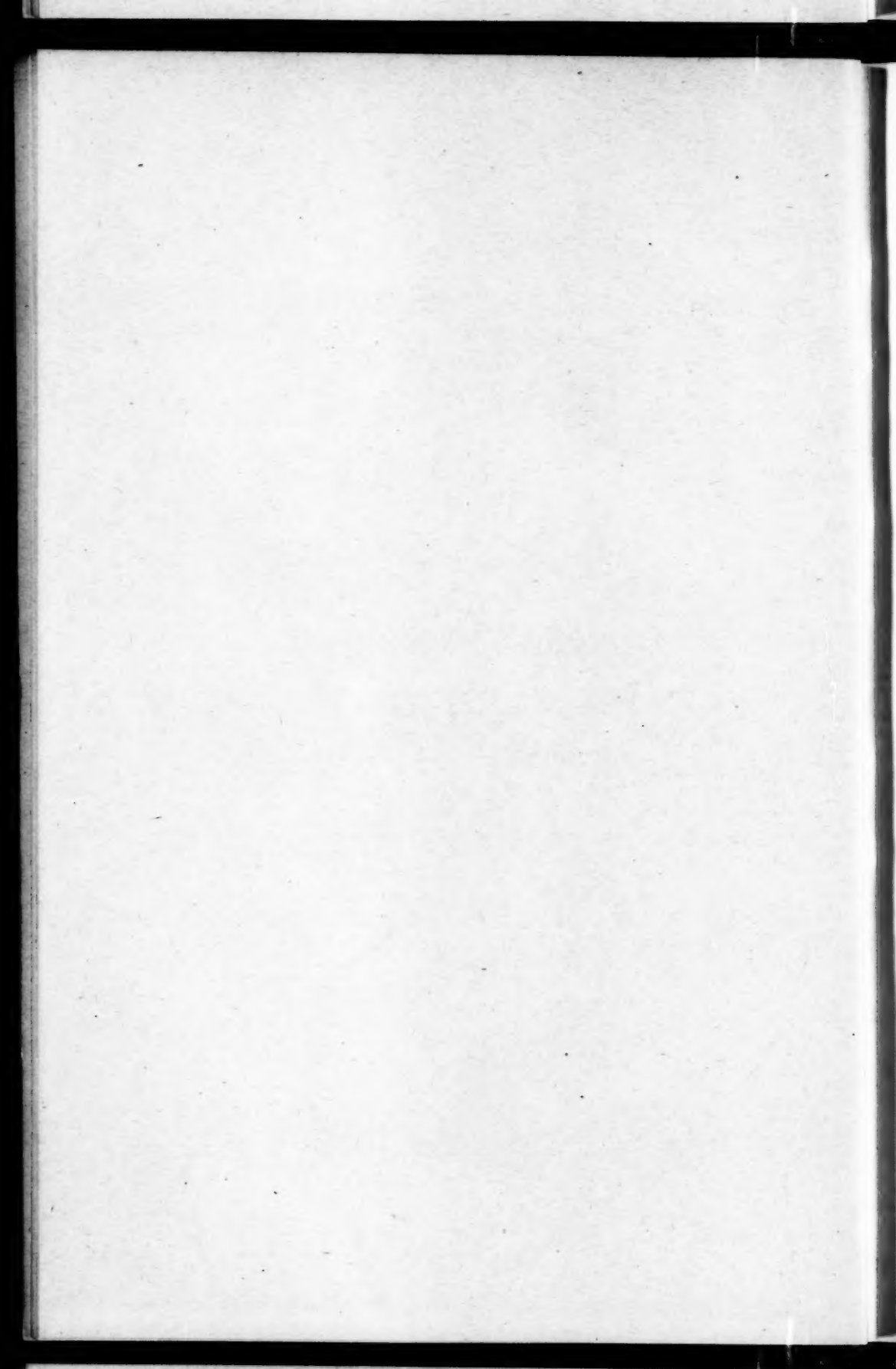
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**A.**  
**GENERAL EXERCISES**



## THE REGIMENTATION OF THE FREE

*Robert A. Woods, President of the National Conference of Social Work; Head of South End House, Boston*

The National Conference a year ago placed itself in the fullest accord with the government in the war for elemental justice between the nations. In this great and terrible day, at what seems more nearly the crisis of the world than any other moment in history, it meets again with a still more distinct and ruling purpose. It seeks to gather all the resources that it can represent for their maximum contribution to the great cause which has become none other than that of world-wide humanity.

Extraordinary incitement has come to all our loyal forces as the breadth and profound significance of their service has been more surely realized. At first they seemed like merely moderating and assuaging influences, designed to reduce somewhat the roughness of preparations for war, and the misery and horror accompanying its prosecution. Soon it began to be proved that very many of them, whether or not associated directly with the army and navy or with the industries serving the armed forces, were able to make material, structural contributions to the actual organization and promotion of the war itself. The truth has been rediscovered and far more broadly applied, which was first fully brought to light by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, that "the cause of humanity is identified with the strength of armies."

One of the deepest cleavages between the two great groups of warring powers today comes of the fact that the Western Allies are pledged to the principle, that not only is the aggressively humanized process of war the only sort consistent with twentieth century civilization, but that it represents the truly discerning path of national military achievement. The whole process of preparing for and prosecuting war as practiced by the Germans is based on the unconscionable theory that, apart from the most obvious considerations, humanitarian motives are to be relentlessly excluded. The United States is going to make the final surge which will decide the war in favor of liberty and humanity. America will carry to the highest emphasis the kind of warfare which includes the varied results of our national scheme of social work as turned so comprehensively to national service. Among the implications to be projected by the right issue of the war into the future will be a wholly new conviction of the achieving power of the widening subject matter of this Conference.

Social work, on the other hand, is today hardened and sharpened by the inflexible resolve to which the democratic nations are committed. It must do its part with the celerity, the precision, the carried-through effectualness which war demands. It must go forward steeled to its purpose no less surely than if its personnel were fighting at the front. For years those nearest like-minded to ourselves in Germany, when they thought with free minds, have clearly recognized that their only hope lay in an

unsuccessful war. We can see now that this has been the fact, so far as Germany is concerned; and, as by the falling of scales from our eyes, we realize that the chance of what to us is human progress lies only in pushing forward every needful military measure toward the overthrow of German autocracy. It is even true that humanitarian democracy, in the light of the real character and power of German militarism, may become more deeply involved in a policy of war to the bitter end than any other body of opinion and sentiment.

It is in marked fulfillment of our hopes that as, under this ultimate conviction, the nation has been summoned to its varied duty in the promotion and re-enforcement of the war, such deep dependence has been placed upon the agencies represented in the Conference. Gladly rendering their contribution to the ranks of the armed forces, to the immediately related services, to the departments of the government and the national and state councils of public defense—they have also in no slight degree provided the framework by which the civilian life of the nation has been brought together into a great system wholly unexampled in the history of the country and representing an achievement on the part of the American people which, in the light of all the facts, is as considerable as the gathering, equipping and training of the armies themselves. "The stupendous organization of the nation for relief and social service," is a fact which from the distinctive point of view of this Conference is quite overwhelming in its significance and potency. That so vast social energies can be elicited and assembled and—under the American principle of "governing partly by administration, partly by liberty"—so converged upon the immeasurable but enthralling task, is a matter to be recorded in a whole new chapter of the evolution of our democracy.

For some years previous to the war period, there has been an encouraging tendency on the part of our social agencies, public and private, to combine their forces for more economic and more productive service. This tendency has greatly aided in preparing them for meeting the vast challenge of the present. Through city federations, state leagues, municipal and state boards of control, and through several hundred national organizations for which the National Conference serves in some part as clearing-house, the beginnings were wrought out of such a national synthesis as peace no less than war demands. The steadily increasing tendency on the part of all our philanthropic organizations to set their activities over against the needs and possibilities of the objective community, has been broadening and deepening the plan and purpose of each, and bringing all into the sense of a great common cause. It is true that the marked progress of recent years among the churches, away from sectarianism and toward unity has come about largely through the pressure upon all alike of the outside world. In the same way the keen isolations which have often existed among social workers are beginning to disappear as the community is a more and more important watchword among us all. Emphasis upon such tendencies beyond our power to realize is being piled

up by the war, as they rise through the hierarchy of neighborhood, city, state, nation. Then comes the response to the wider call of a great brotherhood of nations. In particular do we all find a sense of inescapable fellowship with those who, principally in the name of the Red Cross, have gone from among us to rescue Belgium from starvation, to minister to immortal France, to bring help and confidence to Italy at the moment of her military disaster, and to be integrated into service for the American army abroad as it grows toward its full and decisive power.

The process of the war has meant to nearly all social agencies in common a readjustment as radical as that which any of our business organizations have undergone. A large proportion of the young men of their staffs have gone gladly into the fighting ranks. A host of young women have volunteered for service behind the front, and a greater number is ready on call. Many of our experienced leaders have at a moment's notice left their established posts and carried their special skill and training into fields connected with the re-enforcement or the recuperation of the army. Here, too, many others await only the summons of duty before choosing service having some more immediate bearing upon the urging forward of the war.

From three of our great fields of activity there have been drawn not only a large number of individuals but important fabrics of tradition and going concern. The American Red Cross has naturally wrought into its inherent organization those physicians and nurses who have been most closely associated with the interests of the National Conference. But an even more suggestive fact is that at home and in considerable measure abroad it owes its remarkable balance, its thorough preparedness, and its preliminary record of achievement, to the fact that it has appropriated and pieced together great sections of the system reaching throughout the country for the organization of charity. No more serious test of any voluntary agency has ever been made, and none so quickly and soundly responded to. In a newer department of war service, the administrative forces of the National Playground Association are finding the culmination of their motive in being so largely absorbed into the services of the army. They are undertaking, with the help of representatives of our neighborhood centres, to protect and enhance the morale and buoyant spirit of the soldiers, not merely as men but as fighting units, by seeing to it that the whole vicinage into which the soldiers emerge as they leave the camps is such as to provide for them healthful and ennobling cheer and joy in their times of relaxation—a remarkable application to the prosecution of war of a principle in social construction which the last decade or two has been developing under the lead of our newer agencies of social work. Perhaps, most striking of all is the complete absorption into the uniformed ranks of the greater part of the staff of the national associations for mental hygiene and for social hygiene, undertakings of only a few years' standing, whose very vocabulary could not have had currency a decade ago; with profound emancipating results not only for the virile tone and



effective standards of the army and navy, but toward a permanent higher level of stamina and sentiment in our communities and throughout the nation from this time forward.

Within similar close range of the foremost problems of sufficiency at war, lies the service to the government of not a few of those men from business organizations on the one hand, and from the universities on the other, who, as volunteers, are acquitting themselves in a spirit of which the whole nation is proud. Many of them already in the past have been of our fellowship. It is a fair question whether all of them have not acted in part but definitely under an impulse which the volunteer in social work has largely served to create. In not a few instances, particularly where new and complicated labor problems in munition work and ship-building have to be solved, they are within a field toward which the more recent development of interest in the Conference strongly runs.

To many of us those who make a clean and sharp diversion of their services toward the support of the actual fighting forces are objects of envy. Men and women responsibly bound up with our regular agencies and continuous programs are facing anxious personal problems amid the claims of the war. It sometimes seems that there should be a universal draft, and that we all should be assigned to such duty as the exigent needs of the hour demanded. With regard to doctors and nurses a situation is fast developing in which some balance will have to be set between the call from the front and the necessities of some of our local communities. Possibly a priority board could be created which could establish certain general principles through which convincing decisions could be made between the relative claims of the military and affiliated service on the one hand, and of the maintenance of the vitality and morale of the sustaining home forces on the other. Let it be clearly understood, in any case, that the imperative quality of the challenge to personal purpose grows cumulatively stronger as it comes from points nearer and nearer the front. All the benefit of the doubt goes in that direction. Our regular agencies, and the individuals that constitute them, must be prepared, even above others, on due occasion, gladly to make every last sacrifice for the sake of that final onset and tilt of military action which will bring the victory of honor and right.

"These ought ye to have done, but not to leave the other undone." Answering without stint to the call of the most aggressive military preparation and movement but drawing on those still vast reserves of personal and material resources that are being devoted to things not indispensable to the normal life, our regular agencies hold an indisputable claim for the steady continuance of nearly all of their accustomed work of community protection and upbuilding. During the stretch of time through which the war must continue in order to save the country, the country must be maintained. It must place close after the claims of the war itself, the demands which the very tragedy of the war makes upon us of preparedness for the period of reconstruction. But there is a more

imminent right than these by which many of our agencies have won an inwrought place in the system of the war itself.

Herbert Spencer says: "The process of militant organization is a process of regimentation which primarily taking place in the army, secondarily affects the whole community." The first somewhat sporadic challenge to community regimentation came from the social workers who from within the army system sought to secure wholesome recreational standards for the soldiers, and began from that point of view to test and challenge the civilian order of things. The whole mood and front of the army in these respects has begun to register the result impressively; and through the quick and sure response of many of our community agencies, it has been the occasion of a new and better order of things affecting the restraint of the liquor trade and of prostitution, and the promotion in the interest of the soldier and sailor of many old and new forms of health-giving community recreation. There has been remarkable depth and subtlety to that response as its scope has widened. In no previous decade, certainly in no previous generation, would it have been possible that every nook and corner of our cities, would have been under the close, responsible, friendly surveillance of men and women representing much that is best in our national life—that in this way the dangers to a nation at war coming from nests of dissipation, of contagious disease, of crime, of disloyalty, of espionage, of actual resistance to the government, could be everywhere effectively minimized.

Suggestive of a true national collectivism has been the universal reply of our varied agencies in every city and town where deliberate social work exists, to the all-inclusive nation-wide appeals and demands that the war has made. There can be but few of the thousands of organizations and institutions represented in the Conference which have not been more or less deeply and inevitably involved in the interpretation of the American purpose to our immigrant groups, in the adjustment of the heavy, endless problems that came with the draft, in local service more or less closely connected with the Red Cross, in the house-to-house campaign of education in food conservation, and in the organization of the local supply and delivery of coal. The first canvass in connection with the food conservation campaign, in which the task was to enlist every housewife in the country as a member of the national food administration, made the most remarkable educational round-up which the United States has ever seen. Mr. Hoover has said that the results of this and the later phases of his program indicate an altogether gratifying capacity of our people for a practically unanimous response to a universal summons. It is needless to say that so great an enterprise was directed and led after the manner and spirit of social work, not only in its large bearings but in the minute detail of individual interpretation and stimulus.

It was the preparedness of that national army of the constructive humanities of which this Conference is the exponent that largely not only made possible a national community formation for the more obvious needs



and purposes of war, but served to precipitate a new and special sentiment of solidarity, a new consciousness of vast associated power for human ends in relation to the war, in the minds of the American people. This result has been confirmed in the recognition on the part of national and state councils of defense that an important source of the collective energies which they are so successfully drawing out and harnessing, lies in the agencies of social work. This has been especially true of the services of women in these branches of the national war-time administration. Largely taken from the ranks of organizations already practiced in community betterment, they have followed out the standards set for the simpler undertakings of the women of the United States Sanitary Commission in the Civil War, who promised that supplies "should be sent forward abundantly, persistently and methodically," and performed what they promised.

With a measure of combined gratification and wonder we look at much that has been brought about through the downright application of democratic intelligence to our several war-time industrial issues. On the whole the contention of the social workers—in the light of English experience—that lowered standards for the protection of working conditions meant the decrease of national power in the national crisis, has been satisfactorily supported and acted upon. While a proper balance between wages and prices on the average has not been reached, we have seen the general recognition of the necessity of scaling wages up and of preventing the rise in living costs, which represents a principle that from now on can never fade out of our national life. The generous, unflinching provision for the men of the army and navy and their families, the scheme of government-aided insurance which has so appealed to their self-respect and gives so much promise of protecting the nation from the evils of a pension system—represent the working out of those elements of economic justice with economic responsibility which are the maxims of enlightened social work.

It is a quite thrilling aspect of the situation that just when in many different ways—including a cumulative tax on incomes—the principle is being established in terms of general sentiment and conviction that those who have much must reduce their scale of living, it is at the same time considered axiomatic that those whose standard is below normal must rise in the scale for the general good. We are like those that dream as we see the valleys begin to be exalted, the hills begin to be brought low—not by the action of bitter and venomous cross-purposes but under the united challenge of a nation unselfishly pledged to the triumph of world-democracy.

The war is our absorbing interest and pursuit. But we also have a nation soon to be guided through the vast uncertainties of an era of elemental world reconstruction. In the very midst of our immediate pressing concerns the question keeps rising: if all these things are now so possible, so well-nigh achieved—the regularization of employment, the

establishment of a minimum status of well-being, the reduction of the favored classes to simplicity of life, the exorcism of industrial conflict and the allaying of the hatreds of class, race and sect, the concentration of all minds and all interests upon the increase of the national product, the elimination of leisure except as a respite from labor—why should it not always be so? Why not continue on into the years of peace this close, vast, wholesome organism of service, of fellowship, of creative power?

As the essential accompaniment of such progress, and as a result of the cleansing influence of the war, are we not fully ready for a large national program for a truly human administration of our courts, our reformatories, our prisons; for the wide extension of probation and parole in a system logical within and thoroughly integrated with all the preventive and recuperative forces of the open community; for the liberal development of hospital service, with that community follow-up work which is one of the combined triumphs of medical and social science; for the re-enforcement of those who are confronting one of the most disturbing aspects of the time as with ever-increasing intelligence they minister to the mind diseased; for the care in a great pity of the last unclassified residuum of society in our pauper institutions. Coming at the chief immediate sources of degeneracy, the completion of the great anti-alcohol crusade has for us an irresistible compulsion; and the elimination of the feeble-minded strain from out of our national stock must soon take its place as one of the foremost articles of discerning statesmanship.

It is in a growing sense of predestined urgency that we are already bringing the new-found human alignment, nation-wide, to bear upon the problem and possibility of carrying little children more safe and sound through the first scene of a life-time whose coming burdens and opportunities must be immeasurable. Universal physical education and universal vocational training also force themselves upon us as policies to be urged forward under a momentum caught from the experiences of the war. Emphasis on projects of democratic utility must not, however, detract from increasing emphasis upon the education of children and of our whole people in the deeper appreciation of all that is pure and lovely and of good report, in that idealism in which our civilization has its roots and through which alone—as the deeper lessons of present history prove—it can hope to endure. Here must be found those springs of spiritual power which can bring all our cosmopolitan population into a true national fellowship, into a common devotion to the America that is to be—a consummation brought nearer as this great republic has now so completely laid aside its belated isolation and begun to play its full part under its highest and best motives among the nations of the earth.

To carry over into the future for its high ends the associated power which the war at once evolves and compels is a duty so profound that it stands indistinguishable from the objects of the war itself. That a country at war is overwhelmed by its own returning armies, whatever

the fortune of war may have been, has been one of the lessons of history. The present American army, going to the front cleaner than any army ever went before, holding itself in the sharpest contrast with the revolting brutality of its opponents, infused with the spirit of an errand of mercy, holding together in loyal comradeship men of different conditions, races, creeds, bent solely upon the victory of democracy and that for all men everywhere, will return as the dominant nucleus of a new responsible and chivalrous citizenship. From out of the army and all the associated services will come great numbers of young men whose experience and vision will make them eager to find opportunities in the marshalled forces of peace corresponding to those which have absorbed them during the war. By the growth of a manifold ordered synthesis of social work, with that shoulder to shoulder re-enforcement to courage and aspiration which peace can give as powerfully as war, and charged with a motive which will confirm and glorify that of the war itself, our ranks are being made ready to receive new recruits of such number and quality as we have not even hoped before.

For the new awakening that will come, we must be prepared with wider views, farther aims, keener insights, bolder aspirations. Tagore, the Hindu poet, has said, "Man is reducing himself to his minimum in order to make amplest room for his organizations." The test of the organization which we seek to build must be in its reach toward the maximum standards of living and of life. Nothing less can draw to itself the great host of the young men and young women whose whole careers from henceforth are keyed to the exalted watchwords of the life-and-death struggle of a world toward the light.

For this great new regimentation of the free which the American nation is achieving—in apparent conflict with its established tradition—we cannot find it anywhere in our thought to be afraid. So far from repressing in the service of the commonwealth the zest of invention, initiative and selective choice, it must surely enhance the range and power of personality and of the whole variety of like-minded groups. It is a regimentation of the free for the free and by the free. It is only a later and riper growth of liberty and union, one and inseparable,—with the vast intention now of a world-wide application. It is bent upon completing and confirming the enfranchisement of all peoples everywhere, to be wrought out in terms of human fulfillment, of the more abundant life in widest commonalty spread.

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## THE RETURN OF THE CANADIAN SOLDIER TO CIVIL LIFE

*T. B. Kidner, Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Department,  
Ottawa, Canada*

As the chairman has so well said, though it is a frightful price to pay, one of the good things that is coming out of the war is that we are getting together, that we as allies are "all in it" and are going to stay

in it together till we put the dirty job through. I was glad the chairman gave the title to my remarks that he did \* because the title as announced in the program implies a much wider field than I could deal with this evening.

Up to the present, our work in Canada has dealt only with the rehabilitation of the disabled who have come back to us. I like that word your chairman used earlier tonight—"reconstruction." That is what we have been doing for the men who have returned to us disabled by wounds or disease. The problem of the disabled soldier is not a new one. Nations have faced it before, but the magnitude of the present conflict and the nature of the armies—on our side at all events—have made it very much more real and vital than in any other war. It is not enough that at the end of it we shall reward those men with a medal and a pension in order to show our gratitude. The disabled must be helped in every way to realize that for them the joy of life still exists, that the greatest happiness comes from service. We have been trying to do that with our disabled in Canada.

#### *Old Problems with New Faces*

Like a great many other problems which have been shown up by the war, many of the so-called disabled soldier problems were with us before the war. The difficulties of dealing with the disabled soldier who is idle are no more than those of dealing with other men who are idle. We should give them something to do because of the value of work to any sick man.

There are some difficulties in the way. There is that natural feeling on the part of the man that he has done his bit and therefore the country owes him a living. I prefer to put it that the country owes him an opportunity to earn a living and should do all possible to put him in condition so that he may do it. It is natural that the disabled man should feel depressed, that he should feel that he deserves a living from his country. That feeling is often increased by the well-meaning efforts of people who make rather too much of him at first. Of course nothing is too good for the disabled soldier, but our attitude must not be that of unwise parents who would give their children too much candy.

Over-praise is bad for the returned soldier and bad for the nation. Moreover, the men themselves do not like it. Nothing is more repugnant to them. I am reminded of a story I told in Boston the last time I was there, to some ladies who were working in preparation for the return of wounded men. Some time before that I had visited a hospital where Private Brown was shown to us as an especially interesting patient. He was trotted out for the benefit of the visitors and displayed as a hero by the ladies who were running the hospital. As we passed on to the next ward Private Brown called me back and whispered,

\*President Woods had announced that the speaker would "impart to us some of the specific results of experience in Canada in dealing with one of the most serious problems growing out of the war, namely, the care and rehabilitation of the wounded soldier."



"Say, for God's sake, can't you get me out of this place?" That is their attitude. They do not want your pity; they want help. They want sympathy, but wisely directed sympathy. They will resent it otherwise.

#### *Initial Effort in Canada*

It is now nearly three years since the stream of wounded began to come back. Our men went into action in the spring of 1915. In the late summer our men began to come home, and preparation was made to care for them. Starting in with a few small convalescent hospitals, we have now from coast to coast a series of hospitals, sanatoria, and convalescent homes devoted to this work. It is necessary that the men should be near their homes, so our hospitals are scattered from coast to coast. Although it would be easier to concentrate them in populous central localities, we have found it necessary to have a larger number of smaller hospitals strung across the country. At present we have hospitals on the Atlantic and on the Pacific and all the way between.

A great many other things besides hospitals were necessary. We had to organize the splendid instinct of the country to welcome these men. We have organized welcome committees, not only in the home towns of the men, but all along the railway lines. Employment committees had to be organized, and in this a splendid response was made by the provinces, for this was recognized to be not only a national duty, but a provincial, or state, duty as well. Especially have they co-operated in finding employment for men after recovery. Many other questions had to be dealt with, such as general aid to the men, all of which has grown up and been systematized.

#### *Hopeful Review of Situation*

I pass on to the great work with which it is my honor to be associated, the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled. We had very little in the way of precedent to guide us when we began. France and England had done little, Germany was not doing much, so that we had to make our own experiments and our own mistakes. I will tell you of some of them, and of some of the conclusions at which we have arrived. When the work of vocational rehabilitation commenced we had eight or nine hundred men on our hands in Canada. Only the more seriously disabled are sent back. Probably it will be the same with your own men. Those with slight disabilities will be cared for in France and England until they are able to return to the front.

We made a survey of the men and discovered several cheering things—first, that the number of men who were so disabled that they would not be able to return to their former occupations was comparatively small; second, that the stories of enormous numbers of men blinded and dismembered had been greatly exaggerated. To date there are only fifty-one blinded men out of all the Canadian expeditionary forces.

We have had about 30,000 seriously disabled returned to Canada, and out of this number less than 1,400 have suffered major amputations. So that the war cripple is not what we sometimes imagine when we read the illustrated papers. Fifty-five per cent of the men are suffering from what may be called medical disabilities, and less than five per cent have suffered the loss of an arm or a leg.

Those things were reassuring; bad enough though they were, yet it was good to know what our later figures have borne out, that the problem of rehabilitation was not a great one in point of numbers, serious though it be in other ways. Recently I had the pleasure of showing a group of gentlemen from Washington through some of our hospitals. At the end of the fourth day the leader of the group remarked that the men did not look like war cripples. We had seen in three cities only four dismembered men. Yesterday between breakfast and luncheon in the city of St. Louis I saw nine men in the streets who had suffered the loss of an arm or a leg.

We have a term, which is used also in France to denote the rehabilitation and training in new occupations of the more seriously disabled—vocational re-education. That forms the bulk of our work. In the first place, let me say, vocational or industrial re-education at public expense is not given to every man who returns just because he desires to take up a new occupation. None of the warring nations is doing that. It is given only to those whose disabilities will prevent them returning to their former occupations. Of the disabled men who have returned to Canada there are less than ten per cent who will require this vocational re-education. The rest will, after a period of treatment in a hospital, be able to return to their former occupations. But we do not confine our efforts in the way of vocational training to those men who cannot return to their former occupations. Every man who is being treated in hospital is given an opportunity to improve himself and to take up some line of work during convalescence that will be of some value to him in after life.

I need not say to an audience like this that work of that kind should be given in hospital for its therapeutic value. That has been proven long ago. We took up the work from that point of view. We believed idleness to be very bad, that the men would deteriorate during a long period of hospital treatment, often amidst luxurious surroundings. We have proved that a great many men could learn something which would enable them to go back to civil occupations in a better earning position than they held before the war. Already we have large numbers of men as a result of this work who are earning more money than ever before. Many kinds of work are offered in the hospitals—classes in which men can brush up their general education, in which they may take up light occupations in wood and metal and in various trades; also in gardening, poultry raising and other outdoor work wherever the conditions at the hospital will permit. Many men have been able to

add to their mechanical skill certain theoretical knowledge which has made it possible for them to take positions of leadership in their trade on their return to work.

#### *General Auxiliary Provisions*

Two or three things had to be considered before we could take up re-education in new occupations of the more seriously disabled. First, we found, as France and England found, that it was necessary to make it clear to the men that they were not to have their pensions reduced because of increased earning capacity arising from vocational training. That is provided for in the pension regulations which say that a man's pension is based on his disability and will not be affected if his earning capacity is increased by training subsequent to his injury. Another thing which had to be provided was some means of maintaining his family and his dependents during the period of training, for unless the man is relieved of worry he cannot go heartily into the training and so get the best out of it. That is provided for in Canada by generous allowances.

We have not had to consider in Canada the question of making training for disabled men compulsory. France tried it and failed. I see no necessity for it at all. Our men are only too ready if we go at it in the right way, and early enough, to take up some training which will enable them once more to become useful citizens. We begin the process of cheering them up as early as possible, and give them something to do as early as possible. We have in the hospitals in England, where our men are first taken when sent from France, our moving pictures, our literature, by which they learn of this work. As soon as the man arrives at a hospital in Canada, one of our vocational advisers sees him and endeavors to arrange that from the first the work done in the hospital may have some value to him on his return to civil life.

One thing has been much discussed in France and in England and in Belgium, and that is whether the duty of directing the men towards some suitable occupation is the job of the medical or of the vocational specialist. We have joined hands in Canada, and side by side with the medical adviser is a vocational adviser. It is not solely a medical problem, nor solely an educational problem, but it is also an industrial and an economic problem. Every case in Canada is individually dealt with by the medical officer, the vocational expert, and a third man who represents the neighborhood interest and is able to advise in regard to industrial and economic conditions. Every case is decided upon personal investigation of all the circumstances of the man's life—his education, industrial history, and so on. The man's own wishes must be taken into consideration. And, having all that before us, we try to provide opportunities for beginning the training in the schools which at present exist in all our hospitals. We have at present 4,000 men receiving

training, 1,500 of this number being trained for new occupations, and the others receiving incidental training during the period of convalescence.

*Practical Opportunities and Requirements*

There is no such thing as a list of occupations which men suffering with certain disabilities can take up. That may seem strange, but we have not found it possible to relate the disabilities of the men to the trade they should take up. There are so many factors to be considered, and unfortunately they are all variable factors, and it is impossible to work out a problem with all the factors variable. After two years' experience we see no reason to change our method of dealing with each case individually. Sometimes we make mistakes, and then we change our plans. One of the first things to think of is the man's former occupation, so that as a result of our work there will be the least possible economic disturbance, and so that his former experience may be conserved. It is well to consider next the occupations allied to the man's former trade. If, however, it is decided that the man should take up something new, we endeavor to select an occupation which will employ all the man's remaining abilities, and so train him that he will not be dependent upon sentiment for holding his position, but will be able to hold it because of his efficiency in it. We select an occupation in which he can be efficient, disabled though he is, and then proceed to give him the best possible training for it.

As to the length of training, that is important. It varies with the individual. The average length is about six and a half months. We do not have hard and fast lines. We take as long as necessary. Our instruction is individual, as well as our selection in the first place. We discourage men from taking work at some occupation for which there may be an enormous demand for the moment, but which, after the war, will not give much hope for a future. We discourage them from seasonal jobs, but if a summer occupation is decided upon, provision for some winter occupation is also made. A great deal of training is given in the schools attached to the hospitals. Some men complete their training in the hospital school, when the treatment is prolonged. Then, again, there should be established a number of special schools where men can be trained in a variety of occupations.

You are a great deal better off in the United States with your existing institutions than we are in Canada. You have your technical schools and will be able to make great use of them. We use such institutions as we have in several ways. We have taken over wholly two institutions, and departments of other institutions, but we have learned this—that the invalided soldier does not mix well with the ordinary pupil. He needs different courses, a different kind of training. His training must be more intensive than we have been giving in the ordinary



technical schools. We have few cases where our men have gone into the ordinary courses and done well. A school should be taken over, or some part of it, and special courses established.

Perhaps the most hopeful thing we have been able to do is that we have endeavored by means of simple surveys to discover opportunities for training men in industries themselves. When we had admitted for training about four or five hundred men we found the range of occupations limited. That was due to the fact that the number of occupations for which training could be given in schools was not very large. Today we are training men in 195 different occupations. We have been able to broaden the scope of opportunities for training by going into the industries themselves. We have found employers only too ready to co-operate. Out of this, we hope, will come a realization of what can be done for the disabled from industry in the way of conserving and training their remaining powers.

*Problems for Educators and for Society*

One thing must not be forgotten in this connection. The man's experiences in the army have led him away from the exercise of self responsibility. He has to be "de-militarized," so to speak. In our schools all our instructors are civilians, and so are all our vocational officers. Though many of them are ex-soldiers, they are not teaching in uniform, but as civilians, because we want the men to get the civilian idea back into their heads. The man must learn again to think for himself. We therefore surround him as soon as possible with civilian influences.

There are many other problems. Four thousand five hundred men have already been discharged from the United States forces because of tuberculosis—a national problem, apart from the war. The same with many other things. The personal survey which we make of every returned man all too often reveals an industrial history of drifting from job to job; in many cases for the lack of the right kind of school training. Every one of us who has any contact with this soldier problem at this time will go back to our ordinary school work with new ideas and new ways of doing things.

This is a problem, not for the government alone, but for us all. The returned soldier deserves the best we can give him, and that is to give him every opportunity and every assistance to become once more a useful and, therefore, self-respecting, self-supporting member of the community.

Our duty to the disabled is clear and I have every confidence that your great nation will do its duty, whatever it may cost, to those who may be disabled in this terrific conflict to preserve all that we hold dear as "free nations" in this world.

## THE CHURCH, THE COMMUNITY AND THE PRESENT CRISIS

### I

*Rev. Roy B. Guild, D. D., Executive Secretary, Commission on Inter-Church Federations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York.*

TEXT: *Jesus of Nazareth*. "They led him unto the brow of the hill \* \* \* that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way." *Luke IV: 29-30.*

*Jesus at Jerusalem*. "And when they came unto the place which is called the skull they crucified him." *Luke XXIII: 33.*

Jesus knew what it costs to love a city. At Nazareth he proclaimed his mission by quoting the social program of Israel's great prophet. His old time neighbors who had heard of his fame throughout Galilee preferred miracles to such a message and they tried to put him to death.

Like every other Jewish lad, Jesus loved another city—Jerusalem. The message that resulted in his rejection at Nazareth was more fully and fearlessly proclaimed at Jerusalem, arousing more determined enmity. But in the great city the loyalty of the common folk made his antagonists more cautious. At last he put the principles into action by driving the pious profiteers from the temple. They abominated the preaching. They hated the practice and this brought the opposition to a climax. They put Jesus to death.

Before he was put to death Jesus offered two prayers which revealed his despair and his hope. The first is similar to the cry of despair which has burst from the lips of many a devoted man and woman whose efforts have been defeated by the hopeless division of those who should have been the greatest helpers. The religious forces were divided into three great sects, Pharisees, Sadducees and Herodians. The leaders of these groups were too much concerned about their organization and their own leadership to look with pleasure upon the popularity of Jesus. They saw in this, and in the evident righteousness of his attitude to all questions, their possible downfall. For this they hated him. Looking upon Jerusalem, mindful of these divisions, he cried out, "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, \* \* \* how often would I have gathered thy children together, but ye would not." Only the common hatred of this champion of the right and the good brought them together.

The hope of Jesus was voiced in the last prayer offered before he went out to Gethsemane. In an upper room with his chosen friends, he knew what was soon to take place, and why. But he was looking out into the future. He prayed for all that would believe upon him through the faithfulness of his disciples. The same burden that was the cause of the lament was the cause of the earnest petition. The divided city was the doomed city. So looking to the future he cried out to God, "I pray \* \* \* that *they* may be one that the world may believe." Five times in that prayer in one way or another, Jesus expressed his longing for the unity of the children of the one Father of us all.

*Unity Necessary Among Lovers of Righteousness*

In a common hatred of the one who went about doing good, these groups, manipulated by the temple grafters, put Jesus to death. Has not the time come when a common love for those we would serve should more strongly unify the religious forces of all communities in service than others are unified in hatred of the good we would do? Or will the divisions of the religiously minded defeat the cause of humanity to which we stand pledged? Shall it be the lament or answered prayers? The churches must give the answer to the community in this present crisis.

Disasters are great levellers. In flood or fire or cyclone, our common humanity comes to the front as the mere incidents of our life are cleared away. The one standard is "What is your need?" So this war, the greatest catastrophe of human history, is bringing to the front the great common essentials of human life and causing us to strive only for these. Changes have come about in our national life, financial, social and political, which might otherwise have come only after generations of striving. Whether they will be permanent or not depends on our ability to appreciate their significance, and our determination to maintain what is worth while. All these changes are being discussed and will be discussed in the sessions of the National Conference of Social Work. This afternoon the chief interest is in the religious changes that are taking place.

Those who come to us from the battle fields of Europe never refer to religious matters without speaking of the spirit of unity which is everywhere evident. The "Piping Parson," so-named because of his ability to play the bag-pipes, Chaplain Watt of the Gordon Highlanders, the Black Watch, in an address in New York, declared that the soldiers did not care for the various religious shibboleths. The chaplains of all faiths fraternized with one another and ministered alike to the wounded and the dying of all creeds. Similar testimonies come from chaplains, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, soldiers and correspondents. The chapter in the late Donald Hankey's book, "*A Student in Arms*," entitled "*The Religion of the Inarticulate*," has already become a classic in the religious records of this war.

This spirit of unity has been expressed in this country by the giving of over fifty million dollars for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. Religious workers will do well to understand the giving of the greatest sum ever raised at one time by any single religious organization. There are two things which explain this substantial approval of this great undertaking. It stands for religious unity and practical human service. It is the embodiment of the two great essentials set forth in the *Old Testament* and reiterated by Jesus, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God and thy neighbor." Two Sundays ago I spent the day in a hut in a great aviation camp. At eight o'clock and at nine o'clock a Roman Catholic priest conducted mass in that hut. The second person I met on entering that building was the Jewish welfare worker,

whose headquarters were there, and twice during the day as a Protestant minister, I preached the gospel of faith and service to the magnificent men who were preparing to give their lives for America and humanity. Every hut stands for religious unity. And every hut stands for service, seven-days-in-the-week service.

And because of this fact the people of all creeds and of no creeds will in a short time give more quickly and more joyously more money than has yet been given.

#### *Potsdam and Ward Politics*

As the religious forces seriously face all the problems at home, will they be able to unite in community service which will correct our social wrongs and establish everywhere the social right, as men of many nations and every creed fight shoulder to shoulder to correct world wrongs? Will we who stay at home be able to make these communities in which we live fit habitations for the returning soldiers? When this war is over, will we have so lived that we will be worthy neighbors of men who have offered their all in army and navy? Remember that these men have met the supreme test of a man in the task of eliminating from the realm of the world's politics that for which the Kaiser and the Potsdam gang stand. He would be the world's political boss and they would be his ward heelers, with nations as their wards. To be rid of this thing is our reason for being in the war. It is the menace of our most cherished political institutions, and all the institutions related to them.

While we are so bitter and so eloquent in our denunciation of Kaiserism in Berlin, let us remember that nearly every city has its man or its men who are tarred with the same stick, who are of the same stripe, about whom are the political gangsters who menace the city's life. We are nothing short of hypocrites if we cheer our soldiers as they march forth to eliminate the Potsdam gang, and have not the courage or the convictions to purge from our cities every influence which menaces the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of our boys and our girls. The city that complacently endures these conditions in these days and does not have its Ypres, its Sommes and its Verduns, however the battle may turn, is not worthy of the men who have gone to France, nor noble enough to welcome such as may return. In that day the judgment upon the religious forces will be final. We must get together. We can get together, and I am here to tell you we are getting together. We still have a long way to go, but we have started.

#### *Protestant Unity*

First, I must speak of the getting together of the Protestant Christian forces. This is not the getting together in organic unity which is the earnest wish and hope of many. If that comes about it must be by our first becoming acquainted. We are becoming acquainted by WORKING TOGETHER, the best basis of acquaintanceship that has ever been devised. On the occasion of the forming of the Federation of Churches of Denver,



the Rt. Rev. Irving P. Johnston, Bishop Coadjutor of the Episcopal Diocese of Colorado, after referring to the hope of complete Christian unity said: "In the meantime, let us work together on our agreements." This is the mood that is making the progress of Christian unity in spirit and action. It is the unity of a division in the United States Army.

On the opening day of the Third Liberty Loan campaign, I watched the Fourth Division of the United States Army march through the streets of Charlotte, N. C. It was one division, but was made up of various units. As they swung past us we could tell by flags, uniforms and accoutrements the infantry, the artillery, the cavalry, the signal corps, the ambulance, and the quartermaster's department. Each unit is distinct, but a part of the whole. Even so, the churches in most of the northern cities and some of the southern cities have formed themselves into inter-church organizations, generally called federations.

Since we entered the war the movement has gone forward more rapidly than ever before. In such an organization, we may liken the Baptists to the infantry, the Presbyterians to the cavalry, the Methodists to the artillery, the Episcopalians to the signal corps, and so down the line. When all the religious forces are thus mobilized they can fight as our men fight in France, co-ordinating all their efforts. As signal corps, artillery, infantry, all move to the battle with the precision of a stop watch; so the Christian forces must synchronize their attack upon the strong-holds of sin. When this is done with forethought and fearless advance, the religious forces of a city become an irresistible power against which the very gates of hell cannot stand.

The first duty is to mobilize the Protestant churches. This is coming to be increasingly easy, as there are about thirty cities of 75,000 population or more that are organized and have employed executive secretaries, who can act as the commanders of these divisions. Gradually the program of these federations has been standardized so that now there is no excuse for floundering around in experiments in Christian co-operation. Two things demand such co-operation. The removal of influences which militate against the church and home in the right development of our boys and girls, as well as against the best interest of every life, and the building up and strengthening of every influence, condition or institution that will make all living conditions better. That of course is a large program, but it is the one Jesus asked us to work for when we pray. "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done one earth as it is in Heaven."

#### *Interchurch Federations and Community Welfare*

This program is increasingly being carried out by the churches co-operating with one another, and with organizations having to do with the community's life, whether that organization be the city government, the bureau of charities, the hospitals, the public schools, or what else. Co-operation, not duplication, is a basic principle. By such a plan the Pauline teaching, "Let no man seek his own but each his neigh-

bor's good," is made to read: "Let no church seek its own but each its neighbor's good." The new slogan for churchmen should be, "Let us be good neighbors for the good of the neighborhood." To carry out this program, a new religious order now numbering thirty and soon to pass into the hundreds has gradually come into existence. So well is this order established, there will be held this summer the first school for principles and methods of inter-church work.

St. Paul, Minnesota, is among the last cities to unify the Protestant forces through such an organization. In the initial meeting the most earnest plea for it was made by the secretary of the United Charities. Knowing that religion is the most vital factor in the rehabilitation of character, he said he could immediately have the assistance of the Roman Catholic clergy wherever he had a case that was in any way related to that church. But if he wished the help of a Protestant church he had to choose from a hundred or more, and therefore gave up in despair.

In St. Louis this work is well systematized. The representatives of the Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Protestant faiths, are in constant touch with one another, and with the secretary of the bureau of charities.

In January the *Pittsburgh Leader* came out with the statement in glaring headlines, "Preacher Flays Magistrates." It went on to say that the Reverend C. R. Zahniser, secretary of the Council of Churches of Pittsburgh, had made serious charges against the five magistrates appointed by the newly elected mayor. The paper printed in full the charges made. It went on to say, that "if these charges were true, the magistrates named ought to be in jail instead of being where they could send men to jail. If they were not true, then Dr. Zahniser and the men who were with him ought to be in jail for defaming good men. In such a serious matter there is no middle ground."

Under such a leadership as that of Dr. Zahniser the church of Pittsburgh is no longer a joke as a civic force. Fifteen denominations, having over 200,000 communicants, are in the Council. The program of civic action is like a Christianized *school of ward politicians*. The church does not have a civic spasm and then subside, but is on the job all the time. I was not surprised, therefore, when I read in the Pittsburgh paper of February 1st, 1918, that the city council had rejected the five appointees of the mayor. The interchurch secretary was then asked to address the Chamber of Commerce at a luncheon at the William Penn Hotel on "How Pittsburgh May Have Good Magistrates." By co-operating with other agencies working for decency in city government, the church has been able to have a morals court established in that city. While this National Conference was in session in Pittsburgh one year ago I visited a special court where a magistrate was on trial for malpractice in office, the charges being brought by those who have won this great moral victory.

We hear much about juvenile delinquency, and as this war goes on we will hear a great deal more. This is peculiarly a community problem in which united church effort is absolutely necessary. The church that

has let the soldier's boy or girl make a police record in his absence can never expect to welcome that soldier on his return. It is not enough for the church to be an announcer of "don'ts" in the realm of amusement. The church has acquired great proficiency in shutting things up, most of which ought to be shut up, but it is not so skilled in opening up that which will take the place. If commercialized amusements have a tendency to debase and demoralize the youth, the thing to do is to "beat them to it" in furnishing amusements that will build up character while entertaining. This task is being done in a measure by some good people, but the church must more effectively pull its oars in the recreation boat or be thrown overboard. In several cities the churches jointly employ a man to represent them in the juvenile court. What is really needed is to enlist enough men to make it unnecessary to employ juvenile court workers.

In the fight on vice the united church, in co-operation with other agencies, has made marked progress. The battle in many places went slowly until the government stepped in. The greatest victory was won when the majority of people became convinced that the social evil is not a necessary evil. It was the vice committee of the Cleveland Federation that gathered important facts about that city and other cities and presented them to Mayor Newton D. Baker, asking him to consider them with a view to eliminating the segregated district. He studied the facts given to him and made some investigations himself. He came to the decision which he is now trying to have applied through the Department of Justice to all cities affecting the personal efficiency of the soldiers. The church has never before had such an ally in combating this evil. But, alas, in some cities the church is not so good an ally, because city officials and public press are on the side of the panderers.

In Philadelphia, the social service committee gathered evidence which was turned over to the mayor. Nothing was done. More evidence was secured and this was given to the Department of Justice at Washington. The churches helped the Fosdick Commission. You know what has happened to the police department of the *City of Brotherly Love*. When the churches co-operate with others interested in law enforcement, this black plague will be banished from our cities.

#### *A Versailles Council of Faiths*

It is not enough to have the co-operation of the members of one great religious body. Having developed unity within these bodies there must be co-operation between them. Every city in its battle with social wrongs needs its Versailles Council, where the allies may plan out the campaign against their common enemy. When the members of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic churches and the Jewish synagogue follow acknowledged leaders, an invincible army is formed. In such an alliance nothing of loyalty is lost by any body participating. The loyalty for denomination or church is merged in the larger loyalty for the common good.

When that last long trench on the Western front is filled, the

soldiers of all nations, of all races and of all creeds are one in the great sacrifice they have made on humanity's altar. But a needy world and our sin cursed cities are crying out for oneness on the part of those of us who are alive and dwelling in these cities. As one has well said: "If some of us can die together, surely we can live together."

The day is at hand when the lovers of good and of God must be more strongly knit together in that common love, than are those who in their hate make war upon that good and our God. As allies meeting in this Versailles Council of social workers, let us pledge our allegiance to each other, and take the vow to fight it out to the end. Then, as warriors at home, we will make our cities safe for the democracy that has been made more sacred than ever by the blood that has been shed for it, and in all our cities, little children shall grow to be strong men and pure women. Let Kipling give to us our parting word.

"It aint the guns nor armament, nor funds that they can pay,  
But the close co-operation that makes them win the day.  
It aint the individual, nor armies as a whole, but  
The everlasting team-play of every blooming soul."

## II

*Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J. Dean of Loyola School of Sociology,  
Chicago*

In discussing the question of the relations of church, community and the present crisis, I take it to mean: What service can the church render to the community; especially, what will it render in this critical hour of the world's history? Now the church and the state are two distinct societies, with two distinct ends or purposes. The church has for its end the spiritual good of man; the state, the material good of man. Both are perfect societies, independent of each other because they have in themselves the power and the means to carry out their own purposes. But by their natures they travel in parallel lines, assist and supplement each other because the common object of their concern, man, is both matter and spirit and so compounded that spirit and matter mutually react upon each other. Hence the nature and function of the church, while primarily and before all spiritual, can be, and as history shows always has been, of supreme service to the state or the community, and this has been especially true in the ever recurring hours of the world's trials.

I shall speak of the historic church, begun in the old law and completed in the new. Time will not allow me to say much about the old dispensation, but all the world now knows that Moses was only less great as a social teacher than as a God-annointed religious leader, and that the Jewish people were exalted in proportion as they were faithful to the law of Jehovah. The tablets of Mount Sinai have ever been the foundation stones of civilization, and without them the world would sink back into its primitive oblivion. In the fullness of time, Christ the Master came,—came to perfect, not to destroy; he united love to justice and tempered the law with mercy. To the commandments of Sinai he



added the Sermon on the Mount, the keystone of the complete arch of civilization. The commandments are the precepts of duty; the beatitudes are the counsels of perfection. The first are essential to society; the second are vital to its perfection.

Now the church is the abiding presence of the Master; endowed with his power, and delegated with his mission, it perpetuates his doctrine and traditions. The church, to be true to its divine exemplar, must help the community in its day as Christ helped in his day.

### *Christ and Social Reform*

Christ's mission was above all a spiritual one. He came to found a religion, to establish a church which would for all time direct the individual to the end for which he was created. In doing this, the church emphasizes the supremacy of the soul; it teaches that "it profiteth nothing to gain the whole world if one lose his own soul." But the supernatural life is built on the natural, and hence the spiritual gospel of the church must of its nature harmonize with its social program, making this social program a priceless by-product of its spiritual gospel. The soul that is to be saved must work out its salvation in a material body subject to social environments, and hence an adequate social program must reckon with the spiritual gospel of the church. By preparing the individual for the kingdom of heaven, the church makes him the fittest citizen of the kingdom of earth.

Christ was a reformer, but a religious reformer. As the son of the living God, he founded a religion that would rebind the creature to the creator, and the creatures to each other in the perfect harmony of the divine and natural law. The pillars of society are lawful authority and the social conscience. The first springs from God and the second from the brotherhood of man. Christ was a reformer, but not primarily a social reformer. He did not formulate economic laws, or political maxims, but by dogmas of belief and by a code of morality he molded the individual. He taught him law and order, justice and charity; he taught him his duties as well as his rights; he kept intact the sovereignty of self, but made war on every form of selfishness. In a word, he elevated the natural social instinct of man and made him an apt unit for the complex life of society. An honest man, a pure woman, a docile child are the best assets of any community. With these society itself can rear its own structure, for weal if it follows justice, for woe if it favors iniquity.

Christ met and solved the social problems of his day, but he did more than that; he laid down fundamental principles that would solve the social problems of all the ages to come. The religious character of his gospel, far from turning him away from social problems, inspired him to leave to posterity principles applicable to every social question. True, the gospel is not a text book of sociology or political economy. But its message is of the widest social import and application; its salutary teachings are as true and practical in the complex civilization of Chicago or

Kansas City today as they were in the simple life of Nazareth or Jerusalem twenty centuries ago. Christ did not have a definite social program; if he had, it would have been forgotten long ago, for social problems change with the years and the social solutions of Christ's day would have been useless in the Middle Ages and unintelligible today. Even the best program of yesterday may be defective tomorrow. But principles do not die, and the deathless doctrines of Christ have changed the face of the earth. Again and again these principles have healed the nations in the past, they have not lost in truth or vigor, and if applied will heal the wounds of the nations today.

#### *Christianity and Civilization*

How has Christianity changed the face of the earth and healed the wounds of the nations? It found society sick and corrupt to the core. The world was filled with the poor, the unfortunate and the slave; it was brutalized by a handful of heartless tyrants, as has been well expressed in the brief phrase of the Roman poet (Lucan) that "The human race lives for the few." Woman, wife, mother, and child, in whom are the substance of the present and the hope of the future, were cheap chattels or vain playthings in the hands of their master, man.

To this world, the church proclaimed the substantial equality of all men, the dignity of labor and even the blessedness of spiritual poverty. She proclaimed the common rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Down through the ages, not with fire and sword, but with the gentleness of inspired words, she bound men into nations by unity and justice, by peace and love. Down through the ages, in spite of passion and power, in spite of thrones and principalities, she has impressed her spirit upon an unwilling world so that it can be said of her in the words of the Psalmist: "All good has come through her hands."

The history of every nation and even the darkest of that history shows that Christianity has been the leaven of the world and that its spirit has found its way even into the ranks of its enemies; unconsciously they have imbibed its spirit, and often what they are pleased to call "humanity" is but the bloom or flower of a Christian root or branch. Whatever is worth while in civilization is linked to Christianity and wherever civilization has failed it has broken that golden bond.

The service of the church to the community has been primarily to protect from the greed of power the rights and the liberties of society. Like her divine founder, she has always through the centuries had compassion on the multitude. The primitive church fought the despotism of pagan emperors and her martyrs sealed with their blood the charter of man's rights. After three hundred years of persecution, the church received these emperors into her bosom, but she bade them respect the rights of her children. When Theodosius became a tyrant, St. Ambrose of Milan drove him from the portals of the church; and when Arcadius betrayed his people, St. Chrysostom of Constantinople exposed him to the world.

When Attila and his Huns threatened the civilization of the fifth century, it was a pope, Leo the Great, who checked his Vandal hordes. And so down the pages of history we read how Alexander VII defied Barbarossa, and how Gregory VII triumphed over Philip I of France and Henry IV of Germany and vindicated the rights of the people as well as those of the church. Again it was a bishop of the church, Stephen Langton, who inspired the barons of Runnymede to force from King John the Magna Charta, the liberties of England and of the whole world. It was the church that transmitted to us the body of our civil law, *habeas corpus*, trial by jury and no taxation without the consent of the taxed.

The church again was the defense and the hope of Europe in the struggle against Moslem, and when the infidel invader threatened civilization, it was the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent that again made the world free.

The political influence of the church, though much constrained in modern times, has nevertheless been felt in every age and in every land. Because the White Shepherd of Christendom on the banks of the Tiber, is the natural as well as the God-given arbiter of nations, the nations have recognized him in the past and must recognize him today. Modern governments, even Jean Jacques Rousseau admitted, "owe to Christianity their stability and the escape from frequent revolutions and that by enlightening the minds and softening the manners of nations Christianity has spared them oceans of blood."

And who shall recount the social services of the church? During the wars and upheavals which ravaged Europe century after century, she built every bulwark to defend the weak and the persecuted; she secured the right of sanctuary to the oppressed; she enacted canons against the wanton waste of human life; she instituted the Truce of God, which arrested the cruelties of war during the latter part of each week. Thus was the church ever the champion of the weaker nations and members of society; she stood between the Roman master and his slave; between the feudal baron and his serf, as she stands today between the profiteering capitalist and the exploited wage-earner. To the individual the church has ever been the messenger of mercy and love. From the days of the deacons of the apostolic church to the present hour, the crowning glory of the church has been her charitable and correctional works, her communities, her guilds, her religious orders, her asylums, her hospitals and her schools.

All the world acknowledges the church's contribution to the world of thought and beauty. Her monasteries were the depositaries of the art, the science, and the literature of the ancient world and the creators of the art, the science, and the literature of the new, while her popes and prelates were the constant patrons of education and culture in all their phases.

But the greatest contribution of the church to society has been the millions upon millions of her children, just and high-souled, honest and

clean with the love of neighbor in their heart. The greatest of these she has hallowed upon her altars and they are called the Saints of the Church; they might with equal truth be called the Heroes of the State.

### *The Present Crisis*

But what can the church do for the community today? She can do today what she has ever done. At a time when passions are high and excesses are almost natural, she emphasizes anew the rights and the duties of citizen and state. She holds aloft the principles of patriotism for which men are willing to live or to die for country; for which they are willing to suffer and sacrifice for what is right and just. On account of these principles she gives her blessing to a devastating war because it is infinitely better than a degrading peace.

But the best answer of the church's service to the community can be found in her deeds, which speak louder than words. Today she gives her sanction and her support to the holy cause of humanity and world democracy. Through her chaplains she gives morale and the consolations of religion to the men at the front, so that they find it easy to obey and sweet to die for their country. At home she prays for victory and for honorable peace; she holds up the hands of our President and his counselors; she consoles the wives and mothers, who are making the greatest sacrifices of the war; she puts courage into their hearts and hope into their breasts, so that with patience they await the hour of ultimate victory.

Recently our Congress requested the President to recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting to be observed by all our people with religious solemnity. Accordingly, the President has set aside Memorial Day, the thirtieth of May, as a day on which we are to appease the Almighty, "by fasting, humiliation and by praying that he may forgive our sins and purify our hearts and that we may purpose only what is in conformity with his holy will." This is a mighty national profession of faith, a striking national acknowledgment of the function of the church in the community. If this function is fitting in the critical times of war, is it less fitting in the normal times of peace?

This war has also taught us that the world is often blind to real and true progress. For half a century the whole world, outside of the positive Christian fold, has worshiped at the shrine of German materialism and studied in the school of German thought and method. The philosophy and education of Germany was the last word on these topics and was not subject to dispute. A German degree was an open sesame to a professor's chair in any American or British University for *Germania Docet* was the accepted shibboleth of the age. German philosophy and German *Kultur* ridiculed the dominion of God or the influence of the church, because in its self-sufficiency it made science its God and efficiency its religion. But this mattered naught, until the war opened our eyes and we saw that its science was false and its efficiency vain.

The cardinal tenet of Teutonic *Kultur* is the survival of the fittest—



the supreme rule of the superman and the supnation; the elimination of the smaller and weaker individual or nation. This is the very antithesis of Christian law and practice, in which the humble shall be exalted, the proud shall be put down and the meek shall possess the earth.

*Principles of the Church in the New Day*

The war has also made us search our own hearts, and our sincerest prophets see the handwriting on the wall, and they warn us that much of our economic and social life is foreign to Christian morality. We are being weighed in the balance of the world's crisis and we will be found wanting if we do not mend our ways.

As a nation we must beget a new national conscience, in which the collective interests of all must outweigh at all times the private concern of any one. We must make America first in our thoughts, and first in our deeds; we must make her ideals of justice and equality supreme over everything; supreme over politics and diplomacy, supreme over capital and labor, supreme over native and foreign born, supreme over the white man and the negro.

War is ever a forerunner of changes, and the peace protocol will not solve the social and economic problems that are sure to arise. Here the principles of morality are of the highest moment and to apply them wisely will tax to the utmost both church and state. In the reconstruction after the war, the two greatest dangers will be radicalism and conservatism; the fallacies of the one can not be an excuse for the other; if we would escape the folly of socialism, we must prevent the crimes of capitalism.

Absolute equality among men is a physical impossibility, but equality of opportunity must be made a reality. We must strengthen the ties of the family, regulate the menace of divorce, hold more sacred the life of the child, even the unborn. We must guarantee to each child an education that will fit it to become a self-supporting citizen, and even our adults, ignorant of our language or our spirit, must be sent to school. To the training of mind and body we must add the training of the heart and the will, which make for righteousness and noble living.

In the industrial and commercial world, the gospel of greed, inhuman competition, exploitation, excessive profits, and wastefulness must cease, and the goal of its energies must be the community and not self.

The wage earner must cease to be a mere cog in the industrial machine. The indictment of Leo XIII, that "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself," must not be renewed. The personal dignity of the laborer must be recognized; he must live—not merely exist; he must receive a just wage, he must work under conditions that are human and in keeping with his aesthetic and moral nature. If this is impossible for business, let business perish, but let man live.

The new order of things will place new responsibilities upon those in whose hands are the reins of government. They must regard their



offices as opportunities for service; and themselves as servants of the community; the common people must be their chief concern in everything and their conscience must be their king.

In all this we must not consider merely the material welfare of the community, for without ideals, without the things of the spirit, material supremacy will sooner or later be its own undoing, and sooner or later go the way of all flesh. Nations, like men, live not by bread alone.

These reforms strike at the very roots of our selfish and exaggerated individualism and will no doubt meet with much opposition. Were we ruled by a genuine social conscience, these reforms would soon be realized; but we must take human nature as we find it. The law of Sinai and the Sermon of the Mount must be brought home to us by social education and social laws. But even these alone will not suffice, unless we bring to bear the moral motives of religion. The force of law will never make us a great nation, but the law of conscience will. You cannot make a man honest or a woman chaste by an act of legislation, but you can do both by keeping the moral law. The observance of one commandment alone, "Thou shalt not steal," would abolish one-half of our social abuses, and most of the other half would surrender to the rest of the decalogue.

Religion in the individual must make legislation for the masses effective; the church must unite with the community, and working in unison they will, under God, create a new and nobler nation, in which all will "render to God the things that are God's, and to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

### III

#### *Rabbi H. H. Mayer, B'nai Jehudah Temple, Kansas City, Missouri*

The church, the community, and the war, I interpret as meaning, What has been and what will be the influence of each of these upon the others. How is the war going to affect the church? How has it affected the church? What are the churches going to do, what service are they going to render in the prosecution of the war? What interest is the community taking, more or less than before, in the church since the war? Is the community, in its attitude towards the war swayed by the church? Is the church modifying its doctrine and its practice in line with demands of the community stimulated by the war spirit? Is the war sounding the death-knell of religion, or is it revealing to us that religion is deathless and indispensable? Finally, are the movements discernable at the present time in this war and in the changes taking place in the church the effect of this world conflict, or are they the outgrowth of a ferment that has been at work in the community and in the church long before the outbreak of hostilities?

#### *Changing Attitude Toward Preachers and the Church*

I see very definite results coming from this war, redounding to the advantage of the church. Before the war we heard frequently that "The church is doomed," that the days when the church can control the

thoughts and regulate the lives and command the respect of the people, are gone by. We have heard that the church, all churches, all denominations, are disintegrating. A very popular magazine writer in a very widely circulated magazine, in a series of most interesting articles, which many of you will doubtless remember, laid down the thesis several years ago that the churches are growing weaker and materialism is growing stronger, and if the acceleration of that pace that is destroying the churches is not stopped the churches will disappear. I hated to think that that was true. It filled me with regret that the church which my vocation, my training, my experience in life all combined have taught me to think the most valuable asset in the world,—that the church is losing its hold upon man and is being relegated to the background.

If it was true that the church was becoming weaker and its influence on the social life of the individual and the community was being diminished, the war has brought about a change. Among the mighty transformations wrought by the great war, none is more indicative of hopeful accomplishment than the effect the war has had in strengthening the influence of the church.

I do not wish to make these statements as mere abstract propositions. As workers in the field of social endeavor you want to have concrete illustrations for every abstract statement. Do you not think that it has given the church an infinitely higher position in the esteem of the common man, that the dispatches from abroad after the first brushes of our American soldiers with the outposts of the Germans had taken place, brought back reports that the Catholic priests had done so nobly, that among the heroes of the American army mentioned for special commendation were the names of two Catholic priests who had gone out into the hail of shot and shell and at the risk of their lives rescued their brother soldiers and had brought food to them when they needed food in the hour of stress and trial? What do you think the soldiers who were ministered to by these priests, thought of their rescuers and helpers? Do you not realize that the heroism in the church, the dignity and the manhood of the priesthood was brought home to them as never before? They used to joke about the preachers, and say there were three sexes, men, women and preachers,—male, female and ministerial.

It was a poor joke, but it showed the feeling among the common people that the ministers were not really men, that they were fit only for pink teas, that they did not know anything about business, that they were shy and shrinking and reticent, and if faced with a man's duties would be found deficient. My own experience has been that time and again after I have presented my ideas and my ideals to my congregation, whatever I may have said has been rendered ineffective by the remark of some well intentioned but misinformed hearer: "The rabbi is not a business man. He is a dreamer. He does not understand business necessities." And what has been said to me has been said to preachers of all denominations. The people have believed that there is a line drawn between the church and the world, between business and religion, between

actual life and life as depicted in the Scriptures and portrayed in sermons. The war is bringing the soldier and the preacher into intimate relationship with one another, and has taught the world the fallacy of this prepossession against the preachers of religion, against the ministers at the altar, against those who have consecrated their lives to the service of God among men. You should know that the war work of the rabbis and the preachers, and the priests, has broken down the dividing walls of prejudice between them and the people, that ought not to separate them, and has weakened sectarianism.

We, in America, are all Americans in this war. We are not Catholics, or Protestants or Jews. We are American people and united by our devotion to the cause of democracy. We feel the bond of union that ties us together. I have a touching illustration of this. At the beginning of the war, I read in a French paper an episode that has been repeated by the American papers and has since been put into verse by an American poet. The story ran that a French Catholic, dying upon the battlefield, saw a rabbi and mistook him for a priest, and asked that the rabbi should give him religious consolation in his dying moments. The rabbi sent for a crucifix and held the cross before the dying French soldier. Because no priest was at hand he administered religious consolation to him. His prejudices, if he had any, had been broken down. He would not perhaps have done that before, but under the stress of war and the feeling of a common humanity, he could not refuse the petition of this dying soldier of France, and though a Hebrew of the Hebrews, he held the crucifix before his dying French compatriot and administered the last rites. Surely such acts will make for sympathy among divergent religious interests. Surely they will make us feel that in many things we are brothers, even though about the fundamentals of religion we do not entirely agree.

What about the influence of the war, and of the soldiers and sailors through the community, upon the church, in the attitude of the soldier and sailor towards religion before he is in the thick of the conflict? I have had boys come to me, who I thought had never had a serious thought in their lives, and say: "Rabbi, we are glad we have been drafted. Won't you bless us? Won't you lay your hands on our heads and give us the three-fold Aaronic benediction?" For years and years I have been in the ministry and have never had a boy going for a journey come and ask for the priestly blessing of Aaron. I did not know the religious sentiment existed in those boys, but I have come to see that in every human soul there exists a religious longing that finds expression in the glowing words of the forty-second psalm: "As Pants the Hart for Cooling Streams When Heated in the Chase, So Longs my Soul for Thee, O Lord, and Thy Reviving Grace." Our brave boys are not ashamed to feel that they want to go into the trenches, and into the battle line with God in their hearts, to slay and be slain, is work that fills them with loathing and horror, but they nerve themselves for whatever they may be called upon to do or suffer by resigning themselves, body and soul, to the mercy of God.

The fundamental craving of the human spirit for religion is displaying itself in the attitude of these boys. I bless them, with a lump in my throat, and then we shake hands, and I watch them go. I have no doubt this is the common experience of the ministers of other religions, but from me, as a rabbi, you want to hear the Jewish side. I have gone to the boys at Camp Funston and have had them write to me: "We have not been into the house of God for years, but since coming to camp, we have at least occasionally attended divine service." A social worker from Chicago said to me the other day, that his sister, a Red Cross helper in France, has met several Jewish boys over there in the ranks, and they have asked her when the rabbis are coming over. We have so few rabbis to go around that only two have so far been sent over. We hope the number will be increased, but the demand of these boys to have them shows how this great war has made deep speak unto deep, and the smothered song of the soul's music again sound forth in glorious anthems and paeans of praise and faith.

#### *Americanism and the Church*

Now, what about another aspect of the war in its influence upon my church? I am not much interested in the artful tricks and the wire pulling accidents of politics, either world politics or ward politics. I believe all of us ought to do our duty as citizens and vote intelligently and work against the bosses and the machine, but I know very little about the intrigues and the complexities of practical politics. I trust this war is going to make the duplicity of backstairs diplomacy and the machinations of the ward heeler more impossible than ever before. I am lifted up by the expectation that when America has won this war, petty chauvinistic politics, peanut politics, in the ward or in the world, will be utterly impossible. That encourages me and makes me hope that we will hold out until this sure victory that is coming to us will be conclusively achieved.

Political opportunism appeals to some people; it appeals strongly to the Zionists, it would seem. The Zionists are waiting and working for some political hide-and-go-seek scheme, some political scheme of give and take, whereby they may reintegrate a Jewish nation in Palestine. They exult in the British conquest of Jerusalem, because they indulge in the dream that England will turn the Holy Land over to them. I am not a Zionist. Their petty nationalism makes me sad. I am just an American of the Jewish faith. I take no great interest in the politician's bag of conjuring tricks, even in reference to Palestinian politics. I am not anxious to go there. I am not anxious for others to go there to build up for me and mine a Jewish state. It may be hard for some of you to realize that among the Jews there are many who do not want to go back to Palestine. The Zionists are so vociferous and have such a big working and publicity fund, and the element of romanticism in Zionism appeals so strongly to good people that they are on the front of the stage all the time, and we Jews who are *just Americans*, are in the background.



I never have believed in the union of church and state. I maintain the great thing America has taught the world is that we can get along better without an unholy alliance of church and state. You people who are not of my denomination, you all honor Palestine because it was the home of the founder of your religion; but you do not want to go there to make your home. No more do I. I shall feel sorry if the Zionists succeed, as it seems possible they may. I will have to be protesting all the time that my nation is not the Judean nation; I shall have to be protesting my Americanism all the time. For these reasons I am not a Zionist. All I want to see emanating out of this world war is peace guaranteed everywhere throughout the world, based upon the firm foundation of democracy. I hope for democracy in Palestine. I am glad the British have wrested Palestine from the bloody hand of the Turk. I believe democracy will be permitted to establish itself there and that is cause for gratification. Outside of that I have no interest in the politics of Palestine, or Timbuctoo, or any other place except the United States.

The war is making religion stronger than it has ever been. Religion in this terrific upheaval of the nations is not a failure, nor has institutional religion been entirely unsuccessful. I would not underestimate the fact that organized religion has, in this fearful crisis, had some failures. In my own denomination, I could criticize the delays that ought not to have occurred. I could criticize the lack of initiative in our synagogues, which have remained silent when they should have spoken, and inactive when they should have taken the lead. But I am not a person to examine the ledger account regularly every day to find out if there is a debit balance. I try to look for credit balances. Institutional Religion is recognizing what it can put on the credit side of the account, and is showing real eagerness to put it there. I have confidence that during this war, religion will not lose, but gain, in strength.

Religion will emerge from this war crowned with a diadem of glory, comparable to that which it had when men bowed before religion as the mistress of their souls, the regulator of their lives, the controller and director of their emotions.

## OPENING EXERCISES

### ADDRESS OF WELCOME

*O. J. Hill, Vice-Chairman, Committee on Arrangements, Kansas City, Missouri.*

On account of the illness of our chairman, Mr. Butler, it devolves upon me as vice-president of the Committee on Arrangements to open this meeting. I shall not take much time because you are here to hear the distinguished gentlemen who are to speak. We of Kansas City want these friends who have come from all corners of the world almost to understand that Kansas City extends to them a most cordial welcome. We are glad you are here, not simply because it happens to be a convention, many of which we have had, but because we are in hearty accord with the work you are trying to do. We feel that Kansas City in a small way has attempted to carry out some of the great principles you are working upon. We point with pride to our Board of Public Welfare and its work, to our Municipal Farm, to our Boys' Farm, to our Boys' Hotel, and to many other institutions which we believe represent the spirit of this meeting. We want you to understand you have a sympathetic audience.

We are continually hearing about the efficiency of Germany. That is the one claim of autocracy, that it is efficient, that it cares for the citizens from the time they are infants in the cradle to the grave. I believe this great conference is a challenge



that we meet these problems as a democracy and that we will do it in a more intelligent and efficient manner than can be done in any other country in the world. Your President, Mr. Robert A. Woods, needs no introduction to the delegates who have come from a distance. The people of Kansas City would do well to observe the many important activities with which he is connected. To me it is a great pleasure and honor to officiate in touching off the processes of this great Forty-fifth National Conference, under the able leadership of Mr. Woods.

### RESPONSE TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME

*President Woods*, in response to the welcoming address of Acting Chairman Hill, said:

It is a pleasure which many of us have eagerly anticipated to accept the hospitality of your truly beautiful city. We have looked forward to the time when we might learn at first hand something of the progress which we have known about and admired, and which we have in some degree emulated. We welcome particularly the opportunity to come to the gateway of the great Southwest. When I say that, as one representing those of us who have come from parts of the country where distances are not so great, I remind myself that it is difficult for us to understand that Kansas City is somewhere about the center of the United States. In the hope of getting a better measure of the nation as a whole, we have come.

We particularly welcome to our meetings not only the citizens of Kansas City, but those who have come from west and south of Kansas City. We hope this conference may be of some real value in encouraging and forwarding the marked progress that is being made throughout the Southwest. We earnestly trust that those who have never attended this Conference before will feel that this session is in a special sense theirs. We hope very earnestly that they will raise questions and enter into the discussions. The National Conference of Social Work, which for so many years was called the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and which is now coming to its forty-fifth anniversary, has always had a great tradition of freedom of expression. In this way, it has registered each year a new landmark of vital progress of the great field of social service and unofficial statesmanship which it represents.

### CLOSING EXERCISES

The final feature of the Kansas City Conference was a membership luncheon. This occurred on Wednesday, May 22. The occasion was unique in the recent history of the Conference. In spite of inclement weather about three hundred delegates attended, almost entirely from out of town. A splendid spirit of fellowship was manifested.

The program that followed, with the exception of simple business transactions covered in the minutes, was entirely informal. After a brief introductory address, President Woods called upon various members to speak. The following transcription consists only of extracts intended to show the general trend of discussion.

1. *Dr. Hastings H. Hart*, New York: It has been my privilege for thirty-five years to be connected with the National Conference. I have seen its wonderful evolution from a little group of three or four hundred members. I remember when we went to Washington for our meeting in 1885 we had a membership of about four hundred. I have seen it encounter and overcome many difficulties. The original tradition of this Conference was not to elect as president anyone who was not a member or a secretary of a state board of charities. One of our leading members once said that when the Conference ceased to be controlled by the state boards of charities, its usefulness would be ended.

When the Conference decided to have a general secretary in 1894, it was twenty-one years old. I was selected as the first incumbent at the liberal salary of five hundred dollars per year, and I put in fifteen hundred dollars' worth of service each year for seven years. That was the transition period. The next year the tradition as to eligibility was broken and Robert Treat Paine, a charity organization society man, was put in as president, and there was a great deal of anxiety at the introduction of these foreign elements into the Conference, which were surely going to overthrow the whole tradition of the Conference,—these Charity Organization Society workers, and especially these settlement workers, were very dangerous, very radical, and as for this

newer generation that now comes to discuss housing, and taxation, and the I. W. W., that would have been sufficient cause in those days to call in the police. During that seven years we steered a cautious and devious course between the old traditions that were so precious and the newer ideas that had to come if this Conference was to fulfill its destiny.

Well, the Conference still survives. There are certain traditions that even now need to be preserved. The first is that it is a *conference*. I view with some anxiety the feeling of some of our members, that it is absolutely necessary for them to adopt a platform and announce it to the world in order that this Conference may accomplish its mission. I observe that some people in this meeting have spent hours in debating the points which they are going to put into a platform. The good old tradition is that this is a *conference*, a free platform where everybody who is respectable shall have opportunity to say what he likes, standing only upon his own authority, and the Conference not assuming any responsibility for his statements. This Conference has always held debate and published its *Proceedings*. You ask for them in any great library and you will find the librarian perfectly familiar with them.

The best part of the Conference is the personal contact with the real, live people that are meeting annually and solving the same life problems that are yours. I wish that I had time to say something about the great men of this Conference. There were great leaders among us in the early days, men like Sanborn, Wines, Elmore, Brinckerhoff, Letchworth, Byers, Hoyt, and the other great men who did the foundation work of the Conference, and to whom we owe a great debt which we scarcely realize. There are great figures among us now, doubtless, and little by little we shall come to realize their significance.

If we are to succeed in social work the most important thing is that we shall maintain the teachable spirit; and the other need is the spirit of humanity, the human touch, so that we shall realize we are dealing with souls and not merely with cases.

2. *A. M. McDonald*, Edmonton, Alta.: We have great reason as Canadian delegates to express our appreciation of the hearty way in which we have been received into your membership and into your gatherings. I have wondered during the week whether it would be possible for an equal number of Americans to be present in a Canadian city and hear as little—practically nothing—that would grate upon national sentiment as we have heard since we came to Kansas City a week ago. Perhaps you will be interested in knowing what impressions a Canadian delegate will carry back with him from this Conference. Some of them are deep and lasting. First, we think of our unity. A year ago at Pittsburgh some delegates discussed the question of the advisability of the Canadian social workers forgetting our national Conference in Social Welfare and becoming simply a part of this Conference. A majority said "No, we want to be an integral part of the Conference here, but we cannot forget our own national conference." I think it would have been a grievous error if we had made the least suggestion of separating ourselves from you. You have a great body of social workers such as we cannot have for some years to come. We find your problems are our problems. In fact, you are much like us. We are stimulated by what you do. Your utterances are an inspiration to us.

There are some things, possibly, in Canada that might at least appeal to the imagination of the social workers in the United States. In Manitoba, for instance, we have the best drafted and worked out Mothers' Assistance bill that there is on this continent. We have in one of the western provinces perhaps the best factory law, or at least one that gives the best protection to women and children that I have been able to find out about anywhere on the American continent. In that province no woman or child is allowed to work in factory, store, restaurant, or kindred occupation for less than ten dollars a

week. We are trying to follow the suggestions that you give us from time to time.

If the United States is passing through a period of history that marks an epoch, Canada is facing another. You will understand me when I say that Canada is now further into the war than are you. We have been in it about four years,—just four times as long as you have been. We could not have anticipated three years ago what four years of war would mean. \* \* \* When you have been through you will know what we think, we social workers, have to do in reconstruction work. It is a tremendous task.

I have gained the impression while at this conference that you feel that the leaders in your various institutions should learn the lessons taught by this war, among them that your boys should have military training, and last but not least, as one speaker said, they should be thoroughly American boys. He was right. I should say the same in Canada, except that I should say "thoroughly Canadian boys." But is that all? Lloyd George has said that we are building a bridge into a new world in which open discussion shall take the place of intrigue, friendliness revived shall take the place of the artificial barriers that have existed between the nations in the past, in which good will shall take the place of hate and jealousy. I wonder how such a new world shall be built up,—by making Americans only? And by making Canadians only? We social workers, in my estimation, should keep this ideal—that it will be a new world only as we are able to inoculate the new world citizens with the idea of international good will and peace and brotherhood.

3. *Miss Gertrude Vaile, Denver*: Never before, certainly not in modern times, has there been a time when everything we are thinking and doing is being tested as never before have we tested the foundation of things. Political and industrial ideals are being changed. Ideals of social life and relationships are being called into question, and certainly the ideals of spiritual truth, of our religious life, are all in question. We are testing things by realities. Conventionalities are falling away. We want to know what is true, what is real, and what are the things we need. Certainly the Conference, where we can exchange ideas on all these subjects, is of primary importance if the war is going to be decided right in the end.

4. *Mrs. Hugh C. Ward, Kansas City*: Kansas City has derived great benefit and inspiration from the presence of these splendid social workers in our midst. It was an education in itself to prepare for these meetings and for your entertainment. We have great civic pride in this mid-western city, and I am afraid we expected more admiration or commendation for our attainments than we deserved. You have put us on the defensive, because you have intelligently understood and investigated our weak points. But we thank you for your spirit of investigation that has been on duty day and night, and for your frank expressions of criticism.

We realize the importance of social work in these war times; we are told every day that we are fighting this war with two armies; first: the fighting forces, the army and navy; second, the army behind the lines, the army at home. Of this last, the social workers are and must be the leaders. And, if we were compelled to go into this war without having our military forces prepared, it is encouraging to think that we are not unprepared to carry on the work of the second army, the army at home, because for many years we have had trained social workers who have studied and are familiar with our social forces and problems.

5. *Mrs. Edith Shatto King, New York*: I should like to make an appeal for a real study of the question of the distribution of trained workers in social service at this time. Let every well organized social agency think over its force, let the superintendent consider whether he can spare one worker who is needed in some new service that must be given to a com-

munity that perhaps has not known what social work was before. I want to ask that everyone who can spare a trained worker will let us know about him or her, in order that we may perhaps suggest where that worker can be of perhaps greater usefulness than at present. I should like to see a real distribution of the trained service of the country, so that everybody might get proper direction from the people who have thought out what real professional service is at this time.

5. *Alfred Fairbank*, St. Louis: We thank you for the example you have given to the West. Realizing that you have helped us, we go back to our toil resolved to do our especial jobs the best we can in order that the sum total of the social work of the country may be carried forward to a successful conclusion.

6. *Lawson Purdy*, New York: I have been greatly interested and pleased that the response of the audience to radical utterances at various sessions has been hearty and prompt. I have been disappointed that in all the many useful discussions and the many learned and very helpful papers there has not been a little more attention devoted to those studies from which we might hope that poverty would be abolished.

7. *Jeffrey R. Brackett*, Boston: This Conference session, in these times of renewals or of new movements, has certainly emphasized three thoughts. The first is that the larger things, opportunities for more health, recreation, educational vocation, and spiritual development, must ever be kept foremost in our work. The second thought, a corollary to the first, is that we are to practice a larger psychology in our contacts with human beings in distress of any form. Too often, too many of us in the past have hindered our usefulness by a lack of the spirit of real adventure for usefulness. This Conference has certainly emphasized also our recognition that these ways of social work, expressed in these two thoughts, are not separate ways but that they widen into one broad highway, where side by side, with mutual helpfulness, go those who are aiming primarily to deal with individuals and those who aim primarily to improve general conditions.

8. *Mrs. E. T. Brigham*, the secretary of the Kansas City Committee on Arrangements, and *William T. Cross*, general secretary of the National Conference, made brief addresses.

9. *President Woods*: On behalf of those of us who come from the northern and eastern sections of the country, let me say how greatly we have enjoyed meeting the representatives of the great Southwest. One of the objects of the Conference in coming to Kansas City was not only that the Conference members might have the satisfaction of learning about many things achieved in Kansas City, but that we might have the opportunity of coming into acquaintance and friendly fellowship with those who in the sections of the country beyond Kansas City are beginning to come into the privileges of social work. We have met many of these men and women and hope they will feel permanently attached to the Conference, and will conspire among themselves and their associates at home to see this attachment kept up wherever the Conference may meet, so that whatever happens in the future the Conference will feel it is having effective representation from this great southwest section of the country.

We are all sorry that our new president, Miss Lathrop, is not here to participate in the formal ceremony of receiving the gavel. Miss Julia Lathrop is the settlement worker who has been known in the National Conference longer than any other. She was the first of our settlement people to be broad enough to see the meaning, the whole range of the work of the National Conference. She was the first to master, not only the principles of charity organization, but the principles of state board work. She has been continu-



ously the vital link between the interests of the National Conference and the settlement forces, until now it seems inevitable that the settlement workers should feel themselves a part of the Conference. This is but one of many reasons why the Conference should be particularly grateful and loyal to Miss Lathrop. She is doing a great piece of work, and we do not want to add to her burdens. We all want to help her in assuming this additional responsibility and make it a reinforcement to the historic national service she is rendering in laying the foundations for the sound life and work of the coming generation in the great reconstruction period.

10. *LeRoy A. Halbert*, First Vice-President elect, Kansas City: Mr. Woods has claimed Miss Lathrop as a representative of the social settlements in the position she holds, but I was thinking that she was the representative of the public officials, and that as the head of a great national department she was magnifying the office of the public official. I hope her term of office will be one in which there will be a modification in sentiment with regard to social work in a public office. We have come to the time when there is going to be a great extension of work of the government in social service, and we should rejoice in the future extension of it. We should be glad that we have greater responsibilities and the authority with which to meet these great questions. If it be true that there are great problems connected with making this government service efficient, instead of shying away we should face them courageously, with the intention of solving them.

### SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN

*The Hon. I. Tago, Director of Social Welfare of Japan*

Upon being introduced to the Conference at the evening session, May 16th, said:

It is really a special privilege and my happy opportunity for me to be here with you and to be introduced by the president of this great association, and to make acquaintance with so many prominent social workers not only from all over this country, but also from Canada and other parts of the world.

I came to this country just two months ago, being sent by the Japanese government to see the activities of social workers in this country. I visited San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles and Chicago, where I was so cordially welcomed that words fail me to express my sincere thanks, by so many eminent social workers that I can not enumerate their names here.

As to the social work in our country, Japan, I wish to mention just a few things; namely, we have in Japan one association of our social workers, of which the first convention was held last fall in Tokio, where we had more than 800 delegates together from all parts of our country, and we welcomed American women and men in that convention.

Since 1908 our government conducts every year a special course for social workers and gives lectures for their education in social betterment. Last year the bureau of social welfare was separated from the prefectural bureau of the Home Department of our government, and was enlarged extensively.

In Japan there are many institutions for delinquent, dependent and



defective children. Fifty-seven schools for delinquent children are supported by local communities. All other institutions for dependent and defective children are supported partly by public expenditure, partly by private contributions.

Though there are, also, many day nurseries, free hospitals, free lodging houses, playgrounds, the Big Brother's movement and employment bureaus, we have still much to be desired in those institutions, for they are really not so complete as in this country.

America is, indeed, the most wonderful nation in the world. There are, certainly, many things which have impressed me deeply since my arrival at San Francisco. I wish to mention here only those which particularly interested me, namely, first, *women's activity in social work*. American women are doing their best as the queens of their families—the fundamental elements of society; but also they are doing most splendid social work. Second, *national prohibition of liquor*. Since the amendment of the federal constitution passed Congress last year, more than 36 states are willingly ratifying this amendment to the constitution. It is expected that America—the largest and most wealthy nation in the world—will become, as you say, *bone-dry* in the near future. Most men seem to be fond of drinking by nature, but American gentlemen are abstaining—really a hard task, but it is most splendidly done. This is as noteworthy and creditable as is women's work for social welfare.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, again for your cordial welcome and courtesy, and for many facilities which you are giving me for my investigations in his country. *I wish you also great success in your work for human welfare throughout the world, and for the safety of Democracy.*

#### HEALTH AND SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN\*

*Matsujiro Takenouchi, M. D., Assistant Professor of Medicine, Imperial University, Tokio, Japan*

It is a special privilege to be here with you and to speak for a few minutes about the social condition in Japan. Some ladies and gentlemen have asked me: "What is the program of social work in Japan?" "How about sanitary conditions in Japan?" Another gentleman asked me last Friday at the Municipal Farm of this city: "Is there, in Japan, any such system of taking care of criminals or prisoners as in this country?" Most of those questions which have been asked us here can be answered equally in the affirmative. In answering those questions, we are convinced that some of you are only slightly familiar with the true condition of our country. I am not speaking of average American people. We are aware that a thorough understanding of every nation's condition *mutually* is a vital necessity for international good will.

I have asked myself why our true condition, either material or

\*Address given before the Division on Health, May 20, 1918.

intellectual, moral or social, is so hard to be understood by foreign people—not only by the American people but also by those of other nations. I think the only cause is that our own language is too hard to be learned by foreigners. Many reports of all kinds—from our government or from any of our institutions; many valuable scientific data—political, educational, sociological, written in the Japanese language, are almost entirely neglected by foreigners simply because the Japanese language is too hard for foreigners to learn.

There are many things in Japan which ought to be understood by foreign people. For instance, in my special line of study, bacteriology, Japanese investigators have contributed several great discoveries (as in pathogenic bacteria and parasites and in treatments of some diseases, which I believe are of great importance for human welfare). These are very little known by foreign people. Furthermore, some American people are not familiar, it seems to me, with the system of public education in Japan; some of them seem not to be familiar with the system and program of our social workers in Japan, of which Mr. Tago, Director of the Bureau of Social Welfare in the Home Department of the Japanese government, spoke on Thursday.

I believe that I can say truthfully that practically all of the so-called "movements" which the chairman of the Children's Division, Mr. Thruston, enumerated last Friday evening in the general session, have been already considered and discussed keenly in our country. Since 1908 our government has been conducting every year a special course for social workers, with lectures for their education in social betterment. Our government tries also to secure all available reports and information regarding those problems from all over the world, sending many specialists to every country in the world, and tries to make use of those data for improving social conditions, for promotion of happiness of human races.

We have made examinations covering a long period of years, concerning the health of our school children, not only in the public schools, but also in higher schools and even in universities, with uniform schedules for the entire country. As to the care of delinquent, dependent and defective children and child welfare in general, which you are discussing so keenly in the Conference, we are practicing principles under a definite program. We are also discussing the problems of the care of criminals, or men and women offenders, with just as great enthusiasm as you are.

As to sanitary conditions in Japan I wish to mention here just a few facts. We have a fairly safe water supply system in every large city; for instance, we have in many cities slow sand filtration plants large enough to provide the citizens of each city with perfectly pure water. We have many hygienic laboratories in every prefecture, properly equipped to make any microscopical examination and biological experiments. We have an adequate quarantine station in every harbor

which is connected directly or indirectly by water with many countries and islands. We have been for many years vaccinating our people, not only against smallpox, but also against typhoid and other diseases, of which Dr. Pierce spoke last Friday. We are also working effectively toward the control of venereal diseases and tuberculosis.

In other words, almost all programs and problems which you are discussing here in this Conference, except the Negro and immigration problems, have been discussed in Japan with the same enthusiasm and keenness. Most of the social problems are common to every nation, it seems to me. American social workers seem to be federating some social agencies and interests. I should like to ask, *Why not internationalize social and philanthropic programs, for the sake of the human race, for the benefit of human beings throughout the world?*

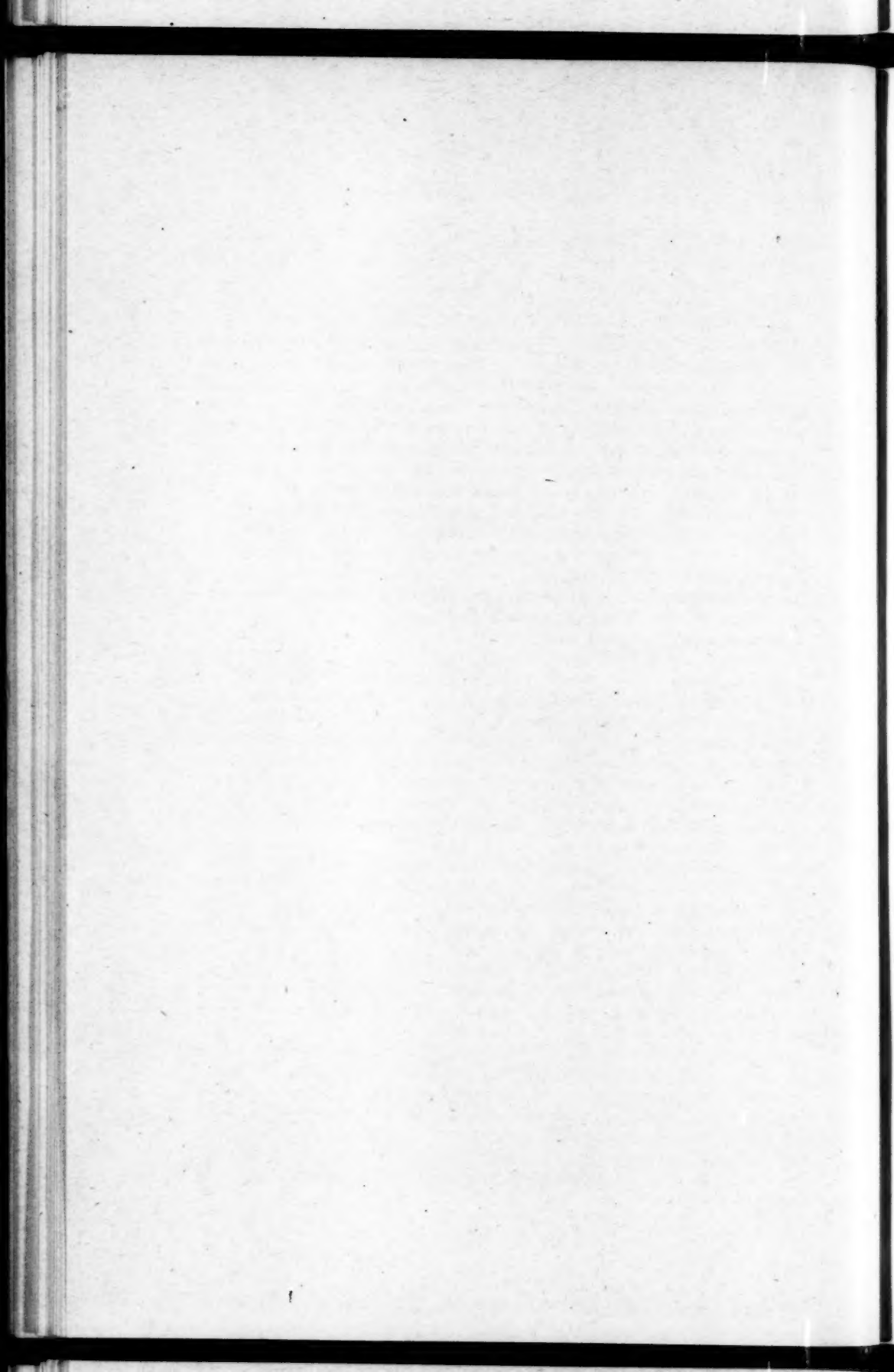
I believe you would be glad to hear of the real progress which our nation has made in improving sanitary and other social conditions in Japan since the door was opened by the American people, you remember, just sixty-five years ago. Really, we have made a little progress in every respect. *Much of our progress in civilization is due to the inspiration of the American people. Every one of us can thoroughly appreciate it.*

In this connection I should like to express my sincere desire to have you come to our country, not only in acknowledgement of the fact that the door of Japan was effectively opened by American people, but also to open some small doors, which, I believe, are still remaining entirely shut to the latest and best suggestions. You, ladies and gentlemen, are so energetic, materially and intellectually, that you have no trouble at all to come over to Japan, to open the remaining doors, to help us in human welfare work, to promote the moral and social standard of all human races, by making co-operation in so-called international social work.

You can go through Japan with your own language and can make any investigation in social conditions without any trouble at all, because educated Japanese people can understand at least one or two foreign languages. They understand and speak, if not perfectly, the English language.

*Everything that one nation obtains by only reading or hearing should be compared with the exact results of actual observation and scientific investigation in other nations. Traveling is the laboratory work of sociology—practical as well as theoretical.*

Come and observe the actual condition in Japan—in the Japan of today. We shall be very much pleased to welcome you, as international social workers, to our country. *There is no danger—neither in the water nor in the air—in the Pacific Ocean.* Come right away, if you please, this month, this year, and help us by co-operation to promote human happiness by adequate programs of international sociology. There are some things more worth while in Japan for sociological investigation than the cherry blossoms.



**I.**  
**CHILDREN**



## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-18

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School of Philanthropy, New York.

### *Vice Chairman*

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Ralph Barrows.....Birmingham	Rev. Michael J. Scanlan.....Boston
I. A. Brown.....Indianapolis	Carrie Weaver Smith, M. D.....
Frederic P. Cabot.....Boston	.....Gainesville, Tex.
A. Madorah Donahue.....Baltimore	Elsa Uelan.....Philadelphia
Solomon Lowenstein, M. D.....New York	Florence van Sickler.....St. Louis
Lilburn G. Merrill, M. D.....Seattle	Mrs. Benjamin West.....Memphis
Rev. W. A. O'Donnell.....Philadelphia	C. V. Williams.....Columbus, O.
L. O. Patterson.....Greenville, S. C.	Helen T. Woolley, Ph.D.....Cincinnati

## TRANSACTIONS

At a meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, two hundred and fifty delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as appointed at the 1917 conference at Pittsburgh, is shown on the opposite page. Ten meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 11 a. m., "The Children's Year and After" . . . . .	62
May 17, 8:15 p. m., "The Development of Work for Children, and the Present Opportunity" (general session) . . . .	47
May 18, 9:15 a. m., "A Community Recreation Program for Juveniles" . . . . .	65
May 18, 11 a. m., "The National Problem of Malnutrition Among Children of School Age" . . . . .	68
May 18, 12:45 p. m., "Inter-relations of the School and Social Work" . . . . .	82
May 20, 9:15 a. m., "Minimum Standards of Child Protection and Home Care" . . . . .	82
May 20, 11 a. m., "Social Work in Rural Communities" . . . .	83
May 21, 9:15 a. m., "The Problem of the Unmarried Mother and Her Child" . . . . .	91
May 22, 11 a. m., "Physical and Mental Diagnosis of School Children" . . . . .	109

The two meetings on May 20th were joint sessions with the National Probation Association.

On May 16th, at 12:45, the Division met at luncheon. At 1:45 a business session was held, the chairman being Henry W. Thurston, of New York, and the secretary, C. C. Carstens, of Boston.

The business of selecting the Division Committee for the ensuing year was introduced.

On motion of F. H. Nibecker of Pennsylvania it was voted that the Division proceed to the election of two-thirds of the previous membership.

On motion of H. H. Hart of New York it was voted that the committee consist of 21 and that the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary be included in the membership.

On motion of Arthur W. Towne of Brooklyn it was voted that five members be chosen as a nominating committee to nominate 21 members of the Division Committee, two-thirds of them being from the present membership.

On motion of Otto W. Davis of Minneapolis it was voted that the chairman and vice-chairman be designated from the Division Committee.

The chairman then announced the Committee on Nominations, as follows: Arthur W. Towne, Chairman; Florence Van Sickler, St. Louis; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa; Father O'Neill, Rochester, N. Y.

A second business session of the Division was held on May 18th, at 12:45 p. m., Mr. Thurston presiding.

The report of the Committee on Nominations as made by Mr. Towne, chairman, was adopted, resulting in the selection of the Division Committee as listed in Part B, Sec. 3, appendix of this volume.

(Signed) HENRY W. THURSTON, Chairman.  
C. C. CARSTENS, Secretary.

## A PLAN FOR CONTINUITY OF ACTIVITY FOR THE DIVISION ON CHILDREN, OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE •

*Committee Report, by the Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York  
School of Philanthropy*

This is the first year in which the Committee on Children has been created with the prospect of a continuing membership. By the new rules of organization at least two-thirds of the committee will hold over from year to year. It is possible also and desirable that the same secretary may be continued for several years. The opportunity is therefore now offered to begin a series of programs with some historical perspective that shall have some coherent plan of continuity during successive years.

Another reason for giving time perspective to the report of the committee for this year is the fact that twenty-five years have passed since, at Chicago in 1893, the Committee on Children presented to the National Conference a complete volume (XIII+320 pp.) entitled, "History of Child Saving in the United States." This volume included an introduction by the chairman of the committee and thirteen signed monographs. The titles and writers were:

- Introduction*, C. D. Randall, chairman.
- The Children's Aid Society of New York; Its History, Plans and Results*, Charles Loring Brace.
- Family Life vs. Institution Life*, Miss Sophie E. Minton.
- The Massachusetts System of Caring for State Minor Wards*, Mrs. Anne B. Richardson.
- Non-sectarian Endowed Child-saving Institutions*, Lyman P. Alden.
- The Kindergarten in Its Bearings Upon Crime, Pauperism and Insanity*, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper.
- Saving the Children; Sixteen Years' Work Among the Dependent Youth of Chicago*, Oscar L. Dudley.
- The History of Child-saving Work in Connecticut*, Mrs. Virginia T. Smith.
- Children's Homes in Ohio*, S. J. Hathaway.
- Child-Saving Work in Pennsylvania*, Homer Folks.
- The History of Child-saving Work in the State of New York*, William Pryor Letchworth.
- State Public Schools for Dependent and Neglected Children*, G. A. Merrill.
- Statement from the Trustees of the State Primary and Reform Schools of Massachusetts*, Mrs. Glendower Evans.
- The Catholic Protector of New York; Its Spirit and Its Workings from Its Origin to the Present.* (Appendix.)

It will be noted that all of these papers, except the one on the *kindergarten*, related to the care of dependent, neglected, defective or delinquent children. The chairman said of them:

The monographs in this volume have been prepared at the request of this committee. The writers are well known, and their ability to write on the several subjects treated by them will be conceded. p. vii.

There is no effort in the work to produce a continuous history of child saving in the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

We judge mainly by the greater movements in social history. In the history of child saving in this country, especially since the organization of this National Con-

ference, there have been certain prominent movements which have had much to do in determining methods in child saving. The object of this volume is to present some of these principal movements, and in a form where they can be, in outline, examined and contrasted. p. v.

The highest interests of the State and the future welfare of the children are deeply involved in the proper treatment of delinquent and dependent children. Being so convinced this committee has undertaken in this volume to call a more extended attention to the subject of child saving than could be given in a brief report in the convention, with the hope that this effort may lead to a more extended examination of different methods, to the end that the best system will become more an exact science than now. Allowing for the unlike conditions in the different States, there must be an ideal system, which, with modifications to suit conditions, will come to be accepted and adopted generally.

In a word, the most significant work for children in the United States during the first twenty years of the Conference, from 1873 to 1893, as seen and interpreted by the Committee on Children in 1893, had been to *save* fairly distinct classes or groups of *dependent, neglected and delinquent* children, and the goal in method most clearly held up before the eyes of the Conference was some co-ordinated, uniform *system of child saving* that could be adopted as a whole by every state.

#### *Contributions of the Nineteenth Century*

This statement of the child welfare situation from 1873 to 1893 may well be supplemented by a brief summary of the most important things that had been done for children during the whole Nineteenth Century. In brief these are:

1. The establishment and maintenance of separate institutions for the care of the separate classes or groups of handicapped children found at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century in mixed almshouses and jails, in inadequate homes and in the streets and alleys. For example:
  - (a) orphan asylums
  - (b) institutions for the blind
  - (c) institutions for the deaf
  - (d) institutions for the crippled
  - (e) institutions for the low grade feeble-minded
  - (f) institutions for the epileptic
  - (g) reformatories and industrial schools for delinquents.
2. The substitution of the beginnings of *placing-out* and *boarding-out* of dependent, neglected and delinquent children under supervision for the old indenture and apprenticeship of these children without supervision.
3. The beginnings of separate parts of our present juvenile court system in the form of
  - (a) probation
  - (b) separation of children from adults in court and under detention.
4. The establishment of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children.



5. The beginnings of compulsory school attendance.
6. The beginnings of child labor legislation.

In other words, the public or social work for children for a large part of the Nineteenth Century was chiefly confined to the separation from the community of class after class of the children who were specially afflicted by some outstanding handicap like homelessness, neglect, blindness, deafness, crippled bodies, imbecile minds, delinquency, etc. It was for these classes of needy children that the chairman of the children's committee in 1893 was seeking an ideal system that could be adopted by the states generally.

It was also these handicapped classes of children that the chairman of the children's committee in 1915, Mr. C. C. Carstens, had in mind when he prepared his masterly report for the Baltimore Conference on *A Community Plan in Children's Work*. These quotations from his introduction, entitled *An Outline of the Task*, show the trend of his thought at that time:

The diversity of race, of social interests and of political development, which is almost the most important feature to be noticed when we come to examine the political and social institutions of the United States, have led to a diversity in children's laws and children's institutions that is to the casual student and beginner in social work positively bewildering.

For these many years diversity of method has been the most noticeable factor in children's work in the various states, but long steps have been taken in the development of a national spirit, and our social institutions are beginning to feel an impetus leading them also to consider ways and means that are national in their form and scope if not federal in their scheme of organization.

In the development of children's work in the United States, it is the opinion of many who have been active in one or the other phase of the subject, that the time has come for giving shape to some general plan which shall have gathered together the successful experiences of various states and cities, shall weave them into a harmonious whole and make it possible for those who are working at the development of our various institutions in our newer communities, or who are interested in reshaping the children's institutions of the older States, to see what various forms of service it is necessary for communities to provide for the proper safeguarding of the children's interests.

But while the thought of Mr. Carstens was concerned primarily with the problem of a better co-ordinated system of care for the specially handicapped children whom he mentions farther on in his report, namely, dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children, his thought was also reaching out toward the whole problem of safeguarding "children's interests" in general. He shows this specifically by adding to the old classes of specially handicapped children already mentioned, further discussion of "infant care" and "medical inspection" in schools, both of which concern not merely *some* children, but *all* children.

At the Pittsburgh Conference in 1917 this forward reach of the thought of Mr. Carstens was developed further in his paper on *The Development of State Programs for Child Welfare*.

Once again it is the same familiar classes of specially handicapped children that the chairman of the children's committee at the Pittsburgh Conference of 1917, Mr. Wilfred S. Reynolds, had in mind when he proposed his suggestive *Plan for Co-ordinated Conferences on Child Welfare*. But to the four familiar classes of dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children as units for committees and Conference

discussion Mr. Reynolds adds *legal interests, health, education and labor*. He says: "About these eight groupings of subject matter the various interests of child welfare cluster."

He, too, is thinking primarily of the old never-to-be-finished job of caring for the old familiar group of the specially handicapped children; but his thought also goes beyond the old limitations in insisting further that to understand and prevent the causes of the handicaps of *some* children, and to guide ourselves in the treatment of children with these handicaps we must give attention to four other general factors that concern not only all the handicapped children but *all* children, namely, legal activities or processes affecting children, their health, their education and their labor.

Finally, it is largely to provide care for the old classes of handicapped children, that the Children's Code Committees of Ohio and Missouri and Minnesota and other states have deliberated, to devise state programs and children's codes.

Since 1893, also in addition to the handicapped classes that had received special attention before that time, at least three other classes of specially handicapped children have been singled out for renewed if not new attention and public care, namely:

1. Border line feeble minded children
2. The children of unmarried parents
3. Tubercular, anemic and underfed children.

The primary interest of humane people in the specially handicapped children for a hundred years has been only natural. For the next hundred years also it will be merely natural that all the old classes of specially handicapped children and all new classes of such that we may discover will make a strong appeal to the hearts and activities of socially minded people.

But all our controversies over methods will not end and all our efforts toward ideal and co-ordinated local, state, and national systems of care for these children will not fully succeed until we recognize two basic principles that the inherent facts of child nature and current child welfare efforts are trying their best to teach us, namely:

First: That we cannot really save and bring up aright the handicapped children until we learn how to bring to the individualized needs of each handicapped child all the essentials of welfare upon which children of normal opportunity thrive.

Second: That we cannot save and bring up aright the handicapped children in the individualized ways that they need without, at the same time, learning how to bring to all other children, in ways individualized according to their needs, the same essentials of child welfare.

In short, we cannot learn how to save and bring up the *specially handicapped* without at the same time finding out how to save and bring up aright *all* children.

### *Child Nature and Welfare Movements*

What then are some of the inherent facts of child nature and what are some of the current child welfare activities from which we must learn what both the handicapped and all other children need?

They are too many to be mentioned by name here, but as illustrations a few may be singled out. Most of them have sprung up since 1893, though some of them had their roots in the past and had begun to grow before that time. Many of these activities are significantly referred to in common speech not as *systems* but as *movements*. For example, notable among such movements are:

- The child labor movement
- The compulsory education movement
- The juvenile court and probation movement
- The infant welfare, or prevention of infant mortality, movement
- The medical examination of school children, and physical education movement
- The social hygiene movement
- The mental diagnosis and special school class movement
- The manual training and domestic science movement
- The vocational guidance movement
- The club and community center movement
- The recreation movement
- The Big Brother and Big Sister movement
- The Boy Scout and Girl Scout movement
- The Camp Fire Girl movement
- Christian Endeavor, Junior League and other religious movements
- The family-as-the-unit-of-social-work movement

Now what do all these movements mean? How are they to change the old institutions and agencies and systems of care for both the old and the newer classes of specially handicapped children? Whatever else they may mean, they surely mean this: that each great movement in behalf of children that has drawn to itself the thought and the work and the money of big-hearted and able men and women is concerned with a phase, or stage, or condition of child welfare that is of vital and permanent concern to all children, not merely to specially handicapped children. These movements mean that all the children hereafter, whether in their own homes or not, whether specially handicapped or not, must increasingly have the benefit of these movements.

For example, the infant welfare, the children's year, the physical diagnosis, the physical education, the social hygiene and the malnutrition movements each one separately and all together mean that the health of all children can in future be neglected by any institution or agency only at its own peril.

The recreation movement means that play is a sacred birthright of all children and can be taken from any child only by personal or community robbery.

The manual training movement, the vocational guidance movement, the mental diagnosis of school children movement and the child labor movement mean that to deprive a child of individualized and purposeful activity for useful ends is an educational blunder, and to stunt his body and mind with premature and exhausting and unsuitable toil is crime.

The probation movement, the Big Brother movement and the Big Sister movement mean that there is love enough in the world to go around so that every handicapped and lonely child can have his share. They mean that all custodians who fail to connect each child with a real lover must answer for it to the community.

The Boy and Girl Scout movements, the Camp Fire Girls movement and certain religious movements among the young mean that there is a spirit of service and of beauty and of aspiration to something higher than themselves in the young adolescent that if permitted and guided will lift children who are without handicaps and even crippled, blind, deaf, homeless and delinquent children toward a higher life and better citizenship.

These movements, taken as a whole, mean that there is a new spirit in the world that will champion the cause of all children whether specially handicapped or not. They mean that not only is there a minimum wage ideal in the world and a national minimum ideal in the British Labor Party, but there is a child welfare minimum ideal in our democracy that will make that democracy worth saving by insisting that every child must have his full human individualized chance. And of a necessity do these movements mean that all the children in the old familiar classes handicapped by homelessness, blindness, deafness, neglect, wayward tendencies—yes, even those handicapped by mental defect, are to have their full share in this national child welfare minimum.

In short, whatever else these manifold child welfare movements mean, they surely mean at least this much: that the child welfare minimum for every child must include *health, play, adjusted work, individualized education, love, beauty, and spiritual guidance.*

As was before stated, all of this is implicit in the nature and inherent needs of childhood and is also implicit in all that has been done for the specially handicapped throughout the past. We have persistently tried to care for actual children whose concrete bodily sufferings have been seen and felt most keenly. Our century long efforts to care for dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children have all the time implied the ideal of a child welfare minimum for *all* children; but we have been so busy trying to overcome separate and specific handicaps that we have not clearly seen the implication. For example, the orphan asylum implies that every child should have a real home. Special institutions for the deaf imply that all children need ears that can hear. Institutions for blind children emphasize the need of all children for good eyes. To protect children against neglect and cruelty implies that all children ought to have loving care and sympathetic discipline. To forbid persons



to employ children at exhaustive work for long hours implies that all children need constructive work conditions adjusted to their strength. To punish parents for keeping *some* children out of school implies that *all* children ought to have an education, etc.

During these last 25 years we have been coming more rapidly to a recognition of all these implications and that our task for each child is not merely to remove one handicap, but to give that child positively all the conditions of activity and growth that will help him to come to the maturity possible to him as a human being and to his possible usefulness as a citizen in the community.

#### *From Child Saving to Case Work*

Our progress through the century has been natural and orderly in spite of its slowness and many controversies. This progress has been symbolized by our changing emphasis in the use of terms. *Child Saving* had to yield a large place to *prevention*, and now both *child saving* and *prevention* are giving way to the larger and newer conception of *child welfare*. The steps of our progress have been these:

First: The handicaps of homelessness, cruelty, deafness, blindness, hunched backs, delinquency, imbecile minds, crushing labor, illiteracy and playless leisure have been most keenly felt, some by one group of people and some by another.

Second: As soon as each group got really into action to overcome a handicap of long standing, that group began to talk about prevention of that handicap in which they were most interested. We must help the children who are already blind of course, but why not prevent other children from becoming blind? So with homelessness, deafness, delinquency, feeble-mindedness and all the other handicaps. By seeking to save children from one handicap those workers became champions of prevention of the particular juvenile handicap that has stirred them to action.

Third: As soon as all the persons interested in different groups of handicapped children reach this stage of organized activity to prevent any child from suffering the particular handicap which has aroused them to action, an interesting period of controversy is ushered in. Up to this stage there may have been controversies within a group as to the best way to overcome or to prevent a particular handicap; for example, a fight between the manual alphabet and oral language teaching of the deaf; the contest between Moon type, English Braille, American Braille and New York Point as types for the blind; between a congregate and cottage type of orphan asylum; between orphan asylum and family care, etc.

But now the controversy broadens so that any group of people who seek to overcome or prevent one handicap by methods which, at least, by lack of emphasis or neglect, tend to the development of other kinds of handicap, finds a host of critics raised up against them. After this stage has been reached, so far as any institution or agency or system for the



deaf, blind, homeless, crippled or any other handicapped child neglects the health, work, love, play, education, beauty and moral needs of children so far must severe public condemnation be expected.

This is the stage of development in child welfare to which some of our progressive communities and states have already come. To this stage all communities and states must come. Every agency and institution and system of child saving must be tested to the bottom by the new standards of a child welfare minimum for every child. The method of this testing must be by the intelligent and consecrated use of *case work* for every handicapped child. In short, every institution and agency dealing with children must make haste in all humility and earnestness to learn and practice in the service of children, the method now known as *case work*, or openly confess inefficiency and failure. And not only those who are caring for the old classes of handicapped child must soon abide this test, but all others as well, who through schools, recreation and all other forms of work are serving as individuals children with more recently recognized forms of handicap. Already the Dewey philosophy of education and the first steps that have been taken in the physical and mental diagnosis of school children are leading to a revolution in education.

Perhaps the greatest lesson for us to learn from the century long story of child saving, prevention and child welfare is this: that there is and can be no one ideal system of care for children that leaves out the method of intelligent case work, for each child according to his individual needs and the best resources for care the community offers.

The long search for a co-ordinated system of child saving and the making of community plans for child welfare on a state and national scale must go on. We must achieve efficiency in service to all children as one of the greatest tasks laid upon a democratic people, but without case work the ideal of the chairman of the children's committee in 1893 will be but a dream. Without provision for case work all community plans in children's work, reports of children's code commissions, National Public Welfare Leagues and auxiliary committees of national and state councils of defense will fall short of securing for every child the full child welfare minimum that is each child's due.

There is no easy or cheap way to bring up children to potential maturity and anything less than this is a poor investment for the community and results in a dwarfed human personality.

We in America shall be slow to learn if this war does not teach us at least the social economy of investing heavily enough in each child handicapped and unhandicapped alike to bring him up to his potential level of mature physical, intellectual and social fruitage.

The community plans and the co-ordinated systems of child welfare must be so co-ordinated as to carry out an infinitely varied service for each individual child. Any other plan will prove to be mechanical and will defeat its own ends. Child welfare is not found at the end of any merely mechanical system.

*Recommendations of the Committee*

In view of the child welfare situation in the United States at this stage of its evolution, with due regard to its history, its present forms of organization and its inspiring goals; in view of the new opportunity for continuity of programs offered by the form of organization of the Division and that of the Conference, your committee makes these specific recommendations:

First. That without binding the committee in future so that due place may not be given from year to year to the greatest desirable variety of opportunist topics, it is wise at this time to initiate a minimum program of topics that should be carried out as parts of one whole during succeeding years.

Second. That this program should include discussion of at least three kinds.

A. Condensed, authoritative statements by committees of recognized leaders within each field, of the trend, status and minimum standards in respect to at least these forms of child welfare work:

I. *Work for Classes Long Recognised as Handicapped.*

1. Destitute and dependent children.
2. Physically defective children.
3. Mentally defective children.
4. Delinquent children.
5. Children of unmarried parents.
6. Children in need of protection from cruelty, neglect and improper standards of home care.

II. *Child Welfare Movements Based on Handicaps More Recently Recognised.*

1. The eugenic and infant welfare movement.
2. The malnutrition movement.
3. The physical diagnosis and physical education movement.
4. The child labor movement.
5. The manual training—vocational guidance and industrial adjustment movement.
6. The mental diagnosis and individualized education movement.
7. The recreation movement.
8. The social hygiene, social efficiency and moral education movements.

Taken together the discussions under A-I and A-II should form a group of historical and critical papers that sum up to date the main trend, status and outlook of actual child welfare achievement.

B. Authoritative discussion of the philosophy and interrelations of our basic and permanent institutions to child welfare work:

1. Philosophy of the family and its interrelations with child welfare work.
2. Philosophy of the school and its interrelations with child welfare work.
3. Philosophy of the state and its interrelations with child welfare work.
4. Philosophy of private initiative and its interrelations with child welfare work.
5. Philosophy of industry and its interrelations with child welfare work.
6. Philosophy of the church and its interrelations with child welfare work.

Taken together, these discussions should sum up the best thought to date concerning the fundamental principles on which child welfare work is based, what its goals are, and what the reciprocal relations of child welfare work and other forms of social work are.

C. Descriptive and interpretative discussions of the most significant current achievements in the technique of any phase of child welfare work in "A-I", "A-II" or "B-1-6".

Here is opportunity for the description and interpretation of actual open fighting or trench warfare in behalf of children by means of

- (a) case work
- (b) administrative efficiency and research
- (c) legislation
- (d) education of public opinion
- (e) co-ordination of effort, etc.

In a word, the committee proposes that the program should be perfectly free in the future as in the past to discuss under "C" all phases of each year's experience in child welfare. All these topics may thrill with the stories of current effort and achievement.

The committee urge, however, that it is the further duty of the Division on Children to help in a systematic way during a period of years to make the reports from the firing line under "C" more and more effective each year by the gradual and systematic consolidation of all the lines of the child welfare forces in accordance with the suggestions of "A-I", "A-II" and "B-1-6"; in other words, to make the front line fighting more effective by supporting it everywhere with adequate tactics and strategy.

It remains merely to point out that in the children's program for this year the committee has made a beginning in the directions above recommended.

For example, the chairmen of four committees make preliminary reports on topics under A, namely: Arthur W. Towne, Minimum Standards of Child Protection and Home Care; Miss H. Ida Curry, the Status of Social Work for Children in Rural Communities; Cheney C. Jones, the Problem of the Child of Unmarried Parents; Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Physical and Mental Diagnosis of School Children.

As to the discussion of a topic under B it was originally planned to have *The Philosophy of the School and Its Interrelations with Child Welfare Work* the feature of the general session. It is still hoped that discussions at luncheon on Saturday, May 19, may prove to be introductory to adequate plans for such a discussion another year.

The other topics are specifically of the sort suggested under "C", and are all reports from the front line of child welfare work. The committee believes they are all worth while on their own account and also as data for the more inclusive and summarized discussions recommended under "A".

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### UNIVERSAL PHYSICAL EDUCATION

*Willard S. Small, Specialist in School Hygiene, United States Bureau of Education, Washington*

I find it difficult at this time to think or speak of physical education without relating it most intimately to the war in which we are engaged.

The Secretary of War recently asked for an appropriation of \$12,000,000,000 to carry on the war for the ensuing year. In the same hearing he declined to set any limit to the number of men that would be needed in the effective use of that \$12,000,000,000. Conservative estimates, very conservative, I judge, of the length of the war, vary from three to five years. The most dangerous person in the United States today is not the German spy, is not the pacifist, is not the slacker. The most dangerous person in the United States today is the facile optimist who thinks that somehow a miracle is to be performed to save us from the effort that others know we must put forth in order to win the war.

We are engaged in a life and death struggle, in a struggle as old as history, as old as the human race. Fundamentally it is a struggle between two absolutely irreconcilable theories of life and all that life implies. It is the old, old struggle between slavery and liberty, between fatalism and freedom. In this most modern form it is the struggle on the one hand between slavery and fatalism incarnated in a political system that holds that men must be governed by self-selected hereditary powers; and on the other hand, liberty and freedom incarnated in a political system that holds that men can govern themselves through self-determined action. There can be no reconciliation between these two polar opposites. One or the other of these systems must prove itself the stronger.

There is but one meaning to this—it is to be a long war. We must plan for next year, and the next, and the next. The war will ultimately be won by the side having the greatest resources of human power. Flaunting posters tell us that "food will win the war" and "money will win the war" and "ships will win the war." All true, but only as food is transformed into human power; and only as money is transformed into the instruments of war for the use of human power; and only as ships transport human power and these instruments to the scene of war. Our allies and we ourselves are fond of referring to our "unlimited resources." We cannot too soon correct this error. Our resources are very great, but they are not unlimited. The winning of this war will tax to the utmost our resources of human power—man and woman power—brain and muscle power. England has three quarters of a million women in munition works; France, a half million. Who can say how soon we may have a million?

#### *Revelations of the Draft*

The statistics of rejection for physical unfitness in the first draft are an impressive reminder of one limitation of our human resources. The figures show that approximately 35 per cent of the men examined were rejected. It would be easy to exaggerate the significance of these figures. They have been exploited uncritically as indicating progressive physical degeneration of the nation. This jumping conclusion is entirely unwarranted. As the Provost Marshal General points out in his report for



1917 the physical condition of the nation as revealed by these draft examination figures is probably better than was the physical condition of the nation at the time of our Civil War. Further, many of the rejections are on account of undersize and defective vision—neither of which causes argues any general physical unfitness. The important question in this connection is not the exact percentage of rejections, but what percentage of rejections are on account of remediable defects.

No analysis of draft figures has yet been made that warrants a clear answer to that question. From the analysis of a limited number of figures, however, and from what we know of the nature of physical defects of school children, I estimate that the rejections from remediable defect are somewhere between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of the total rejections for physical defect; and I believe it is nearer 40 per cent than 30 per cent. If 35 per cent are rejected, then 350,000 out of every million are rejected; if 40 per cent of these rejections are for remediable defects, then about 140,000 out of every million are lost to military service because we as a nation have failed to do our social duty; for it is obvious that all such defective conditions could have been remedied by an adequate system of physical education of school children—a system that centers itself in sufficient and scientifically directed physical activity but includes as essential conditions periodic physical examination, corrective work, supervision of health conditions in the equipment and management of schools, and development of habits and ideals of healthful living. Even now, when the exigencies of the war are draining off our physicians and nurses and physical education experts for direct military service, this great task of prevention and promotion of our human power through physical education of children of school age challenges us.

#### *Immediate Measures of Reform*

The present emergency demands careful distinction of projects that may be immediately attained from those that will require time, study, and extensive readjustments.

As measures that can be put into effect at once in many communities, the three following are of great practical moment and are closely related.

#### I

Intensive physical education in the high schools.

It may be excusable that it was left to the first draft to discover the 34 per cent of physical incompetence in the male population between 21 and 30 years of age. At any rate, that water has gone over the dam. It may be excusable if it is left to the draft machinery for the next two years to discover the physical incompetence of the boys now 19 and 20 years of age who annually will be taken up by the draft. It may be that it is excusable for these two years to lay upon the over-burdened army machinery the task not only of discovering defects, but also the heavier



tasks of repairing defects and of giving that elementary physical conditioning without which military training is impossible; but I submit that it is the wisdom of the fool to stand idly watching the splendid procession of boys of high school age marching by to the terrible and searching realities of the next few years and take no steps to prepare them for the test.

Under the revised regulations of the Provost Marshal General, there is a fourfold physical classification of drafted men. Class I consists of men who are free from incapacitating physical defects and are fit for immediate service. Class II consists of men unfit for immediate service by reason of remediable physical defect.

There are approximately 5,000,000 boys of high school age. Of these, there were enrolled in secondary schools in 1916 730,000, or approximately 15 per cent. These are the selected group. These boys now in high school will play an active and vital part in the war; on the battlefield, on the seas, in munition works, in ship yards, in scientific research—in all military, semi-military, industrial and civil services. It is of the highest importance to develop to its fullest capacity this potential man power.

There should be no high school graduates in Class II. After the present year no high school should permit a diploma to be conferred upon any boy with a remediable defect. It is practicable and feasible; it involves only two things—the examination of all high school boys, and insistence by the school authorities and those who back the school authorities upon the fullest physical fitness possible for the individual as a condition to graduation.

The same program can and should be put into effect for girls. Wouldn't it be a blessed thing if it could—if those poor little girls toddling about on their stilted shoes, powdering their noses and painting their faces in the mistaken idea that cosmetics, as one of them told me, "is something ladies put on to be pretty"—if somehow it could be gotten into the heads and hearts and arms and legs of those girls that beauty and grace come from inside out and are not something that is pasted from the outside on? But this would reach only about one-tenth of the population of high school age, of that army of boys and girls who are coming up to serve their country, if the war lasts, in its most vital need.

This is a selected tenth. The program should be extended to boys and girls of high school age in industry. An iridescent dream, you say? That all depends upon you—the American people—whether it is an iridescent dream or a practical matter. It can be done. I suspect it is more important, vastly so, to make war upon the neglect of the physical welfare of our boys and girls than it is to make war upon the German language. Mind you, I hold no brief for teaching of the German language, because I am fully convinced, and have been convinced for years that most of the modern language teaching in our high schools in the last twenty-five years has been utterly futile—the method and purpose

of teaching German must be revolutionized—but if I were going to be a soldier, especially an officer, in the trenches and had to pit my wits against the wits of the enemy, I believe I would like to know the German language.

## II

The second point of attack is the pupils leaving the elementary schools. There should be established immediately the requirement that all pupils leaving the elementary schools either by graduation or to go to work should be subjected to a physical examination, and further, that only those found physically fit for specific occupations should be permitted to enter those occupations. If that requirement is not adopted and put into effect we are going to have, instead of an upbuilding of our physical strength, a weakening of it. This measure would guarantee the detection of physical incapacity in most of the children under high school age seven years before they are wanted for army purposes.

## III

The third point of attack is adequate, systematic supervision of the physical health of all children in the elementary schools. The first step towards that is the examination of all children upon entrance to the elementary schools. In the majority of cases defective conditions may be detected then. Then, there should be examination of the children while they are in the elementary schools. Few communities in the United States provide this service. There are few cities where medical examination is thorough-going and effective. The development of machinery for this service will be a matter of time. But mere examination is only a negative matter. Unless we have a constructive program it is worthless. The existence of the human organism depends roughly upon three conditions—fuel (food), air and exercise. In the human engine the combination of fuel and air is directly effected by physical exercise. These three things, then—food, air and physical exercise—must be secured to children in proper proportions if normal development is to be expected. Any plan of physical education that magnifies one of these to the neglect of the others is partial and to that extent ineffective.

### *National Policy Required*

But, if there is to be such a thing as universal physical education, it must be conceived and executed as a national policy.

The aim and purpose of physical education should be more fully and thoroughly to prepare the boys and girls of the nation for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship through the development of vigor and muscular strength and skill, bodily and mental poise, and such desirable moral and social qualities as self-control, self-subordination, obedience to authority, co-operation under leadership and the exercise of disciplined initiative; further, through physical examination and the correction of

postural and other remediable defects, through the promotion of hygienic school buildings, playgrounds, and athletic fields. That is the purpose of the state laws that have already been enacted. Eight such laws of greater or less force and effectiveness have been enacted, but the big problem is how to get universal physical education—how to get it in all communities, in all states throughout the nation. Weakness in the state or local community is a national weakness.

The draft record shows striking differences between the physical strength of our states. For instance, one state shows 85 per cent of its registrants are physically fit; in another the showing is 56 per cent only. It happens that these two states are practically of the same size. Relatively, one of these states is a much greater national asset than the other. As between the two largest states, there is a difference of about 16 per cent. Is it, or is it not, a problem of national importance? We must guard against the danger of assuming that an adequate and effective national law would entirely eliminate such disparities between the states. But there is no exaggeration in the assumption that an adequate national system of physical education would significantly reduce such disparities. A state matter, you say? Well, of course it is. But what are you going to do if one state, after thorough investigation of the matter, is content with an intelligent and satisfactory understanding of it, and does nothing? What are you going to do if in one state the economic ability is only one-tenth that of another state? What are you going to do if in one state the ratio of the child population to the productive adult population is one-third that of another state? There is only one way of equalizing these disparities and inequalities, and that is by federal aid and a measure of federal control.

The principle of grants from the central government to the local units is about as old as Anglo-Saxon law. It is at least 600 years old in England, and it is not a new thing in this country. The land-grant college is one phase of it. The new Smith-Hughes law for vocational education is another phase of it. The developing tendency is to make these subsidies by the federal government to the state on one basis only, namely: that they are given by the federal government on condition that the state at least duplicates them and fulfills certain conditions that are uniform in all states. That is the basis, I am fully persuaded, upon which we are to federalize physical education in the broad sense in which I have defined it and as it is defined more or less fully in some of the state laws already enacted.

#### *Physical Needs Dominant*

I find I am becoming a thief of time and that I must round up very quickly what I have to say on this subject. Let me steal a minute more to say that physical education, if it ever means anything to us, must be interpreted in its broad sense. It must not be understood in the old sense of physical "culture" and "training," which is corrective, but

not developmental. The fact of the case is that physical education has to do with physical activity, and physical activity is the very fundamental thing in human development. Before we get through with this we may have to turn some of our values upside down. In education we may come to recognize that physical and spiritual and moral efficiency which comes with true development of physical powers has more importance than grammar, or any other thing. Did you ever stop to think of the contrast between the life of the child the day before he enters school and the day after? If so, you have realized that the day before the child enters school about eight hours of his twelve or thirteen waking hours are given over to muscular activity. At least five or six are given to very energetic exercise of the big muscles, and at least two or three hours of the rest of the eight hours are devoted to manual occupations not requiring very fine adjustments. The day after he enters school there is a complete reversal of things, and only by being a "bad boy," I am afraid, will the child secure to himself those eight hours of energetic muscular activity.

We cannot too soon undertake the program of nationalism. No effort should be spared by earnest men and women to put into effect immediately emergency measures such as suggested, but we should initiate at once a national program that will work well today, and a year from today, and project this into the years beyond. The heart of the old world is dead. Its doom was sounded in July, 1914. Some of us are still going about in a somnambulistic state. We are repeating the old catch words, we are worshipping the old little gods that are very sacred to us. But we are sleepwalkers. The old world is dead. No one will undertake, I fancy, unless he is a true prophet, to prophesy what the new world will be, but I venture this suggestion, that there will be no return to the shameless individualism of thought and action which characterized us before the war. Someone has said the war will be won in 1938. He is right. The nation which then has the finest and strongest body of men and women of twenty years of age will be the winning nation. We are a great nation—or at least we think we are. A great nation that does not grow strong through war is inherently a weak nation. I mean that literally and figuratively, and refer to its physical as well as its moral resources. The demonstration that democracy is safe for the world must come through our ability to understand this hard doctrine and to make it a reality.

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### THE CHILDREN'S YEAR AND AFTER

This was an entirely informal discussion. Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto of the University of California, at present executive chairman of the department of child welfare of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, presided.

1. *Miss Peixotto*, outlined briefly the way in which the program of "The Children's Year" was being put into operation. She told how and why the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense had



agreed to accept the responsibility for carrying out the thorough-going war program for children set forth by the Federal Children's Bureau to the eleven million women now organized in the state divisions of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense. It was explained how the Woman's Committee, acting through its department of child welfare, was not only to share in formulating the program, not only to distribute millions of weighing and measuring cards, thousands of pamphlets and other propaganda and publicity material, but how also and above all, the Woman's Committee was acting as the agent to effect and to maintain a nation-wide organization dedicated in one of its most active departments to the constructive program for the care of the children of the United States, announced by the Federal Children's Bureau.

The point of special interest in this collaboration, Dr. Peixotto stated, was that thereby both parties to the plan are strengthened and the community is assured of democratic work for children. The child welfare department of the Woman's Committee becomes in the best sense an extension of a government bureau. The government bureau investigators, sober, disciplined research workers, will, it is hoped, be greatly aided by the enthusiasm of volunteers rich in eager earnestness. The facts that three months of work had already developed, were given as hopeful signs that "The Children's Year" was to bring a rich harvest of improved health to the children of the nation and improved standards of child care.

2. *Miss Julia C. Lathrop*, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, stated that it had seemed appropriate and necessary that during the second year of the war the United States should heed the warnings which it had received from other countries regarding the safeguarding of children. It was very noticeable that during the second year of the war, England's infant mortality rate was 91, while the mortality rate of the United States at the same time, where no war was raging, was about 100. In the United States 300,000 infants and children under five had died during the year 1917, most of whom could have been saved. In the second year of the war the lives of at least 100,000 under five years of age ought to be saved. Weighing and measuring of children up to the age of five years constitutes the first step in the practical program of Children's Year, and then careful follow-up work. Out of this it may be expected that there will develop a new respect for hygiene and for physical efficiency.

Without care and nurture of a good mother, a child is clearly defrauded, and a social program which does not provide for keeping a good mother with her children is lacking at its very foundation. The mother must be expected and allowed to take care of the children in her own home. Minimum wage laws should do their part. Decent standards of livelihood should be insisted upon, and all the readjustments of daily life made so that a mother can take care of her own. The rural child and the city child need the same chance and should have the same full period of school during the whole of the year.

Another factor of importance is, that recreation for young people must not be suppressed but must be supervised, for it is essential to work and to wholesome living. In closing, *Miss Lathrop* urged that everyone should work at such a program, and that the result would come from the efforts of the many all over the country.

*Miss Lathrop* later in the discussion added that altogether the effort of Children's Year was to recognize and to make permanent certain reduceable minimum standards of child welfare.

3. *Mrs. Ira Couch Wood* of Chicago, director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial and chairman of the child welfare department,



Illinois Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, gave a statement of the concrete items that entered into the program of the 2,000 unit groups of women in Illinois. While there were communities in Illinois as in other places who said that they needed nothing more since they had Boy Scouts or needed no child welfare program at all since they were a country community, she felt that the state of Illinois was aroused and that the work that was being undertaken in birth registration, in the development of public health training and in the tuberculosis campaign, was bearing good fruit. It had been their aim to bring together all the various child welfare agencies into coordinate programs, and in Chicago and in other parts of the state the schools had been made centers of organization. Wherever settlements, day nurseries and infant welfare societies existed they had also been made into centers for weighing and measuring tests, the first feature of the program of Children's Year.

4. *Lydia Allen DeVilbiss*, M. D., director of the division of child hygiene of the State Board of Health of Kansas, stated that forty-eight hours previously her state had been admitted to the birth registration area. The director of the child hygiene division is also chairman of child welfare of the Kansas State Woman's Council of Defense. In this connection the state is well organized by counties, wards and precincts. House-to-house canvasses are being made covering birth registration; registration of expectant mothers in the prenatal correspondence course, conducted by the child hygiene division; registration of defective, crippled and dependent children, who are eligible to receive medical and surgical care at expense of state; and also registration of all mothers of young children in order that they may receive educational literature. The W. C. T. U. and federated clubs are conducting the Children's Year weighing and measuring tests, with complete physical examination in many cases. This movement is sweeping the state. The governor has appointed a commission to report on care of the feeble-minded in Kansas. The lieutenant governor has appointed a Children's Code Commission. The Kansas health car *Warren* has been dedicated to Children's Year and is to be devoted exclusively to a child welfare exhibit. It travels continuously for ten months of the year, starting on its itinerary September 9, 1918.

5. *Ellsworth Farris* of Iowa City, acting director of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, spoke of the progress of the Children's Year campaign in Iowa. The work has been carried on by the women's committee of the Council of National Defense but under the direction of the Research Station located at the state university. The plan in Iowa was to have the largest possible percentage of children examined by physicians, and in some communities, notably Des Moines, Waterloo and Ottumwa, every child in the city of pre-school age had been accorded an examination by a physician. The Child Welfare Station is laying particular emphasis on the permanent character of the follow-up work which is to result from this campaign.

6. *Another speaker* said that the baby might be made the pampered aristocrat of our various communities, but the death rate of babies can be reduced only by control and getting rid of poverty. The United States government is establishing, first, the principle of an adequate standard of living; secondly, certain elements of social insurance. If this could be more fully applied it might become very effective in removing poverty through health and other insurance.

7. The informal discussion was concluded by Miss Katherine C. Felton of San Francisco.

## A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM FOR JUVENILES\*

*George A. Bellamy, Head Resident, Hiram House, Cleveland*

Before taking up the problem of the community recreation, it might be wise to discuss the relation of the community and democracy in order that we may better understand the principles and program that a community must have in order that a democracy may be permanent. Democracy is like the Kingdom of Heaven—it is within US. It has two souls, the soul of the individual and the soul of the nation. The social life of the nation is the best external evidence of its soul, just as the moral acts of the individual are the tests of the individual soul.

The individual must be free to act so long as he does not harm any other member. He must think in terms of his individual salvation and neighborhood development. This means, first, that we must have an intelligent individual. Thomas Jefferson said that "Any man who expects to be free and ignorant at the same time expects what never has happened and what never can happen." All progress depends upon an intelligent public opinion.

We must have, second, a community will which controls the individual will. Any lack of a collective will must necessarily give rise to the overthrow of the community. There must be a top and bottom intelligence. The authority conferred by the individual at the bottom through his representative at the top must sparkle with courage, vision, human sympathy and understanding. Anarchy, even though it be the "white flag" anarchist with all his sympathy and devotion to idealism, cannot exist because it does not have a community will.

Before the war this nation was a nation of individually capable men, but not knit together. We had great inventors, great financiers, great lawyers, great railroad magnates, but these pyramids of greatness have not been tied up in a thorough, definite way to any national program. America led the world in social unrest, in homicides, accidents, fires, etc. Our national characteristic was lawlessness, as instanced in the most common walks of life by speed violators, race track gamblers, professional thieving in large and small businesses, and as instanced also in great tragic acts as the dynamiting of the McNamaras and the hanging of Frank in Georgia. Before the war we were a mighty population without self-control, without self-discipline and without a great sense of co-operation except in some sudden, tragic impulse. But the war has put a new color upon our national characteristics and has suddenly thrown us together in a time of dire distress. It gives promise that it may bring out a great national consciousness, a national discipline, a national program, yea, a national soul. It has already given us a broader social

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\*Summary of address.

vision. We are thinking in terms of justice not alone for our own race and people, but even in international terms.

If our democracy had been prepared for this war by virtue of a great national consciousness and soul as we are likely now to develop, we would not have waited so long before entering the war, and the tragedies and suffering would probably have greatly decreased. In order that we may be prepared, we must have a real community program, which has developed every individual in the community so that he is fulfilling his full responsibility. Naturally this program must begin with the children, for, as we develop in the child idealism, honor, health, happiness, morals, so we fill the nation with a population full of strength and courage that cannot be overcome.

The first suggestion that I make for a community program is that it must have simplicity. It must be, as far as possible, free from machinery which dwarfs and strangles the fullest development. An organization which has become institutional is not progressing. It has crystallized. It is living upon the past. Its machinery is too great to permit its fullest and free development. Its plays moral havoc with the highest type of leadership. The loss of free, simple development of neighborhood is the most damaging charge that could come to a community. We must not be dazzled by bigness of things, by buildings, and things external. Hence, it is necessary that so far as possible the community program be free from mechanical devices which thwart progress.

Second, there must be in the community groups of people who are pioneers, who develop technique of organization, ideals and vision, and as soon as such individual programs have been thought through and worked out, the group of individuals should see that the community takes up the program, working out through its own experience the problems involved. The settlement has, to my mind, been the eyes of the neighborhood. At Hiram House in Cleveland, twenty-two years ago, we were opening up kindergartens, nurseries, public baths, branch libraries, encouraging the establishment of city physicians in the neighborhood, developing plans for the teaching of domestic science, working on an employment bureau, night classes for foreigners, manual training, etc. As soon as it was possible to secure public agencies to take over and assume the responsibility for these activities, they were turned over to such organizations. It has ever been our purpose to suggest and work out the problem involved in a special activity and secure somebody else to carry it on, either a great private agency or some department of the municipality or board of education. There are now other activities carried on at Hiram House which we hope within the next two or three years can be turned over to such agencies. This is the way of life—the nurturing, the developing and then the giving off. Death follows when progress stops. There must be in the neighborhood many such agencies that are good losers, that work out their pet ideas and then gladly with good sportsmanship, pass them on. It is a greater privilege, as well as

duty, to do this than it is to hold within our own control activities which, when carried on by the community, will be of value to a far greater number.

Third, this program should develop self-expression of the community. It must begin with the children. They must be taught to handle civic forces through such organizations as Progress City at Hiram House, which is a miniature city that has its own array of city officials, runs its own bank, store and post office, and in which every citizen learns a trade and is paid in Progress City money. Here children are working out ideals of citizenship and the problems involved. They learn the value of strong leadership in office, the disadvantages and losses that result from weak leadership. As children have placed upon them the responsibility for the development of such ideals and civic virtue, they will come into their full-fledged citizenship prepared for the trying responsibilities ahead of them.

It is impossible to make definite suggestions of individual activities, but in order that you may all get more specific help, I suggest that you study carefully H. Caldwell Cook's new book completed in the trenches, *The Play Way*. I suggest also that you study Joseph Lee's Book, *Play in Education*. Mr. Lee in the fore part of his book suggests there are seven fundamental instincts in every child—hunting, fighting, co-operation, nurturing, creation, rhythm, curiosity. These instincts come through at different periods of the child's life. There should be a program in the community with activities specially planned which draw out in each individual these instincts at the time of their natural development in the child. Mr. Lee makes many suggestions in his book which are helpful in such a program.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Capt. Walter Petit*, N. A., formerly of the staff of the New York School of Philanthropy, said: When the city takes control of recreation there are disadvantages as well as advantages. Too often all relations to children's play interests are neglected, and activities become more nearly drudgery than play. This is but one phase of the leisure time problem, so much neglected in this country

2. *Sidney A. Teller*, resident director of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Pittsburgh, stated that every school house should be a community center. Private efforts and agencies should point the way and make the experiments for a democracy, but it is important in a democracy that private efforts should not carry the load any longer than is necessary. As soon as the democracy, as represented by the municipal, state or national government, can undertake to carry on the work, the burden should be shifted from private to public effort. This assumes that the community appreciates the value of the service and its responsibility for it.

3. *Other speakers* on informal discussion of this topic were: Cyrus F. Stimson, New York; William R. Taylor, St. Louis; E. O. Bradshaw, Chicago; Mrs. H. C. Broyles, Cincinnati; Charles A. Bernheimer, New York; John Melpolder, Portsmouth; Mrs. T. F. Kinney, Minneapolis; Prof. R. E. Hieronymus, Urbana, Ill.



4. In closing, Mr. Thurston spoke of the lengthening radius of recreation for children. He also added that in developing proper recreation on a city-wide basis demonstrations must be made to the school board in small units; religious terminology must not be used; a committee for local service must be gotten together; decent Sunday recreation must be encouraged and made possible; and all through, recreation must be put on the basis of self-expression for the fundamental instincts. Joseph Lee's book, *Education Through Play*, was recommended as a help to drawing such self-expression out.

## THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTED BY THE SCHOOL LUNCH

*Sally Lucas Jean, People's Institute, New York.*

Through a wise stimulation and direction of the group spirit, children collectively can be taught readily many things which it is well nigh impossible to give to the individual child in the home. Therefore group feeding, whether in connection with the school lunch service, in the day-nursery, on the playground, or in the recreation center, offers one of the best means for cultivating in children those correct food habits which lie at the foundation of child health. It is not sufficient that the child be given certain theoretical information concerning dietetic principles. This information must be made to function in conduct, and it is only by the inculcation of *right food habits, as distinguished from the imparting of dietetic information*, that we may hope to make any real headway against the evil of malnutrition, whose bad effects are becoming increasingly apparent in children of all classes, rich and poor alike.

Malnutrition is a much misunderstood term. To most people it is synonymous simply with improper feeding. The kind and amount of food taken by the child is held to be responsible for the trouble. This is, however, too naive a view of the problem. Malnutrition involves the proper digestion and assimilation of food, as well as its quality and amount. Anything which interferes with the way in which food is digested and assimilated will tend to cause malnutrition. It is *a question of how the body utilizes the food ingested*, as well as whether the food is of the right quality and amount. This means that all of the living habits of the child—his work, his play, his exercise, his habits of breathing and sleeping, his regular attention to the evacuation of the bowels, and many other things—must be taken into consideration if we would guard against malnutrition.

Granting, however, the importance of all these other health factors, students of the subject are agreed that the majority of malnourished children of this country are insufficiently or unsuitably fed. Errors in personal hygiene often lead to loss of appetite and perverted food habits. Pampering is perhaps almost as important as poverty as a factor in producing malnutrition, for pampering leads to bad eating habits, and bad eating habits lead to malnutrition. Bad habits, whatever their



cause, must be overcome, and the child must be re-educated in right eating habits, before his condition can be remedied. It is in this education that the school lunch offers unparalleled opportunities.

### *Bad Effects of Malnutrition*

In the opinion of the Public Health Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine, "Ignorance of food values is one of the several major causes of this phenomenon of malnutrition, which, if unchecked, will cause a serious impairment of our vital resources. Since the war the importance of the problem has become palpably intensified.

The necessity for food conservation and the scarcity of some customary foods and the high prices have combined to focus our attention on the problem of nutrition as never before. Changes in strongly entrenched habits cannot be wrought precipitately. Even when mothers have learned how to adapt the menu to scientific dictates and to conditions indicated by our conservation policy, their efforts fail unless the children learn to like the food placed before them.

"Malnutrition, although not a disease in the narrow sense of the term," says Dr. E. H. Lewinski-Corwin, "is a morbid physiological condition which may be caused by surroundings of an unsanitary nature, or by personal habits which are unhygienic, or by some physiological cause or defect which prevents the proper assimilation of food." Malnutrition is a definite departure from health which should be recognized as much as tuberculosis. It has certain definite causes and definite after effects. Moreover, some of these aftereffects can never be entirely overcome. An adult may be underfed for a long period without any serious results, but the child who suffers from serious malnutrition may never be so strong and capable as he might have been. Malnutrition is something which in the great majority of cases is preventable and curable. Its detection requires no expert medical knowledge, or careful microscopic examinations. The weight of the child and his rate of gain usually tell the story.

The malnourished child is always underweight. Dr. William P. Emerson would classify every child who is as much as ten per cent underweight for his height as a malnourished or undernourished child, and this standard is generally accepted by other students of malnutrition. Malnourished children are usually pale and anaemic, inattentive, listless in their studies, and disinclined to run and play. They are easily fatigued, both mentally and physically, and are often retarded in their school work. The malnourished child is peculiarly susceptible to disease, he is always catching whatever disease happens to be making the rounds. His muscles are soft and flabby. What folly to attempt to force such a child through the regular mill of school work! It results merely in time and money wasted by the teacher and the school system, and failure and discouragement on the part of the child who cannot keep up with his mates.

### *Extent of Malnutrition*

Nevertheless it is estimated by Dr. Josephine Baker, Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health, that about twenty-one per cent of the school children in New

York city are undernourished. This figure is probably lower, not higher, than that found in the country at large, since, contrary to popular opinion, it has been demonstrated that children in rural districts show a lower level of physical efficiency than city children. It is estimated by the best students of the subject that about six million school children, of the twenty million school children of the country, are malnourished. Their great number is the shame of our civilization. The removal of this condition constituted a national crises. The children of the country are our second line of defense. They are the guardians of the civilization of tomorrow. The recent draft revelations of deplorable physical deterioration in the flower of our young men, have demonstrated that these children who do not measure up to standard become in later years the men and women who do not measure up in their country's time of need. President Wilson has said that, second only to our duty of caring for the men at the front, is our duty of caring for our children at home.

European countries have long realized the foolishness of trying to force book learning upon children whose bodies and brains are weakened through lack of nourishment. Group feeding in the shape of a school lunch service has long been considered an important part of the educational system of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, England and Germany. The United States is, on the whole, many years behind the times in her appreciation of the educational value of the school lunch.

In its study of the problem of malnutrition and ways of combating it, the Public Health Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine has issued a statement saying that

School feeding on a self-supporting basis ought to be part and parcel of our educational system. It has been proved by demonstration in this city and elsewhere that, in groups, children will much more readily eat food to which they have not been accustomed. Peculiarities of taste and racial customs are readily overcome through the stimulation of group feeding, the children eating the new foods with relish. In this wise they develop habits for wholesome and nutritious foods, which they have not been receiving at home. They take back into the homes the taste for the new foods and by thus stimulated demand improve the home dietary. Herein lies the educational value of the so-called "school lunches," which in many of the cities of our country and in other countries have proved to be of genuine benefit to the children in a great variety of ways.

#### *Educational Value of School Lunch*

In the inculcation of correct food habits it is of comparatively small value to give abstract information to the children about the food value of this or that food substance which they either do not know or do not like. The school lunch offers an opportunity of cultivating in them a taste and desire for the right kind of food, and offers an object lesson through which instruction on food values can be made concrete. Quite aside from its importance as a war emergency measure, to teach the children to eat war foods and food substances, and appeal to them in their country's time of need to become strong men and women for patriotic reasons, the school lunch has a permanent educational value because—

1. The food chosen for the lunches can be of the proper substance,

quality and amount required for the physiological needs of the children.

2. The food can be well cooked, thereby setting a standard for children from homes in which cooking is a neglected art.
3. The children can be taught why they need certain kinds of foods.
4. The children can be taught how much they need.
5. The children can be taught what the food costs, and where and how it is produced.
6. The children can be taught that they are dependent upon the labor of others and that they should make a fair return.
7. The children can be taught the identity of substance in all our common foods, and therefore, how to choose food substitutes wisely. They can be taught to see that the food habits of all national groups depend upon the food supply of the environment. The foreign born bring their habits and leave their environment. They bring some good habits, and some habits which cannot be continued in the American environment. Good American living means an exchange and preservation of the good food habits of all nations which are feasible in the American environment. The school lunch thus becomes, an important feature in naturalization.
8. Competition can be stimulated by means of the keeping of individual growth records (which should include normal and actual weight and height) to indicate physical gains due to proper eating.
9. Mothers whose interest in food has been awakened through group feeding of their children—are especially receptive to—
  - A. Instruction in food values by home visitors.
  - B. Demonstrations—in selection and preparation—of food to groups at schools—playgrounds, etc.
  - C. Formation of buying clubs—canning clubs, etc.

It is true that many excellent school lunches have been served in various communities. But it is also true that they have, for the most part, been regarded primarily as a convenient means of feeding hungry children at noon, and that the purely educational possibilities have not been developed. I have, within a few days, eaten a school lunch which, so far as its preparation was concerned, was as nearly perfect as it is possible to be. The food was well selected, well cooked, deliciously flavored, and sold at a price well within the reach of the children. But there was no attempt to teach the children the food value of what they were eating, and the lunch had no visible connection with the excellent work which was being done in this same school in the departments of domestic science, physical education, physiology and hygiene, medical inspection, or the school gardens. The principal of this school was an alert and progressive man, who had merely to have

the idea of the advantages a correlation between the work of these departments presented to him, in order to carry it over to his teachers. Inside of 48 hours, he had worked out and put into practice a system of coordination of all of this health work, so that the attention of every child in the school was focussed on the educational hearings of the school lunch. The interest in the work of the other departments grew proportionately with the insight of the children into the practical application of their work, as they saw it made concrete in the school lunch, and the man who had made the correlation was more than delighted with the results of his experiment. In that school, the correlation of the work in the related branches to emphasize the educational value of the school lunch is no longer an experiment. It has become an established part of the order of that school, to continue as long as the school lunch is continued.

#### *The New York Food Scouts*

An interesting demonstration of the educational possibilities of the school lunch was conducted during the past winter by the "Food Scouts" of Public School No. 40, New York city, under the joint auspices of the People's Institute, the Post-Graduate Hospital and the New York School Lunch Committee. Twenty-five boys volunteered to eat a well balanced mid-day meal—the kind of hot school lunch every child should have—for a period of three months, in order to show the other boys of New York, and ultimately of America, that it is the patriotic duty of every boy and girl to-day to eat the food that will help them grow into strong men and women for the America of tomorrow.

Through the well chosen meals which these boys ate, as well as through the reorganization of many of their general health habits by the home visitor in connection with the experiment, there resulted an appreciable gain in weight in these malnourished boys. Moreover, through the extensive newspaper publicity which these experiments easily gained, the public generally were taught many of the essentials of proper nourishment. The following composition written by a ten year old food scout, but six years out of Poland, shows that he read the newspapers and learned to speak in calories as easily as he pronounces his unpronounceable name. The terms used by this boy were gleaned entirely from newspaper publicity, and offer a good example of unconscious education outside of the class-room.

The food scouts of P. S. 40 know what food is best for boys. They know that coffee and tea are very bad for children.

The school children ought to have hot lunches containing 2,000 food units. Too much meat given to children is bad. Light soup is bad. Soup ought to be cooked with VERY many vegetables.

Vegetable puree, oatmeal pudding with milk, ginger bread and three dates make a good lunch. Succotash, one lamb chop, a cup of cocoa and a fig are also good for a school child.

Foods containing wheat, milk, eggs and butter are very good for children. Prunes are very healthy, for eighteen tomatoes equal three prunes.



### *Nutrition Classes*

Recently, we have developed in this country another method of combating malnutrition through the utilization of the group spirit which is deserving of special attention. I refer to the so-called malnutrition clinic, or, better, the nutrition class, whose technique has been developed by Dr. William P. Emerson at the Massachusetts General Hospital and at the Home for Little Wanderers in Boston. Dr. Charles Hendee Smith has been developing the same method in connection with a class of malnourished children in Bellevue Hospital, New York city. The children in these nutrition classes were sent there because of some obscure illness or breakdown, due in the estimation of the special physicians in other clinics, to malnutrition. This seems like locking the barn after the horse has been stolen. It is much more logical to prevent the condition than to cure it after the breakdown. Therefore, Dr. Emerson, working with the Bureau of Educational Experiments, has been conducting a nutrition class in a Public School on the East Side in New York city, to demonstrate the feasibility of gathering the children who are markedly below par in their nutrition into a special class for instruction and upbuilding, and thus using the ounce of prevention which is better than a pound of cure.

The class method of caring for malnourished children has two pre-eminent advantages. First, it saves the time of the persons conducting the class, by enabling them to teach many children at once, with little more effort than is required to care for a few. Second, the group spirit, and the spirit of competition which can be aroused in the children are potent forces in keeping up interest and effort.

Nutrition classes may be conducted in public schools, settlement houses, summer camps, or the out-patient departments of hospitals. The public school has the advantage over all other locations, for the reason that it is easier to secure regular attendance there. Moreover, the school is the logical place for emphasizing the educational aspect of health training. This is especially true in schools which serve lunches, for then we have, as already noted, excellent object lessons for instruction concerning diet.

In order that the educational value of the school lunch may be fully developed, it is important that our public school teachers shall be properly trained to teach health and dietetics. This means that the normal schools of the country must recognize the need by putting appropriate training courses into their curricula, just as they provide such courses for the teaching of arithmetic and spelling. Unfortunately, few of our public school teachers are prepared, at the present time, to shoulder their responsibility in the problem. The facilities offered by teachers' institutes and summer school courses should be utilized to the utmost, in order to enable the teachers who have already been graduated from the normal schools to supplement their training, and equip themselves to teach dietetics and health, as well as arithmetic and spelling.



*A Call for Instructors*

There is a wide immediate demand for workers who can act as a connecting link between the school lunch or the nutrition class and the home. A graduate nurse with a good knowledge of dietetics and social service training is perhaps ideally equipped for this work of home visitor. Some physicians, however, prefer as aides women who are trained social investigators and home visitors, and who have, in addition, some specialized dietetic and health training.

These ideal workers are of course very scarce at the present time, and to meet the immediate need an interesting War Emergency Course in Child Conservation was recently organized by the People's Institute of New York city, in co-operation with Teacher's College of Columbia University. The course lasted six weeks and consisted of lectures and demonstrations by experts in the various fields of child health, with special emphasis on the problems of malnutrition and food for growing children. This course might well serve as a model for other similar courses elsewhere for meeting the present need of providing home visitors equipped with the technical information which will enable them to reach back into the homes of the children and see that instructions regarding food and hygiene are actually put into practice as a foundation for the health habits which should be formed by all children.

In order to meet the pressing problem of malnutrition in American children, occasioned by the war, there has recently been formed a national committee of eminent physicians, specialists in the diseases of children, and of wellknown educators, who are urging the establishment of school lunches everywhere for their educational value. Under the name of The Child Health Organization, whose chairman is Dr. L. Emmett Holt, they are formulating plans for seeing that the public schools of the country teach health habits to children, that adequate health examinations are given, and health records are kept for all children, to accompany the scholarship records of the children throughout their school life. The literature of the organization explains how to conduct a malnutrition survey, how to conduct a malnutrition class, and what are the essentials of the diet of school children. It may be procured from the Child Health Organization, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Valuable food charts which will appeal to both the children and their parents, and which will be exceedingly helpful to anyone intent on developing the educational possibilities of the school lunch, or to the visiting teacher of health and dietetics, are those prepared by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, of New York, under the direction of Lucy Gillett. The charts and posters of the National Child Welfare Association, New York, and those prepared by Dr. Thomas Wood of Teachers' College, Columbia University, are very helpful. An exhibit of wax food models, illustrating hundred-calory

portions of common foods, will be found to be of great advantage in teaching food values in an attractive and easy way to both children and parents. These models may be purchased from the Plastic Art Company, 1495 Third Avenue, New York.

### FEEDING THE FAMILY: A PROBLEM AND A METHOD FOR SOCIAL WORKERS IN WAR TIME

*Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of the Boston Dispensary*

What are social workers doing to see that the families with which they deal are adequately nourished during these days of war prices and difficult food conditions?

Perhaps some will answer this by declaring the question to be unnecessary. Perhaps there are some who believe that with rising wages and steady employment every one today is prosperous enough to be well fed. Are there any here who cling to this fallacy? Let them examine the facts for themselves.

Since the opening of the European war, the cost of food has increased fully fifty per cent. Wages in some trades have increased in a very much higher ratio than this, yet as shown by the reports of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average increase in wages among a number of representative groups has been less than half of the increase in food cost.

We are always in danger of being misled by the easy use of the word *average*. An average rise of wages is made up of a few cases in which there has been a very large rise, plus a smaller number of cases in which there has been some considerable rise, but it also includes a large number in which the rise in wages has been small and many in which there has been no change in wages at all. If a law were proposed, that every man under five feet four inches should have his right hand cut off, proponents for such a bill might argue that since the average height of Americans is considerably more than five feet four inches the law would be reasonable, since democracy must adapt its legislation to average conditions. The objectors to the measure, however, would answer with the effective retort, that while, of course, the tall men could take care of themselves, there were a large number of short men who would lose their right hands if the law were passed, and that it must be somebody's business to stand up for those little fellows.

Now that is exactly the responsibility which falls on social workers, these days, above all days, to stand up for the little fellows, for the wage-earners whose incomes have gone up hardly at all, for the families who were just keeping their heads above water a while ago, and who are now in danger of being submerged, for the families who had to be helped previous to war prices and who need now more help than before. How far have standards of relief, as administered by social agencies, been revised upward to square with the rise in the cost of food? How far have

case-working agencies informed themselves of the food supply of their families, and of its adequacy or inadequacy under present conditions? How far, in other words, have social agencies actually armed themselves with knowledge, and, therefore, with power, to stand up for the "little fellows"?

### *Recent Studies*

The figures quoted concerning the rise in food and in wages must not lead us to forget the fact that food is only one element in the cost of living, and that other elements, notably rent, have not risen nearly so much as food. Yet on the whole, the important point to us is, there are large numbers of families in every community whose income has increased very little, sometimes not at all, while the cost of living has risen all along the line. Food, the most vital element in the cost of living, has risen most of all. What most matters to us is not an average rise in family income, but the fact that there are thousands of families whose incomes are still only \$12 or \$15 a week, on which parents and three or four children are expected to subsist. The conditions of such families are vividly illustrated in the pamphlet just published by the Committee on Home Economics of the New York Charity Organization Society, *My Money Won't Reach*. That pamphlet is worth placing in the hands of every employer who has to double the wages of a certain number of skilled workers, and who has, therefore, become convinced that *all* wage-earning families today are prosperous, if not obese.

The effect of conditions of prices and wages upon the food supply of families is not a question of theory, but a matter of demonstrable fact. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in its pamphlet on *A Study of the Adequacy and Economy of Some City Dietaries*, gave an account of a careful investigation of the food supply of ninety-two families, mostly in New York City, during 1914 and 1915. This study showed that 59 per cent of these families were receiving less than 3,000 calorie standard of food energy per man per day, and that 36 per cent of the families were under a 2,500 calorie standard. This means a serious lack of adequate food supply.

The diminished use of milk, as shown by certain investigations in New York City, and the studies in New York indicating that one-third of the school children are decidedly under-nourished, will probably be referred to by other speakers at this session. In Boston the League for Preventive Work conducted a study last summer of over 200 families. Twenty-eight and one-half per cent of these families were found to be receiving an adequate food supply, measured in terms of the energy supplied. These families were selected from those known to six of the social case-work agencies of Boston. The majority of these families (three-quarters, in fact) were above the poverty line and not in receipt of material aid. Of the 198 families to whom the preceding figures relate there were 50 who were receiving material aid from charitable

societies in Boston. Among these fifty families 42 per cent were found to be receiving inadequate nourishment. Were the social agencies looking after these families adequately? I would ask a more important

## FORM I

Form 137-500-6-18

## BOSTON DISPENSARY FOOD CLINIC

No. 1

Name	Date of Home Visit	Visitor	S. S. #		
ARTICLES OF FOOD	QUANTITY PURCHASED IN FAMILY LAST WEEK	AMOUNT SPENT	MEALS OF YESTERDAY (State Foods and Amount)		
			BREAKFAST	DINNER	SUPPER
FRUITS, FRESH					
DRIED					
CANNED					
VEGETABLES, GREEN					
ROOT					
CANNED					
MEAT					
BACON					
SALT PORK					
DELICATESSEN					
FISH, FRESH					
SALT OR CANNED					
CHEESE					
MILK, WHOLE					
SKIMMED					
CANNED					
EGGS					
BEANS (DRIED)					
PEAS (DRIED)					
PEANUT BUTTER					
BREAD					
CAKE & COOKIES					
CRACKERS					
PIES					
FLOUR					
FLOUR SUBSTITUTES					
CEREALS					
MACARONI					
POTATOES					
COCOA & CHOCOLATE					
SUGAR					
SYRUP & MOLASSES					
CANDY					
BUTTER					
BUTTER SUBSTITUTES					
OIL					
TEA					
COFFEE					
ICE					
FUEL					

Total Expense for Food for Week \$

Notes Concerning Individual Patient: Weight lbs.

Meals (regular or irregular? If latter, when and how?)

Bathing (how much and how often?)

Sleeping (how long?) hours. (Alone or with whom?)

Windows

Working Conditions (hours, overtime, lunch arrangements)

Other Conditions

Special Food Needs and how far met at home

Form Number I and form Number II are brought to the Food Clinic at the time the patient arrives. They are filled out by the social worker to whom the case is referred.

Form Number I is a food record of the family containing certain facts regarding the particular member of the family who is the patient.

This form is filled out by the social worker in conference with the mother, either in the home or elsewhere.



## *The Opportunity and Responsibility of Social Agencies*

**FORM II**

Form 131-500-2-19

BOSTON DISPENSARY FOOD CLINIC

No. 11

NAME		ADDRESS		S. S. NO.	
FAMILY	AGE	OCCUPATION	EARNINGS PER WEEK	HEALTH	

NATIONALITY	HOW LONG IN U. S.	NO. OF ROOMS	RENT

RELIEF REC'D		ESTIMATED TOTAL OF USUAL WEEKLY INCOME \$	

PREPARATION OF MEALS			
TYPE OF STOVE?	DOUBLE BOILER?	DINNER—MAN AT HOME?	TAKE LUNCH?
FIRELESS COOKER?	SAUCE PAN?	WHO COOKS FOOD?	
ICE BOX?		COOKING KNOWLEDGE?	
HOT WATER SUPPLY?	BEAN POT?		

REASON FOR REFERRING FAMILY TO FOOD CLINIC

DISSEY OF U. S. RECORD WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PRESENT NEEDS.	MADE BY S. S. WORKER

Form Number II is part of a general case work sheet for family investigation. This, like Number I, is filled out by the social worker. The general investigation of the family made by the social worker supplies most of the information needed for this form. In fact, the general case-work record card could be used instead of this form, adding the special items concerning the preparation of meals.



knew, so as to have a reasonably easy approach to the mother. Only families in which there were children were taken. Provided with a list of the common foods, she went to the mother and secured a list of the purchases made during the preceding week.\* I do not consider that such a method yields as complete and accurate a figure of the food supply of a family as if we could get that family to weigh portions served and food wasted, each meal of each day for a week. But the latter method is hardly practicable in one family in a thousand. The former method, the one which was used in our Boston study, is practicable in a great many families, and if carried out by social workers, under careful supervision, is capable of yielding facts of great practical importance to

## FORM III

Form 112-51-4-28

BOSTON DISPENSARY FOOD CLINIC

B. S. No.

No. 11

Name		Address		PRESENT ERRORS IN DIET		RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE		Previous Clinics	Refugee	Yrs. in State	Other	Admission	Block For
1				Space for record of three visits									

Form Number III is used in the Food Clinic itself. It is designed to furnish a running history of the case after the facts have been covered and the dietitian has begun a series of conferences with the mother of the family. The Clinic is equipped with stove and utensils for cooking so that demonstrations can be held for individuals or for very small groups.

the welfare of the families, and to the standards of the relief and other case-work conducted by the agencies: facts which are likely to be eye-openers, even pocket-openers, if they are brought into appropriate relations with a check-book.

The responsibility of social workers, as a class, for dealing with the food problems of their families today, rests particularly upon three types of social agencies:

1. *Relief agencies*, which must administer material aid for the actual maintenance of needy families. Do relief agencies know the local food facts in their communities, and the present food facts and budgets of their families, so as to know whether their financial standards of relief need revision, and where and how much they need to be revised?

2. *Child-caring societies*, particularly those placing out children. These societies must pay for the support and board of children in foster homes. They must pay adequately or the children will be underfed in many instances. Have they studied the food facts of their children and their foster homes, so as to be able wisely to revise their standards of payment, and to guide the food purchases for their children in the foster homes under present abnormal food conditions?

3. *Medical agencies*: hospitals, dispensaries, and particularly the social service departments. These medical agencies must diagnose and care for illness, including malnutrition, and must seek to prevent these evils. How far have these medical agencies, particularly the dispensaries, social service departments, and visiting nurses' associations, conducted studies and surveys concerning under-nutrition among their patients, particularly among the children?

How shall these social agencies deal with the present food problems of their families? The first step is to adopt as a principle of case work the following rule: *Under present conditions no investigation of a family*

\* The data were analyzed under the supervision of dietitians, so as to be able to determine the chief errors in diet and the extent of malnutrition. The methods and results of this study were described in detail in a pamphlet issued by the League for Preventive Work, 46 Cornhill, Boston, at ten cents a copy.

*by a social agency should be regarded as complete, unless it includes an investigation of the family's purchases and use of food.*

#### *A Practical Policy for Social Agencies*

How can this principle be made effective in practice? It does not require a trained dietitian to carry it out, although the services of a dietitian are of great value as a consultant. Following the studies referred to in Boston last summer and autumn, I have been led to take up this question to see how far it would be practical for social agencies, not having a staff of dietitians, to make investigation of the food facts of their families, sufficient to be of considerable service in helping these families actually to attain more adequate living standards. With this paper I am submitting forms which we have tried out at the Boston Dispensary during recent months. The essential form is a list of the most commonly used foods, with spaces for filling in the amount purchased of each food during the preceding week by the family and also the amount spent. There are also spaces for describing sample meals, taking yesterday's meals as examples. Other general facts about the constitution of the family, the earnings, the home equipment for cooking, etc., are included.

This schedule is the result of a sufficient amount of experimental case-work to convince me that it can be employed by any social worker of reasonable experience with families, and that the facts regarding the family's use of food can be secured with sufficient accuracy and detail to be of service. The extent of this service will depend considerably upon the wisdom of the social worker or the supervisor in interpreting the food facts after they have been secured. At this point a dietitian, as consultant, will be of great value. At the Boston Dispensary we have established a Food Clinic during this year, this being essentially a consultant dietitian to whom our social workers bring these food schedules. The talk by the dietitian with the mother of the family is based upon the knowledge gained by the dietitian from the schedules. But the social worker, whose contact with the family give her an opportunity for accomplishing results, must help to get over into the mother's mind the program and needs indicated by the dietitian. There are certain types of families whose poverty is so extreme, or whose ignorance or recalcitrance is so considerable, that nothing can be done short of the most intensive and expensive work in the home. But there are a larger number of families, presenting serious food problems at the present time, who can be greatly helped by advice. Yet no intelligent advice can be given except on the basis of the food facts which have been secured in some such manner as indicated.

#### *Central Dietetic Bureau in Boston*

The League for Preventive Work in Boston has, as a result of the studies referred to, carried this plan a step farther, and in July will undertake the administration of a Central Dietetic Bureau, consisting

essentially of consultant dietitians available to the social workers of a number of co-operating agencies. The dietitians in this respect are perhaps comparable to the doctors. Doctors are scarce today and so are dietitians. We must make doctors and dietitians go as far as we can today, partly because they are few and partly because we need them more than usual. We do not waste the doctor's time in taking him around to many homes; we bring the patient to him in most instances, at the hospital or the dispensary. The dietitian must be placed in the same position. The social worker must stand between her and the family, collecting what we might call the raw food facts, and incidentally making themselves better and wiser social workers by the process of collecting.

There are societies here which have children under their care. Are these children starving? Far from it. We should never let them starve. But are they *half* starving? A child that is under-nourished, that is not growing as a child should, is in plain English half-starved. A survey of the health and the food supply of every child for which every children's agency is responsible is a first-line duty today. If we know the conditions, we shall be able to improve them when improvement is necessary. Every child ought to have a physical examination; every family in which we are responsible for a child should have its food supply studied according to some definite method. The method which I have described is one which I trust may prove of some practical stimulus.

I hope that as this program is taken up, it may lead to securing facts which will cause social agencies to see that some of their families have more milk for their children; that some families become willing to buy less meat and more milk and vegetables; that some families are given double boilers if they cannot afford to buy them, so that these families can cook cereals as a variation from corn-flakes, bread and tea.

We do not need to minimize the value of a dietitian, or to relax our efforts to get dietitians into our societies as often as we can, particularly to get dietitians in as consultants and advisors, rather than as case workers. But do not let us fail to take action on the food problems in our families because we have not dietitians at hand, or imagine that we can shift our responsibility in this matter because we are not or have not dietitians. Every one of us, in his or her own family, has to solve a food problem today. So have "our" families in social work. We can help them and it is our duty as social workers, or as executives of social agencies, to help them all we can, to make our standards conform to their present needs.

First of all, we must secure the facts; second, we must bring our practical judgment to bear on these facts, to revise our relief standards upwards if the facts indicate; to pay more than \$6 or more than \$10 a week if the need so demands; to add trained nurses or dietitians to our staff, and to utilize doctors or dispensaries for periodical physical examinations and medical supervision of the under-nourished. We are in the midst of tremendous dietary and economic changes brought about by

the war. We ought to keep in touch with these by constant investigation and continued thought. We ought to be prepared to deal with conditions as we find them, putting aside tradition when necessary; and following fearlessly, with all the courageous imagination and practical wisdom that we can command, wherever our facts and our ideals may lead us.

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### THE INTER-RELATION OF EDUCATION AND CHILD WELFARE

A luncheon meeting of the Division on Children, with public school teachers of Kansas City, was held on Saturday, May 18, at 12:30, the subject being, "The Inter-Relations of Education and Child Welfare." The great number and variety of inter-relations between these two organized efforts were emphasized by all the speakers. The conclusion was reached by the meeting that there should be an authoritative study and formulation of the philosophy and inter-relations of education and child welfare work. It was the unanimous opinion of those present that this formulation should be in the form of a report by a joint committee composed of members from the Children's Division of the National Conference of Social Work and the National Educational Association. The executive committee of the Children's Division were instructed to secure the appointment of such a joint committee if possible. The speakers included President Woods; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Willard S. Small, Washington; Rev. A. M. O'Neill, Rochester; Prof. W. A. Lewis and George Melcher, Kansas City. The two speakers last named represented the superintendent of schools and teachers of Kansas City.

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### MINIMUM STANDARDS OF CHILD PROTECTION AND HOME CARE

This was the subject of an excellent address by Mr. Arthur W. Towne, of the Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Unfortunately, this has not been presented in written form. It is therefore possible to give only the account of informal discussions that followed.

1. *Charles L. Chute*, secretary of the National Probation Association, Albany, N. Y., in discussion called attention to the fact that although the juvenile court has been an institution in this country for nearly twenty years and is familiar to all social workers, only a small part of the country geographically has the services of such a court. It is a fact that children are still being tried as criminals in adult criminal courts all over the country. Only a few states have state-wide juvenile court laws, and in most of these the courts are not uniformly or effectively administered throughout the state. We have just listened to a preliminary report from the questionnaire sent out by the Federal Children's Bureau to all parts of the country. From this questionnaire it is apparent that only one-half of the juvenile courts which have been established have paid probation officers. Imagine administering a juvenile court without probation officers. Children's courts also in some of our largest cities are hampered by the restrictions of criminal law, and still try children as offenders rather than as wards of the state subject to its protection and if need be discipline. All of these facts, it seems to me, illustrate the danger that a good theory may far exceed practice. We have got to bring the mass of the people with us when it comes to reforming public institutions like courts. We have got to



constantly educate along this line as we have a long distance yet to go.

2. *John P. Sanderson, Jr.*, executive secretary of the Connecticut Children's Aid Society, Hartford, while recognizing that the removal of a child from its own home is often desirable, urged that greater care be exercised in returning the child as soon as conditions warrant it and that more effort be made to rehabilitate the home so as to make it a fit place for the child's return. He cited instances where, after children had been removed and placed in good foster homes, nothing had been done toward reestablishing the normal home and the parents had suffered an injustice by the organization deliberately weaning the children away from their home.

3. *Maurice Taylor*, of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Greenfield, called attention to the fact that through temporary legal guardianship it is often possible to place a child even in situations that have some risk attached to them with the hope that matters may straighten out.

4. One speaker raised the question of how to get courts to act in the removal of children from thoroughly bad homes when they are averse to taking action. Another lamented the fact that in many states there is no properly organized body in charge of child welfare work. The plan of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau for securing cooperation of a number of agencies was commended.

5. Other speakers on informal discussion of this subject were: *Rev. A. M. O'Neill*, Rochester, N. Y.; *Helen M. Jewell*, Chicago; *Robert C. Dexter*, Montreal; *James E. Ewers*, Cleveland; *David J. Terry*, Pittsburgh; *J. Bruce Byall*, Philadelphia; *Mrs. J. L. Green*, Jackson, Miss.; *Rev. A. J. D. Haupt*, St. Paul, Minn.; *George M. Bates*, Tulsa, Okla.; *Dr. Margaret W. Koenig*, Lincoln, Neb.; *J. J. Gascoyne*, Newark, N. J.; *Maurice Taylor*, Greenfield, Mass.; *George R. Bedinger*, Detroit.

## THE STATUS OF SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

*H. Ida Curry, Superintendent, Children's Agencies, State Charities Aid Association, New York*

At last year's Conference of Social Work, a call was issued for an informal breakfast conference for rural social workers. It was hoped that some plan might be evolved whereby those interested could exchange information in regard to rural social activities. A goodly number of delegates appeared at the early hour appointed for the meeting. During the discussion, it became evident that (1) no one knew the nature and extent of rural social work that was being carried on in any of the states, and (2) practically the same work was being carried on under various types of organization.

As a result of the conference, a committee of seven was appointed to gather information as to the nature and the extent of rural social work throughout the country, and to suggest, if possible, a plan for the exchange of information among organizations doing such work. The committee named consists of:

- Mr. C. C. Carstens*, General Secretary, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children;
- Mr. William H. Davenport*, Executive Secretary, Prisoners' Aid Association of Maryland;
- Miss Bessie McClenahan*, State University of Iowa;

Miss Mary E. Lent, Associate Secretary, National Organization for  
Public Health Nursing;  
Mr. E. C. Lindemann, State Boys' Club Leader, East Lansing, Mich.  
Prof. Arthur J. Todd, University of Minnesota;  
with the speaker as chairman.

### *Field and Method of Study*

The definition of "rural" as a "community of less than 2500 population," as given in the United States census reports, was adopted. Simple schedules were prepared which asked for: (1) the name of the activity; (2) its auspices, whether church, grange, school, etc.; (3) its location; the character of the district covered—whether a town or village between 1000 and 2500 population, a town or village under 1000 population, or a district with a scattered country population; (4) the primary interest or object of the activity; (5) the name and address of its executive or of some interested person; and (6) the kind of service rendered—home nursing, outdoor recreation, indoor entertainment, family aid, probation, child care, etc.

These schedules were sent to state universities and agricultural colleges, secretaries of state boards of charities, secretaries of state conferences of charities, secretaries of state granges, charity organization societies in smaller communities, children's societies belonging to the Bureau for the Exchange of Information, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries, and a number of individuals specially selected.

Those to whom the schedules were sent were asked to indicate any known organizations doing rural work within their states, together with as much of the data called for as could be furnished. The majority of the early replies either informed us that the schedule was being passed on to someone else, or advised us to write to someone else for the information desired. Persistent correspondence, however, has secured considerable information covering 29 states, which it may be of interest to review.

As was anticipated, in practically no state was there an agency found which could give a list of rural social activities which even approached completeness. Delaware was an encouraging exception. Certain omissions were surprising. In no instance was a child labor committee named, although such committees exist in at least 35 states, in many of which great attention has been paid to rural child labor problems. In no case except in Cook county, Illinois, was infant welfare work mentioned. Juvenile courts or a probation system were named in but 8 states, although there are juvenile courts or probation officers covering rural districts in no less than 18.

The incompleteness of the information is apparent. No data in regard to 19 states has reached us. Therefore, deductions of a very general character, only, are possible.

Considering the material in hand, agencies interested in rural social and health conditions seem to fall into three general classes: (1) organizations under public control and supervision; (2) organizations under private control and supervision; and (3) war emergency organizations, generally semi-public in their character.

### *Public Agencies*

Among the public agencies, we find that the federal government through the Department of Agriculture is stimulating the organization of farm bureaus. Every state now has one or more county agents, and home demonstrators are also found in many counties. Over 5600 men and women already are employed in this work, in more than 2400 counties in the United States. The farm bureaus, through county agents and home demonstration agents, have organized Home Makers' and Canning clubs, Farmers' clubs, Boys' and Girls' clubs of various kinds, including Pig and Corn clubs, and those of similar nature. The farm bureaus bid fair to be a more widespread rural social agency than has yet been established, and an exceedingly useful one.

The other public agencies are under state or county supervision and control. Among these the public education departments are most widely represented, these being stimulated by the federal Bureau of Education. The extension departments of state universities and agricultural schools have been extremely active in some of the states in organizing and in fostering movements for the social betterment of the rural districts. State and district superintendents of schools in many of the states have organized very effective social work. The development of schools, especially of consolidated schools, as social centers, is notable in many states, particularly in some of the south, and in the middle west. In South Carolina the schools have organized such interesting social functions as "all day singings," "fiddlers' conventions." In North Carolina the state has adopted a moving picture program for the rural schools. Parent-teachers' associations are found in many states, and are most useful social agencies.

In but one instance was a school visitor cited, although substituting school visitors for attendance officers in all rural school districts would seem desirable. In Cook county, Illinois, we find a most interesting work in the county outside of the city of Chicago, under the direction of the superintendent of schools. Under this compulsory school home project, every pupil over the age of ten must be instructed in some practical work in the garden, in chicken or stock raising or canning, or in some other practical home subject. There are also social center activities, community festivals, and a variety of social movements. There is also in Cook county a Bureau of Social Service which has developed a complete nursing service for the rural parts of the county, and is doing much to meet the other social needs of the county.

Among other public agencies must be mentioned the juvenile courts and the probation system for adults and for children, although these are effectively covering but a comparatively limited rural territory in the United States. Illinois, New Jersey and all the New England states, except Maine, are among the states having county probation officers, and New York has county officers in more than half the counties.

The administration of pensions to mothers is a useful social influence in rural sections of the states in which they are granted.

Many state boards of charity, under whatever name known, have well defined social activities which reach the rural parts of their respective states. The Indiana boards of county charities and county boards of children's guardians, the Massachusetts board's Division of Minor Wards, the new Minnesota Children's Bureau, the Ohio Children's Welfare Department, with its bureau of juvenile research, are but types of the social organizations of central state boards.

State boards of health have been active in stimulating rural nursing service, and to a more limited extent in establishing clinics. In many instances the interest of these boards has been manipulated mainly in rural sections through measures for the prevention of tuberculosis; but the public health nurse is gradually superseding the tuberculosis nurse in many of the states, and broader health program will follow more rapidly as the nursing service is extended out of the city into the country. In two instances only is a rural dental clinic mentioned, one being conducted in a barber shop on off days.

In Vermont, and on a larger scale in New York, the boards of health have carried clinics for the after-care of infantile paralysis to the very doors of the most rural and humble inhabitants of the state. At these clinics the most expert orthopedic advice was furnished by the state to those who could have secured it in no other way. This method of reaching the victims of infantile paralysis has recently been followed in other states, and in each instance, state nurses and muscle trainers have been left in the field to visit the homes of the patients. As the aim of these clinics is to prevent deformities, and not to cure or to prevent disease, this work becomes a social service rather than a purely health measure, and seems to point a way of bringing to rural communities that expert medical advice of which they stand so much in need.

In a few states the public libraries have actively undertaken a rural development, notably in Delaware, and parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where book wagons are sent into the rural districts, and where some of the librarians on these wagons have become very genuinely social agents.

#### *Private Agencies*

Among private agencies we find a large group of national associations, each interested in organizing one phase of social effort throughout the country—the National Child Labor Committee, the Playground and Recreation Association, and others equally well known. The Rockefeller and the Russell Sage Foundations have also assisted in bettering rural social conditions in the states in various ways.

Turning to the private agencies in the states, we find two groups. One group consists of those having national organization and control, such as the granges, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Young Men's Chris-



tian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations, Chautauqua Circles, etc., each of social value in the communities it affects. Of this national group by far the most widespread in its influence is the Grange—reaching into most of the states, and covering practically all of the rural territory wherever organized. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have county units at many points in the country which are doing excellent work.

Distinguished from the foregoing are certain classes of state, county and local agencies having chiefly a local origin and scope. These divide themselves into three groups. *First* are the societies for the promotion of state programs for the improvement of social and health conditions, such as the New York State Charities Aid Association, and somewhat similar organizations in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Ohio, and the anti-tuberculosis societies which exist in numerous states. In New York state the Woman Suffrage Party has organized a committee on rural conditions which is actively interesting itself in furthering social programs affecting rural conditions.

*Secondly* should be named the societies organized locally to administer social and health measures, such as village improvement societies and community welfare associations; child helping societies; district nursing and relief societies; clubs of men, of women and of children, each organized to handle some bit of local work, usually in the center of population in the county, but, in all too few cases, reaching into the more rural sections.

The county agencies for dependent children of the New York State Charities Aid Association, and the county branches of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children are examples of standard welfare effort under the auspices of state societies which is reaching rural problems. The Monmouth county branch of the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association has developed very extensive social work in the county of which Red Bank is the county seat. Its activities include child welfare, probation, nursing, and recreation, and in addition it is concerned with social legislation and various lines of investigation.

Rural recreation apparently has been organized in very few places of less than 2500 population, although rural centers other than those connected with schools are cited in nine states—at one point in seven of them, and at two points in the other two states.

*In the third place* should be listed the churches that have organized to meet the social needs of their communities, and that have become centers of social and recreational activity. Such development usually hinges on one strong personality. In some states there are church or Sunday school committees on rural conditions, which stimulate the social activities of the rural churches.

*War Activities*

In the third general group are the war emergency organizations, represented by the National Red Cross, with its Home Service Sections, and the Council of National Defense, with men's committees and women's committees in the states and in the counties, and with the special committees on child welfare under the Woman's Committee. In many states there are Home Defense Leagues organized by counties. The objects and methods, as well as the value, of these are too well known to require explanation.

*The Principle of Coordination*

A study of the organizations represented in the above outline shows the vast variety of auspices under which social effort has developed in rural communities. We find county probation officers, agents of charity organization societies, agents for dependent children, the driver of a book wagon, a visiting nurse, a Y. M. C. A. or a Y. W. C. A. secretary, a home demonstration agent, a visitor from a state board of charities, a school teacher, a representative of the home service section of the Red Cross—each visiting in the homes of its respective communities, and each rendering, or capable of rendering, practically the same service to the families it visits, namely *case work* for each individual in the family. We are led to exclaim with Shakespeare, "What's in a name?"

Rural work in the several states has grown up in one spot after another, to meet one condition or another, in quite a haphazard fashion, without any well conceived plan. There is a woeful lack of knowledge on the part of the individual societies as to what other agencies exist within their own state, and even with their own territory. This was illustrated by a letter from the chairman of a prominent state committee in Missouri who wrote that in the whole state there was not a single agency coming within the scope of our study—this in a state which has within its borders since 1912 such a remarkable development of rural work as the Porter Schoolhouse, to cite but one of the many activities in Missouri. A county Y. W. C. A. secretary in Kansas, than which there is no state with more widespread social activities, wrote that there was no social work in the state except that of the county Y. W. C. A.

With such lack of mutual information on the part of rural agencies, there can be no coordination, and the resulting development must be sporadic and insufficient to the needs. Many counties have made surveys, and a few localities, notably in Los Angeles, California, have made serious attempts to coordinate all of the social activities within a county. Barnstable county, on Cape Cod, has for three years had a committee of five on cooperation for social service. The Missouri Children's Code Commission recommended a practicable plan under county boards of public welfare. These boards were expected to employ trained superintendents with assistants who could be used by courts and schools as attendance and probation officers; who could administer pensions to

mothers; act as agents of the state employment bureau; as visitors to persons released from state hospitals or state institutions; as inspectors of almshouses, especially those still open to children; and who could, in fact, render any needed social service to the people of the county. The appointment of such boards in Missouri and nearby states is being pushed by the National Public Welfare League.

North Carolina has established a State Bureau of Community Service which plans to organize permanent Community Service Leagues throughout the state. This state board is composed of representatives of the State Department of Agriculture, State Department of Education, State Board of Health, State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, State Normal and Industrial College and State Farmers' Union. Each Community Service League is to include a territory of at least twenty square miles, and is to have committees on education, farm progress, cooperative marketing, health, and on organization and social life. To give the rural community more stability, North Carolina has enacted a law permitting the incorporation or chartering of rural communities in the same general way as are towns and cities. The law has not been applied as yet, but the plan is one deserving of study.

More recently the Council of National Defense has recommended a plan to bring together all existing social agencies through the organization of a community council in every school district. It has recommended that county auxiliaries of each State Council of National Defense, and of the State Woman's Division of the Council shall jointly call county war conferences, to include the officers in charge of county government activities, representatives of county organizations and societies, of schools, of farm bureau committees, etc. The program for these community councils when once organized is expected to include community meetings and rallies; patriotic education; reports as to the resources of the community; food; Americanization; community safeguards; labor and industry; community thrift; community subscription to the liberty loans and war savings and Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus and so forth; soldiers' aid work; coordination of all existing agencies and those organized for war work; and the execution of requests issued by the national government and by state and county councils.

The North Carolina plan is not dissimilar to the plan suggested by the Council of National Defense, except that it is based on the needs of the community in normal times, and being a state agency, would be permanent in character, while the similar organization recommended by the Council of National Defense is to meet a war emergency, and might or might not retain its organization after the war is over.

#### *A Plan for Systematic Organization*

A thorough organization of the interest in rural social problems is thus seen to be in the minds of many groups. If a community, say a county, could be organized under some committee, league or commission,

with a sufficient staff of all-round social agents and of public health nurses to cover the territory, it would seem entirely practicable for the field to be covered without duplication or waste of energy, so as to leave no yawning gaps between.

The experience of the New York State Charities Aid Association with carefully selected county agents for dependent children, who have had previous training or experience in case work, has shown the possibility of one social worker in a small rural district becoming a *general practitioner*, calling experts into consultation when needed, but rendering all of the types of social service which in the cities may best be rendered by specialists in the various fields.

In speaking at a recent meeting in Paris, Dr. Livingston Farrand said:

We've never been able to get the public at home really lined up behind social movements on a large scale, but here in France we're doing it; and what we're doing will count in America as well as in France. We are working just as much for humanity in general as for any one part of it; and the reaction at home of what we are doing here may be greater than any of us guess.

Must we wait longer before we take to our hearts the lesson which is being spelled out in France by our own social leaders; that of carrying to the people not a bit of relief work here, and a probation officer there—but a well defined, substantial, broad social program, which will put our citizenship on the highest possible plane of physical and social efficiency?

Any program, to be at all adequate, in addition to being a correlating movement, must recognize that variety of local conditions and needs which is both natural and inevitable, and so it must be elastic enough to meet local conditions; it must be a growing, ever changing program, and not a crystallized one, or one that is merely the present pet scheme of some individual or association. Is not the time approaching for the formulation of such a program?

If the existing independent organizations and forces are to be drawn together and coordinated; if communities are to be stimulated to more completely meet their social needs, if a complete social program is to be evolved, a central bureau of information seems essential.

In our judgment there should be in each state a center for the registration of the rural social forces within that state, and for the exchange of information among them.

In addition, there should be one national registry, to which the state registries could send data, and which could become an interstate clearing house to which one could turn for information.

The committee believes that there is no national agency which could so fittingly carry through this plan as could the National Conference of Social Work. We therefore recommend that the Executive Committee of the Conference be urgently requested to empower the General Secretary of the Conference to receive the data collected, and to add to it, thus completing the directory of rural social work which has been partially compiled.



## INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Judge Perry L. Persons*, of the juvenile court, Waukegan, Ill., said he believed the proceedings ought to be instituted by someone other than the probation officer who has been assigned to the case.

2. *Wilfred S. Reynolds*, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago, thought one way of improving the home conditions for children in smaller communities is to start a nucleus of citizens around any flagrant matter that comes to the attention of a society and let their interests develop out of it.

3. Questions raised on discussion included an inquiry as to whether the problem of neglected children could be brought before the court without a petition, and how it would be possible to bring a parent before the court for the neglect of a child. One speaker advised that probation work may be built up in rural communities on the basis of volunteer service.

4. Other speakers on informal discussion of this subject were: David J. Terry of Pittsburgh; William H. Jeffrey, Montpelier, Vt.; Edward Murphy, Buffalo; Jesse F. Hanna, Belvidere, Ill.; Clara Kummer, Detroit; Mrs. Hattie F. Hart, Lafayette, La.; C. C. Carstens of Boston.

### A TENTATIVE OUTLINE FOR A STUDY ON ILLEGITIMACY

*Cheney C. Jones, Director of Civilian Relief, Pennsylvania-Delaware Division, American Red Cross, Philadelphia*

In *The Survey* of September 13, 1913, in a comment on the idea of a local conference on illegitimacy, occurs the following statement: "Perhaps in no field of social work are the factors less adjusted and the issues more baffling than in that relating to unmarried mothers." This statement still holds. Your sub-committee on this subject is just being formed and can not at this time of course offer any comprehensive pronouncement on the subject. The report offered this morning is not a report, but more nearly a series of questions designed to outline the scope of this problem with a view to laying out the ground which this Conference through its members, committees and meetings should cover. Little is accurately known about this problem as a whole. We know in a general way that there are many children born out of wedlock. It is generally recognized that the position and conditions of these children in society are deplorable. Illegitimacy as a social custom is recognized as a social menace and as a consequence the illegitimate child as an individual is more or less the object of our social wrath. This plainly is not fair to the child. The question remains, however, as to how much we can safely undertake in behalf of this child without encouraging the increase of his number. Just now the emergency of war, with all the accompanying responsibilities of industry, makes people valuable, and we can definitely count on greater interest in the protection of every child born.

How many illegitimate children are born? Nobody knows. What becomes of these children? Nobody knows. What is our program for

\*Report of Sub-committee on Problem of the Unmarried Mother and Her Child.

them? There is no general and uniform program. This National Conference of Social Work, with its comprehensive membership, in co-operation with the Federal Children's Bureau ought to make it possible for us to know how many such children are born, to know what becomes of them, and to establish a program for their protection, care, and training. If we are to undertake this it must be with the conviction that the problem is country-wide and much more sizable than the attention given it up to this time would indicate. We must also have in mind the fact that a complete solution can not be found until at least four factors are considered: the child, the mother, the father and the community. Too often in the past our discussions have ignored two or three of these, as if the question could be settled from one angle alone.

With this in mind, we suggest the following tentative outline for the discussions and studies of this Conference during the next few years:

### *I. Legal Aspect*

First of all, there is need of a comprehensive review of the legal aspects of this subject. This should be approached from two angles,—first, a brief but comprehensive historical treatment embracing a statement of the Roman law, the Germanic law, the English laws of 1576 and 1845, the later Hungarian law and the more recent Norwegian law. With this historical basis as a background, there should follow a more complete review of the American development of maintenance laws and the difficulties in our procedure in this matter. And then we must determine such matters as whether the procedure should be criminal or civil, what plan of money settlement should be approved, whether a weekly or monthly payment basis is advisable and what later maintenance proceedings may prove effective financially and still work no serious social disaster from the standpoint of the various factors involved.

### *II. Physical and Medical Care of Mother and Child*

Another phase of our subject, on which there is special need for careful consideration and an attempt at a more uniform practice, is the physical and medical care of the mother and child. What practical safeguards and precautions can we give in the way of parental care? What shall be the approved method of care during confinement? Shall this be given in the home of the mother, in a public hospital, in a private maternity home or other private hospital or institution, or shall we hope to find it possible to work out a system of placing such mothers individually in family homes other than their own? What shall be offered the mother and child during the period immediately following confinement? Shall it be the mother's own home, a specialized private institution or a supervised foster home?

### *III. The Baby's First Year*

The third topic suggested presents a problem on which there is great diversity of opinion and practice. Shall the mother and child be

separated as soon as possible and the child placed out for adoption, or shall they be kept together? If we are determined that for physical reasons the child shall stay with the mother during the nursing period, will we then intend to make this permanent, and if so what are we going to do for the mother and child during the following years clear through the child's adolescence? Where shall the mother and child stay during this first year,—at the mother's home? In many cases this is either impracticable or impossible, and in many cases it is necessary for the mother to earn. Will we prefer to place the mother with her child at housework, or board them in some family, with the understanding that the mother is to go out to work for the support of both, the child being cared for by the foster family during the mother's daily absence? To what extent are we to urge the policy of bringing about a marriage and attempting to establish a normal family? What is practical in the way of education for these unmarried mothers, many of whom are young and untrained?

#### *IV. Society's Handicaps*

Anyone who has dealt with these children at all recognizes the many handicaps which menace the welfare of practically every child born out of wedlock. The physical handicaps are evidenced by the higher death rate discovered in practically every study thus far made. The social handicaps are such as: (a) education abbreviated, (b) less vocational training, (c) less opportunity for the normal experiences of home life, (d) from such evidence as we have, a greater record of delinquency and criminality.

For meeting such handicaps we have now some ameliorative measures, such as the so-called Castberg law adopted in Norway, the German guardianship courts, and in our own land such plans as are included in the law creating the Minnesota Children's Bureau and other more recent legislation in several of our states. All these measures indicate a growing recognition of the responsibility of the state to equalize the opportunities of the illegitimate child with those of children born in wedlock. It is of the greatest importance that this Conference through its Division on Children study most carefully the practical operation of all these measures designed to meet the needs of this particular class of children, and out of the variety select the best for a standard and build uniformly toward that standard.

#### *V. Relationship of Illegitimacy to Other Social Problems*

Just as, in discussing any one of the outstanding general social problems which perplex the world, we discover a definite relationship existing between practically all of them, so when we consider illegitimacy we must in all our study and conference keep in mind to what extent and in what ways it is related to infant mortality, prostitution, marriage, divorce, alcoholism. What per cent. of our infant mortality is of illegitimate children and to what extent is this due to the particular

social handicaps and neglect which at present attach to such children? What per cent. of our illegitimacy is clearly due to feeble-mindedness? Is there a relation between illegitimacy and prostitution? If so, what is it? What bearing has alcoholism on our problem? Do our laws controlling marriage and divorce have any effect upon the increase or decrease of illegitimacy, and if so what can we provide in this respect to improve family life? Such questions as these suggest the wide scope of our particular problem and indicate how thoughtful we must be in attempting to build our program.

#### *VI. National and Racial Aspects*

With the information obtained from such a study as indicated above we may hope to gather some intelligence also on the extent of illegitimacy in various nations and among different racial groups. Such intelligence will do a great deal to indicate both causes and remedial measures, and ought to help us to wiser standards on what constitutes socially approved birth. It is clearly the function of each generation to produce a virile posterity, trained and equipped for a greater citizenship, and this function should not be lost sight of in forming our laws of domestic relations.

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### CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED AND OF ILLEGITIMATE PARENTS: RECENT LEGISLATION IN MINNESOTA AND ELSEWHERE

*Otto W. Davis, Assistant Secretary, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Member Minneapolis Child Welfare Commission*

I am glad that whoever phrased the subject for this morning used the words, *The Problem of the Unmarried Mother and Her Child*, rather than the expression, "Illegitimate Children," which has appeared so often on the program of this Conference. It seems to indicate progress in the transformation that is going on respecting our point of view. It indicates a consciousness of dissatisfaction with the old phraseology and a reaching out after something more accurate as well as more just. Even the old word *bastard* in its original meaning of "false," or "spurious," possessed advantages over the expression *illegitimate child*. A neater bit of legal fiction than this latter term could scarcely be conceived. We eliminated the word *bastard* from our Minnesota laws and wanted to eliminate the words *illegitimate children*, but in the brief time at the disposal of our Commission, we were unable to work out a satisfactory substitute term.

It would be impossible for me to discuss the problem of "the illegitimate child," for, to use a common expression, "There is no such animal." However, there are to be found everywhere children of unmarried or of illegitimate parents, and these are to be the objects of our thought this morning.



However certain and definite evolution may be in the long run, it is at best a slow method of change. When it comes to a matter so closely intertwined with our religion, with the sacred ideals of marriage and family life, with our conceptions of morality, and with our secret passions, we must indeed expect that changes will come very, very slowly.

For centuries, the child of unmarried parents was considered as "nobody's child." It is so considered today in some of our states. The first step away from the conception of "nobody's child" was to make him the child of his mother and to give her certain responsibilities. To this has been added in many states the right of the child to inherit from his mother and the mother from her child. In the process of evolution it has become customary in some states to regard a subsequent marriage of the parents as legitimizing children born before marriage, provided they recognize the child as their own.

Within recent years, certain European countries, particularly Switzerland, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, have made changes in their laws favorable to the legal position of the child and tending to place more or less responsibility upon the illegitimate father for the support of his offspring and its mother. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the most progressive legislation abroad is that known as the Castberg Law, which became effective in Norway January 1st, 1916.

#### *Recent Progressive Legislation*

In America, the apparent aim of such laws as we have had on this matter has been to protect the community from any loss due to assistance given to the illegitimate mother and her child. Most of these laws are without even a glimmer of any human interest in either the mother or the child. As we became a bit more humane, the law was amended so that the mother might get a small sum through settlement with the child's father.

Up until 1917, when the Minnesota and North Dakota laws were passed, the best provision in this country for these children and their mothers, so far as I have been able to learn, was that contained in the Massachusetts law. This law makes the person adjudicated the father "liable to contribute reasonably to the support of the child during minority," and subject to all the orders of the court for the support and maintenance of the child as provided for in cases of non-support (1913—563). The non-support law provides "the court in its discretion, having regard to the circumstances and to the financial ability or earning capacity of the defendant, shall have power to make an order, which shall be subject to change by the court from time to time as circumstances may require, directing the defendant to pay a certain sum periodically, for a term not exceeding two years" for the support of the wife or child. (1911—456.)

The year 1917 saw some very advanced legislation regarding this problem. The State Child Welfare Commissions in Minnesota and Missouri recommended to their respective legislatures bills relating to

children of illegitimate parents that were very similar in purpose and results aimed at. Unfortunately none of the Missouri bills passed, but, with one exception, the Minnesota bills became law. At the same time a member of the House of Representatives in North Dakota introduced and secured the passage of the most advanced law existent in this country on this subject. It also has the merits of brevity, occupying but half a page in the proceedings. The North Dakota law declares:

Every child is hereby declared to be the legitimate child of its natural parents, and as such is entitled to support and education to the same extent as if it had been born in lawful wedlock. It shall inherit from its natural parents and from their kindred heir lineal and collateral.

This section shall apply to cases where the natural father of any such child is married to one other than the mother of said child, as well as where he is single. Provided, however, this law shall not be so construed as to give to said child a right to dwelling or a residence with the family of its father, if such father be married.

The mother of any child born out of lawful wedlock may, within one year after the birth of said child bring an action in the district court to establish the defendant to be its father. In such cases the parentage may be proved like any other fact. Provided, that the mother of said child shall not be considered a competent witness in any case where the alleged natural father of said child shall be dead at the time of the trial. Provided, that a statement in writing may be made by the parents of said child, admitting the parentage thereof, and upon which a judgment may be entered.

You will note that only two limitations are mentioned. The law is not to be so construed as to give a "child a right to dwelling or a residence with the family of its father, if such father be married," and the putative father must be living at the time of the trial. This law is the *ne plus ultra* in legislation respecting the points covered.

#### *The Minnesota Plan*

The Minnesota laws respecting children of unmarried parents were only a small but important part of the forty-three bills prepared and recommended for passage by the Minnesota Child Welfare Commission, thirty-five of which became law. To understand how the laws affecting children of unmarried parents were expected to function, we must know the fundamental idea underlying the whole group. This basic principle is "the proposition that the state is the ultimate guardian of children who need what they cannot provide for themselves and what natural or legal guardians are not providing." Theoretically, this sovereign right and duty on the part of every government has long been recognized. Practically, no state prior to this time has created machinery for exercising such guardianship, except as to limited groups. The first thing, therefore, that seemed necessary was to centralize so far as practicable the authority and duty of the state in an official body,—to personify, so to speak, the might of the state in an agency which could function for the state in the task of helping needy children. In other words, what we wanted to secure first was an effective piece of machinery to properly transform the strength of the state into action adequate to meet the need of any child under any circumstances and however obscure.

We have in Minnesota what is known as the State Board of Control, having general control and supervision of all state institutions.

Fortunately, this board has the confidence of the citizens of the state, of the members of the legislature, and of social workers, to a remarkable degree. It was decided to centralize the state's authority and duty toward needy children in this board. Accordingly, the board was given powers of guardianship, not only of children committed to institutions under its management, but also of children committed to its care, and it was authorized, to quote the language of the law, "to make such provision for and disposition of the child as necessity and the best interests of the child may from time to time require," except that no child is to be placed in an institution for delinquents who has not been adjudged a delinquent. It was upon this board that the express duty was laid of representing the state in safeguarding the interests of children of unmarried and of illegitimate parents. When notified of an unmarried woman who has become a mother or who is about to do so, it becomes the duty of the Board of Control "to take care that the interests of the child are safeguarded, that appropriate steps are taken to establish his paternity and that there is secured for him the nearest approximation to the care, support and education to which he would be entitled if born of lawful marriage." In order to make more clear the responsibility of the board, the law specifically states that "for the better accomplishment of this purpose, the board may initiate such legal or other action as is deemed necessary" and "may make such provision for the care, maintenance and education of the child as the best interests of the child may from time to time require."

Not only this, but the girl away off in some corner of the state who finds herself in trouble, who flees away to some lying-in-hospital to hide her shame, wrecked in body and mind, about to bring a new life into the world,—this girl is no longer to remain without a friend, for after laying upon the board the duties just mentioned, the law adds: "and may offer its aid and protection, in such ways as are found wise and expedient, to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood."

The possibilities in the service that may be rendered under this provision are simply beyond our comprehension. We do not know how it is going to work out. We have said to the board: "You shall do for her and her child that which needs to be done, in order that this child may occupy as nearly as possible his natural place in society." If that one power alone had been given to the Board of Control, with none of the others, it would have been a step in advance of anything else in our country today, and would have itself afforded a wonderful opportunity, calling for the very best that the board could give it.

Having thus created an agency to represent it in stretching forth the arm of compassion, having told the agency that it can initiate any action necessary to get results, even to the extent of furnishing help to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood, the state proceeded to outline further the methods by which these children are to be safeguarded.

It will be seen from what has been said that the state assumes that

every child has a right to have two responsible, legal parents and that where necessary the state shall institute suitable action to ensure this. When a man has been adjudged to be the father, he immediately becomes responsible for the care, maintenance and education, of the child, and subject to all the penalties for failure to perform these duties that are imposed upon a legitimate father. Judgment may also be entered against him for expenses incurred by the county for the mother during her sickness. It is also made possible for the mother "to recover from the father in a civil action all expenses necessarily incurred by her in connection with her confinement, including suitable maintenance" for eight weeks before and after confinement, and for burial of the child.

In order to overcome the difficulty caused by the reluctance of many unmarried mothers to file a complaint against the alleged father, the State Board of Control, or any person appointed to perform the duties of this board relating to children, may take the initiative. When a physician is called as a witness concerning the probable date of conception, he may testify without the consent of his patient.

The action necessary to obtain support is made more simple through a new definition in the Juvenile Court Law of the term *dependent child*, which is made to include "a child who is illegitimate."

One of the important objectives to be gained in these cases is to protect the mother and child from unnecessary publicity. The law, therefore, provides that the judge "may at his discretion, and at the request of either party shall exclude the general public from attendance at such examination." It further provides that all records of court proceedings shall be withheld from inspection except upon order of the court.

#### *Primary Purpose of Legislation*

Toward the end of the chapter, there is a declaration of principles which, while referred to by some as merely a bit of rhetoric, will, to those of us in social work, convey a meaning seldom found in written law. It declares that the purpose of the chapter "is primarily to safeguard the interests of illegitimate children and secure for them the nearest possible approximation to the care, support and education that they would be entitled to receive if born of lawful marriage, which purpose is hereby acknowledged and declared to be the duty of the state."

After we had provided for an agency in which would be centered the authority, responsibility, and power of initiative in protecting children of illegitimate parents, and after we had placed upon the illegitimate father and mother the same responsibility for the care of their child as if he had been born in lawful wedlock, we realized that something more was still needed. There is an old recipe for rabbit stew which begins thus: "First, catch your rabbit." What were we going to do to enable us to apprehend the alleged father who absconds to another state? We could find no suggestions in the laws of other states, so we evolved a method of our own, which we hope will stand the tests of the courts. We



provided that when issue is conceived of fornication, which is punishable as a minor offense, and the father absconds from the state with intent to evade proceedings to establish his paternity, he shall be guilty of a felony. This makes extradition possible.

Some of you are doubtless saying, "what becomes of the child whose mother goes to one of those private lying-in places that specialize in disposing of children undesired by their parents?" How is the state to know of his existence? Here again, everything is linked up through the Board of Control, which is required to license, supervise and inspect all such places.

The officer in charge of such a maternity hospital or infant home is required to keep careful records and to use due diligence in ascertaining whether a child is legitimate. "If there is reason to believe that he is illegitimate or will be illegitimate when born, such licensee or officer shall report to the State Board of Control within such time as the State Board may prescribe, the presence of such woman or child, together with such other information as the Board may require." The records are to be considered private and disclosed only to those having a legal right to the information. As these cases are reported, the Board is endeavoring to send a trained, tactful woman to interview the mother for the purpose of determining the steps necessary for the protection of the child. Offering to dispose of children or advertising a child for adoption is forbidden.

It was the belief of the Minnesota commission that careful supervision of lying-in hospitals with required reporting of every suspected case of an unmarried mother is essential to any proper handling of this problem. The commission also believed it essential that parents be deprived of their long enjoyed privilege of signing away their parental rights in a child without suitable court action. Prior to January 1st, 1918, it was possible in Minnesota, as it is in most states, to sign away a child with less formality than a piece of real estate. The new law provides that "no person other than the parents or relatives may assume the permanent control or care of a child under fourteen years of age unless authorized so to do by an order or decree of court." Supplementing this, the Board of Control is held responsible for seeing that proper care is given to every child permanently placed in a foster home by either a public or a private agency.

Another loophole through which many an unfortunate child has slipped away, for better or worse, with never a thought respecting his future on the part of the state, theoretically guarding his interests, is found in the usual proceedings for adoption. This opening was effectually closed by providing that "upon the filing of a petition for the adoption of a minor child, the court shall notify the State Board of Control. It shall then be the duty of the Board to verify the allegations of the petition; to investigate the conditions and antecedents of the child for the purpose of ascertaining whether is is a proper subject for adoption; and to make appropriate inquiry to determine whether the proposed

foster home is a suitable home for the child." The board is required to submit to the court a full report in writing with its recommendation as to the granting of the petition. Furthermore, no petition can be granted until the child has lived for six months in the proposed home, except "upon good cause shown" satisfactory to the court.

Another angle of the problem is met in the Minnesota law by a provision that the name of the putative father shall not be entered without his consent upon the birth certificate by the attending physician or midwife. When he is adjudged the father, the clerk of court is to notify the State Registrar of Vital Statistics, who enters the record. To avoid the possibility of inquisitive people learning from the bureau the name of an illegitimate father or mother, registrars are required to transcribe in a book which is known as "the public record of births" certain identifying items relating to all children, including the name of the mother, but with the name of the father omitted. This applies alike to all children whether born in or out of lawful wedlock. All transcripts for use in connection with school attendance and employment certificates are to be taken from this record. No registrar is now permitted to "disclose the fact that any record of birth or death shows that any child was either legitimate or illegitimate," except when so ordered by a court of record.

It is necessary to refer to another law which is destined to play an important part in the care of these children in Minnesota. It is the one which authorizes the Board of Control to call an annual conference with officials responsible for the enforcement of laws relating to children for the purpose of promoting economy, uniformity, and efficiency in their enforcement, and providing for the payment of the expenses of probate judges attending. These judges serve as juvenile court judges in all but six of our eighty-six counties.

To complete the picture of what the new laws do for these children in Minnesota, we must also refer to the provision for County Child Welfare Boards. Already twenty-six counties have organized these boards, which are charged with the performance of "such duties as may be required of them by the Board of Control in furtherance of the purposes of the act." Through these county boards, it is expected that the central bureau at the capitol will be able to reach out into the furthestmost corner of the state and render assistance quickly to any needy child.

#### *Summary and Comparison*

The principal difference between the Minnesota law and the provision submitted to the Missouri legislature, which unfortunately did not become law, is that the Missouri commission provided for less centralization of authority and responsibility in a single agency, while placing more responsibility and initiative in the hands of county boards. Neither was provision made in Missouri for an official investigation by the state precedent to the granting of adoption papers. Of course, there were many differences in detail.

In the fundamental principles, there is a remarkable similarity between the provisions of the Castberg Law passed in Norway and those of our own Minnesota law and the proposed Missouri code. An important difference, however, is that in Norway the child is given an equal right to the name of the father and mother. No similar action has been taken in this country. In Minnesota we deliberately omitted such a provision, believing that it was of doubtful advantage to either mother or child, while possessing decided disadvantages for both.

In addition to placing the responsibility for care and maintenance upon both parents the Norwegian law adds that such maintenance shall be in accordance with the economic condition of the one most favorably situated. It also gives the child the same right of inheritance as if legitimate. If more than one man is involved, they may all be held liable for maintenance, the amount being apportioned among them.

An interesting provision makes it possible to make a special assessment on the father for confirmation expenses. The provisions to compel payments are very rigid. Wages may be garnisheed, banks required to give information as to the means of the father, and tax authorities as to his taxable properties whenever the man has been adjudged the father or has acknowledged his paternity in writing.

Any discussion of recent legislation affecting children of unmarried parents would be incomplete without reference to the Compensation Act passed by Congress for men in service. In this act, the national government itself has recognized the duty of the illegitimate father to provide for his offspring by placing the granting of allowances on the same basis as for children born in lawful wedlock.

The Minnesota laws became effective on the first of last January. Since then, the Board of Control has established a department of child welfare and has given encouraging indications of its determination to develop this phase of the work. It is too much to expect that practices that have come down through the centuries until they have become fixed in our customs and laws can be wholly changed in a few months. It is too early to even predict what the results are going to be, but such indications as there are give grounds for optimism on the part of those who are battling for the welfare of that great army of innocent children long compelled to suffer bitterly, yet to so large an extent unnecessarily, because of the mistakes of others.

Yesterday the child born out of lawful wedlock was regarded as *filius nullius*—the child of no one. Today a more reasonable world makes him the child of his natural mother. May we not hope that we are at the dawn of a tomorrow where a more just world will regard him as the child of both parents, entitled so far as possible to the same care, support, education and training that he would have had if born of lawful parentage.

## THE ATTITUDE OF MARRIED PARENTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS TOWARD UNMARRIED PARENTS\*

*Mrs. Frank D. Watson, Haverford, Pennsylvania, Chairman, Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood*

In his introduction to the book by Mr. Kammerer on *The Unmarried Mother*, Dr. Healy states that he believes that the question of misconduct involved in conception outside the bounds of legal marriage should be taken up apart from all other forms of delinquency, inasmuch as it involves the initiation of the most important of biological processes. Whereas most infraction of law coincides with destructive results, here we have a law-breaker as a constructive agent giving as concrete evidence of her "misbehavior" nature's highest product, a human being.

### *Standards of Constructive Parenthood*

This statement is a challenge to an analysis of the factors involved in parenthood as a constructive force in human society. Is every parent necessarily "a constructive agent," or are there certain standards which must be met in the production of a human being before such production can be called "constructive?"

The following standards are offered tentatively as a basis for a discussion of constructive parenthood:

1. Every child to be born should be consciously desired and purposively conceived in love by *both* parents. In other words, parenthood should be voluntary, deliberate and based on mutual love.
2. Every child born should have a sound heredity and be free from congenital disease and defect.
3. Before any child is conceived, its potential parents should be certain that they will have the economic necessities of life, i. e., at least enough to build up health and maintain physical efficiency in their child.
4. Adequate parenthood must in addition depend on the intelligence of both parents and the willingness of both to exercise responsibility without cessation during the period of dependence of their offspring on the following points:

a. Physical development, including a rational diet, attention to the laws of hygiene, care in sickness and in health.

b. Mental development, including home training, training for industrial efficiency, and training for cultural enjoyment.

c. Moral and spiritual development, including daily training in right habit formation and character, education for an understanding of sex and parenthood, training for citizenship and social service, education in the religious and spiritual life.

5. Adequate parenthood also includes on the part of both parents an understanding of the value of membership in a social group and of

\* Paper prepared in connection with studies leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, under the Carola Woerrishoeffer Department of Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.



the great desirability of the conscious acceptance by both parents of the decisions and customs of their social group as expressed by law.

Such a set of standards is necessarily tentative. Is it not desirable, however, that something of the kind should be prepared, carefully thought out and tested by experience, with a rating assigned to each significant point? To illustrate, if adequate parenthood, acceptable to society, should be counted as entitled to a rank of 100 points, given points of varying amounts could be assigned to each of the subdivisions under this. For the sake of discussion, the following chart has been prepared with arbitrary rating allotted as follows:

*Standards in Parenthood*

(Adequate parenthood = 100 points)

I	Parenthood based on mutual and abiding love, consciously desired and planned for by both parents	Points
		10
II	Parenthood based on sound heredity and congenial health	20
III	Parenthood based on sufficiency of economic necessities	20
IV	Parenthood based on intelligence and responsibility for:	
	1. physical development . . . . . 10	
	2. mental development . . . . . 10	
	3. moral and spiritual development . . 10	30
V	Parenthood based on legality	20
		Total
		100

Such a set of standards would have a direct bearing on the point of view already quoted from Dr. Healy. Would a parent who failed to come up to any of these standards, or even to a majority of them, be called a "constructive agent"? Surely the giving of life may be a destructive act if a pathological human being results. A human being may be nature's highest product, but it certainly is not so if it lives without health, without peace, without joy or without making any contribution to social welfare.

The application of this set of standards to the problem of the unmarried mother now becomes clear. In the past our emphasis has been largely upon the fact that the unmarried mother has failed to come up to our fifth standard—that of legality.

Because of her failure on this one point, because she and her child stand out clearly as law-breakers, society has placed a stigma upon her and upon the child. The illegitimate father who has also failed to come up to this same standard has often escaped. Other parents who have failed to come up to other standards, which may be of equal or higher rating fail to incur the same severe stigma. It is true without doubt that the illegitimate parents often fail to measure up to other standards

beside the one of legality, but it is not for such failure that they are punished or that they are branded with stigma.

As the words *punishment* and *stigma* are used so frequently in this discussion, it seems wise to define them at this point. By *punishment* is meant suffering inflicted by society upon an individual for an act committed against its laws, the measure of the punishment being determined by the crime, irrespective of its effect on the offender.

By *stigma* is meant that form of punishment which society inflicts by expressing its scorn or condemnation through complete or partial ostracism.

### *The Social Attitude*

As leaders of thought, married parents with normal experience and social workers, is the present attitude of society that which we wish to have prevail? Is this attitude something inherited from the past, and outworn by changing conditions, or is it clearly thought out and consciously accepted in order that we may reach a definite goal? If so, what is the goal which we aim to reach, and are we succeeding in reaching it?

In an article entitled, *When Mating and Parenthood are Theoretically Distinguished*, Elsie Clews Parsons voices an objection to our present attitude toward unmarried parents. She outlines a plan whereby parents should before their marriage make a definite contract with the state, "a parenthood contract," agreeing to give proper care to their children. She then advocates that parents who fail to come up to certain standards ("parents of improper age or otherwise defective," parents shifting their responsibility as to the care and bringing up of their children) shall all be considered illegitimate. Illegitimacy then would refer to parents only, not to offspring, and to parents in so far as they shirk their responsibilities, both to their offspring and to the state.

While we may not feel that as yet these standards of Mrs. Parsons, or those suggested in this paper, almost identical as they are, should be made legally binding, few would question but that these standards (or others to be worked out) are the goal which an ever increasing number of parents must reach in order that the coming generations may be men and women of the calibre needed by our country. In the case of illegitimate parents, can our present attitude help such parents to attain this goal? Can anyone with a knowledge of human behavior fail to realize that punishment and stigma do not help an illegitimate mother to develop a sense of responsibility and to become as fine a mother as she still may be to her child? Neither entire freedom from responsibility nor punishment helps the man to become a better father. The writer advocates that neither punishment nor stigma should be the lot of either the man, woman or child involved in the illegitimate family.

This is certainly clear in the case of the child. While he or she is the result of an act breaking the law, the child is entirely innocent and may have, in any given case, potentialities as great as any other child. "A society that does not properly care for this individual, born or unborn,

callously sins against its own moral and physical welfare," says Dr. Healy. It is our task to see to it that this child has, as far as is humanly possible, every opportunity that we try to obtain for every child born in legal marriage. The first step in thus equalizing opportunity is to create such a public opinion that the child shall no longer be punished for acts committed by its parents. Concretely, we should drop the term *the illegitimate child* as we have dropped the terms *the worthy and unworthy poor*, or as the term *bastard* has been dropped from the Minnesota law. We should think of this child as a *dependent* child, needing our careful study and thought to give him understanding, love and opportunities for same, normal home life or its approximation. If the above described standards of parenthood can be reached or even approximated, and if both parents wish it, there seems no doubt but that the marriage of our child's parents is the ideal solution.

*If Normal Standards Cannot be Attained*

If these standards can not be reached, however,—if such marriage can not be on a sound basis of love and mutual respect, it seems clear that the marriage of the parents should *never* be urged or even encouraged. Given this decision, we must try to build up just as much of a family life as we can, keeping the child with either the mother or father, according to which one can more adequately attain our standards. For the first six to ten months it is usually vital to keep the child with the mother, except in the case of a defective mother. In the majority of cases, judged from our present knowledge, it would seem wise to keep the child with the mother after that, or at least to allow her to keep constantly in touch with the child and to have the maximum responsibility for its care and development.

Here we must emphasize the value of arousing in the mother a sense of joy in the developing life of the child and the realization that she may still attain a high standard of parenthood. Those of us who have the privilege of being parents ourselves know only too well the difficulties that arise in adequate child training and the vital role that joy has in arousing in us and in our children mutual understanding and love. What more wonderful sight than to see parent and child absorbed in spontaneous play together! For the father as well as for the mother, such a joyous attitude toward the child can do much in building a sound foundation. But how can such joy be aroused if either parent constantly thinks of the child as a burden, the result of a crime and the cause of continued ostracism? We must minimize the past and emphasize the possibilities of the future. Granted that the parents can not attain the first, or the fifth of our standards, other standards of responsibility and joy still remain open to them and it is our privilege to work with both, to help them to attain the highest standards of parenthood still within their reach.

In order to do this safely, instead of punishment, we must have

made a very careful diagnosis of the cases of both parents, whenever it is possible to reach both. We must have a scientific analysis of all the facts in their lives which have led up to their parenthood. As the aim of the juvenile court is that no child should be punished, but studied and understood and helped, so these parents must be studied and understood and helped, their weak points discovered, their potentialities found and their cases so treated that in accordance with their needs and limitations, the essentials of normal living will be supplied to them. Above all, in this group as in every other, we must apply that vital principle of social case work, individualization of treatment. In applying any general rules that may be laid down, this principle of individualization must be kept constantly in mind, for every individual case must be judged on its own merits.

In an article in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for May, 1918, certain principles of case work with the illegitimate family have already been discussed by the present writer. In this paper as in that article, it must be stressed that for the sake of the child the mother must be given wider opportunities for normal living than is usually the case at present. We fail so often in our case work with this mother because we turn to the easiest thing, domestic service, and we place her there with her baby regardless of whether she is fitted for this work or whether in such a position she can give adequate care to her child and have opportunities for adequate pay, normal hours of work, companionship, recreation and future development. Certain studies which have been made in the past seem to show that more illegitimate mothers come from domestic service than from any other occupation. Such a conclusion cannot be accepted until further analysis is made and especially until it is known exactly what proportion of women are to be found in domestic service. It is, however, undoubtedly true that domestic service is an occupation in many cases having low standards in all the points mentioned. Whenever an unmarried mother seems especially fitted for domestic service, we should see that if possible she is given further training in domestic science and then placed under standardized conditions. In fact, whenever possible we should consider vocational training for the unmarried mother, that she may more adequately fulfill the responsibilities of parenthood in the future.

#### *Prospective Research; A Tentative Program*

The problem of work, other than domestic service, for the unmarried mother does not differ, in the opinion of the writer, from the problem of work for any mother with a young child or children. This problem is one needing careful study, and the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, therefore, is gratified to report that at its request, the Bureau of Social Research of Seybert Institute and the Carola Woerrihoefer Department of Social Research of Bryn Mawr College, are to co-operate during the winter of 1918-19, in a study of *Mothers in*



*Industry*, with an especial emphasis on the effect of industrial life of mothers upon the home.

While waiting for the results of this and other studies, experimentation will have to be carried on in placing children in boarding homes with their mothers, the children being cared for by the boarding mothers, while the child's own mother may work at the occupation pursued before the birth of her child. Pensions for such mothers supplementing support from the fathers of their children, may be tried in some cases. It is possible that the movement of women into industry, due to the war, may make necessary a scientific creche for the care of children, with far higher standards of child care and child training than those of our usual day nurseries at present.

Such a program as that outlined above, does not mean for one moment that we lose sight of the values that are at stake, or that we plan to meet them with maudlin sentimentalism. The poison ivy will remain the poison ivy, no matter how carefully we water it and tend it, and the moral imbecile will remain the moral imbecile, no matter what opportunity is given him or her. Such a scientific understanding of the congenital limitations of human beings is not placing a stigma upon them however, but is understanding the facts—an essential in any sound program of treatment. The treatment of the feeble-minded illegitimate mother or father has not been discussed here, however, as they differ in no vital way from other feeble-minded individuals, and the problem of their treatment can more properly be handled by those studying the entire problem of feeble-mindedness.

#### *Constructive Social Measures*

One vital question still remains to be asked before we close our discussion: Can we, by our attitude, do constructive work which will cut down the amount of illegitimacy? A trained public opinion has demanded a higher standard of public health, and it has obtained it. In the same way a trained public opinion can demand a higher standard of social morality, and it will secure it. Just as we have learned that in treating a case of typhoid fever, it is part of our work to go back of the individual patient who is sick, and find the impure water supply, or the infected milk supply that is causing typhoid fever in that community, so we must go back of individual cases of immorality and find the social causes at work in the community producing these social evils. Such work has been done since the outbreak of the war around the cantonments. There are social causes at work within the control of the community which can greatly reduce immorality and illegitimacy. These are known so well to this group that I shall only mention certain of them, dwelling for a moment on one or two whose value seems to the writers underemphasized by even this trained group. The proper diagnosis and care of the feeble-minded is a problem that has been considered by this Conference for years. Proper housing facilities are

known to have a direct connection with social morality. An adequate wage for both men and women offers opportunities for normal life, which is vital in the prevention of illegitimacy. Vocational education and vocational guidance will in the future be given to every boy and girl, so that he or she will find that place in industry for which they are best fitted and which offers them constantly widening opportunities.

It is in the field of sex and parenthood, that the writer feels this group can especially exert so much influence. First must come an understanding and recognition of the significance of parenthood as a social force. The president of a leading woman's college is said to have stated that such a per cent of her students had entered teaching, that so many had entered professional life, and so many had done nothing of significance, but had merely married. In another woman's college, when a young mother asked for a course in psychology, so that she might be a better mother to her children, she was told by the head of the department of psychology that he had no interest in anything of *that* kind. If this is true for mothers, a large majority of whose time is devoted to their children, how much more is it true of fathers? Yet, even so, we all know of the increase of criminality since the war, in part due to the absence of the father's training. If the home is the best place to be found for the training of our children and if the training of our children is one of the most vital things in building up the character of our national life, must we not take parenthood more seriously? To attain such a set of standards as outlined here, or to attain even part of them is no small task. The daily training of the child in character and for social service demands preparation on the part of both father and mother.

This Division has already spent one session in listening to the excellent paper on the neglected child, by Mr. Towne. Can anyone fail to realize how inadequately fitted were the parents of such children (even though legally married) to enter upon the task of parenthood, when the state granted them a marriage license? Can we not begin before this step is taken to educate both our boys and our girls for intelligent, responsible parenthood? Formerly it was believed that boys only should be trained for professional life and girls only should be prepared by their mothers in their homes for parenthood. Adequate education for both sexes today must recognize that neither the industrial life, nor parenthood is the exclusive prerogative of either sex, but that both girls and boys need to be educated thoroughly and intelligently for self-support and for the work of preparing the next generation.

In the opinion of the writer, a changed attitude on the part of thoughtful people on these points would have a vital influence, not only in preventing the social phenomenon of illegitimacy, but in greatly raising the standard of all parenthood.

## INFORMAL DISCUSSION

To this discussion Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Alexandria, Va.; A. Medorah Donahue, Baltimore; Rev. A. M. O'Neill, Rochester, and C. C. Carstens of Boston also contributed.

## MENTAL AND PHYSICAL DIAGNOSIS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN\*

*Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Ph.D., Director, Vocation Bureau, Public Schools, Cincinnati*

The ideal demand to be made upon school systems, and doubtless the real demand of the future, is that every school system be supplied with sufficient service of the physician and the psychologist to give every child the benefit of a thorough mental and physical examination. No school system at present comes up to this demand in either field, mental or physical.

Physical or medical examinations of school children are far better provided for than mental examinations. Every city school system, and most rural systems, have some provisions for the services of a physician. With the present ideals and attainable equipment it is fair to demand that every school have a medical service which will at least detect and treat, if the parents so desire, gross defects such as tonsils, adenoids, deafness, poor vision, enlarged glands, weak lungs, heart lesions, orthopedic defects of the more evident type, malnutrition and skin diseases. The medical service ought also to be able to diagnose all common infectious diseases, and see that the proper protective measures are adopted. A service that falls behind this standard is unsatisfactory even in the light of present possibilities.

At present only a few of our larger school systems are supplied with well trained psychologists for mental diagnosis. None of the psychological laboratories are sufficiently manned to grant all the requests for examinations which come from the schools. None of them even approach the possibility of making a thorough mental examination of every child. A fair demand at present is that every school be supplied with skilled psychological service, sufficient in amount to allow of the examination of every child who shows marked variations from the normal in any direction. By skilled psychological service is meant a department whose head is a thoroughly trained experimental psychologist and in which the assistants are university graduates with some special training in experimental psychology. A training in Binet tests alone is entirely inadequate.

At present mental tests are more useful in indicating the degree of

\*A summary of the report of a sub-committee of the Division on Children, consisting of the following members: Helen T. Woolley, Augusta Bronner, Grace Fernald, Kate Gordon, Major M. E. Haggerty, Mrs. Vinnie C. Hicks, Solomon Lowenstein, D. P. McMillan, E. A. Peterson, Rudolph Pintner, Edward K. Strong, Jr., Jessie Taft, Elsa Ueland, J. E. Wallace Wallin, C. V. Williams.

mental ability, than in distinguishing types of ability. The most important groups to be distinguished on this basis, and those for which every school system ought to have special provision, are the following:

- (a) The mental defectives.
- (b) The permanently retarded.
- (c) The temporarily retarded.
- (d) The very superior.

(a) Most public school systems refuse to admit children whose defects are so extreme that they are practically unteachable—those whose limit of probable development is six years or less. Such children need only custodial care. It is the belief of the present committee that the upper limit for mental defect should be fixed, pending further evidence, at a ten year level. In terms of school grades, this means that third, or, in some instances, fourth grade academic work marks the limits of accomplishment\* of the defective.

(b) The group of permanently retarded children is much larger than that of the defectives, and is a more vexing educational problem. They are children who can doubtless be made self-supporting in simple occupations, and who can often be taught to conduct themselves properly. They attain a mental age from ten to twelve years or somewhat more and complete fifth, sixth and occasionally seventh or eighth grade. This group furnishes many of the problems of behavior in our schools.

(c) The temporarily retarded children are those who have lost ground academically because of illness, undue absence from school or poor advantages. To distinguish temporary from permanent retardation is by no means easy. In some cases the diagnosis cannot be made without a period of trial in a special class. Temporarily retarded children can frequently make up part or all what they have lost and be returned to the regular classes.

(d) Superior children, who constitute a particularly precious asset of society, have been for the most part given no special advantages in our schools. Classes recently formed in Urbana, in Louisville, and in Cincinnati, have shown that children diagnosed as very superior can progress twice as fast in elementary school work as the present rate, without strain. They not only move at twice the rate but do the work better than the average child. Segregating them gives them the advantages of the stimulus of minds of equal capacity, of being kept normally busy, of forming good habits of work, and of securing more education in the years of their school life than would otherwise be possible.

So far this report has discussed the differential diagnosis and treatment of children based upon differences in degree of ability. The problem of special kinds of abilities and special disabilities is more obscure. Frequently what appears like a disability in reading, in spelling or in arithmetic turns out to be merely had mental habits. Special abilities in oratory, in music, in literary expression are apt to be part of a high level



of general ability. The entire topic needs much more investigation before anything very definite can be said.

The evident disabilities of blindness and defective vision, deafness and defective hearing, and speech defect are already provided for in special classes of our larger school systems, and should, of course, have treatment in every community. In many states, appropriations from state funds supplement local resources in providing suitable instruction for the blind and deaf.

The connection between mental status and problems of behavior in the schools is one which needs much further investigation. The psychologist of the future can doubtless be much more useful in helping to solve problems of behavior, than he has been in the past. A child who is placed in a class in which the work is much too hard for him may react against the unreasonable demands by being unruly, and by playing truant. A child whose work is much too easy for him may get into mischief in his spare time. Though these sources of misbehavior are certainly frequent, genuine mental conflicts are probably a more frequent source of serious misbehavior, and are much more difficult to deal with. In this direction some of the most important contributions of the future may be looked for.

In closing, the committee would like to call attention to the importance to social agencies of having a well conducted psychological clinic in the public schools. Within a few years, such a clinic collects information about the problem families of the community, which is of the greatest service to the social agencies. Since the criminals and chronic incompetents of the future are to be found at present among the school children who are failures and problems of behavior, preventive work should have its source in such a clinic.

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#### RELATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS IN THE ARMY TO EXAMINATIONS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

*Major M. E. Haggerty, Sanitary Corps, Washington*

Major Haggerty stated that soon after the declaration of war, a group of psychologists spent two or three weeks at Vineland, N. J., and there formulated a group of tests. These were not new in principle and were nothing more than adaptation and standardization of tests already used in clinics.

Several thousand men were examined and then the psychologists met again and revised tests. About 4,000 army and navy men in all were examined by these tests for large groups. No revision was made after the second trial. The second trial did give classification for men in army groups. About 66,000 were tested in four camps including officers in training at Fort Snelling.

The meaning of this for public school work is: (a) the demonstration of possibility of testing large numbers in groups. (b) The relation of the survey tests of this type to the general tests of public schools. Both tests may be used in public schools under one source of direction. (c) The possibilities of finding out the extent of special ability and disability of school children.

The great demand for psychologists in the army has developed a psychological personnel far beyond what existed a year ago. In fact, it would have taken ten years to accomplish this work in normal times. We will get out of this standards of training for psychologists. We must insist on adequate training, and, in general, that no person shall give psychological tests who has not had fundamental psychological training in the university and also clinical experience under direction. They must also have certificates.

Over two hundred psychologists are now being trained in the army in giving both group and individual tests. Major Haggerty said that the ability to give a mental test, such as the Binet, no more qualifies the person giving it to be a psychological diagnostician or clinical psychologist, than the reading of the thermometer qualifies one to practice medicine.

The question is, what does it mean to bring the tests into public schools? First, the classified basis of actual measurement, and second, perhaps the most important service will be, the release of superior children from school routine.

**II.**  
**DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION**

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

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### *Chairman*

Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder,  
Superintendent, Women's Reformatory, Framingham, Mass.

### *Vice Chairman*

Charles L. Chute,  
Secretary, State Probation Commission, Albany, N. Y.

### *Secretary*

F. Leslie Hayford,  
Secretary, Trustees, Mass. Training Schools, Boston.

<p>Col. Cyrus B. Adams.....Boston            Edith N. Burleigh.....Cambridge, Mass            Emos W. Butler.....Indianapolis            Rev. Peter Crumley.....Joliet, Ill.            Bernard Glueck, M. D.....Ossining, N. Y.            Hon. Charles W. Hoffman.....Cincinnati            William J. Homer...Great Meadow, N. Y.            George W. Kirchwey.....New York</p>	<p>F. Emory Lyon.....Chicago            Harry L. McClain.....St. Louis            S. D. Murphy.....Birmingham            David C. Peyton, M. D..Jeffersonville, Ind.            Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin.....Philadelphia            John J. Sonstebly.....Chicago            Rev. John L. Sutton.....New Orleans</p>
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## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, one hundred and seventy-one delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as appointed at the 1917 Conference at Pittsburgh, is shown on the opposite page. Eight meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 11:00 a. m., "Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts" .....	124
May 17, 9:15 a. m., "Court Methods of Dealing with Girls and Women Charged with Sex Offenses" .....	132
May 17, 11:00 a. m., "The Next Step in Treatment of Girl and Women Offenders" (general session) .....	117
May 18, 9:15 a. m., "Probation and Parole" .....	140
May 18, 11:00 a. m., "Delinquency and the Schools" .....	155
May 18, 8:15 p. m., "The War and Prisons" (general session) .....	121
May 20, 9:15 a. m., "A Square Deal in the Courts" .....	167
May 22, 11:00 a. m., "Prohibition and Delinquency" .....	172

The meeting on May 16th and the first session on May 18th were joint meetings with the National Probation Association. The second session on May 18th was a joint meeting with Division VIII, on Mental Hygiene.

On May 16th, at 12:45 p. m., the Division met at luncheon. At 1:45 a business session was held, the chairman being Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder of Framingham, Mass., and the secretary, F. Leslie Hayford of Boston.

It was voted that the chairman appoint a Committee on Nominations, to consist of five persons, including the chairman, and that this committee report on Saturday morning, May 18th, nominations for members of the Division Committee.

The chairman appointed the following Committee on Nominations: Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Charles Tuxbury, Windsor, Vt.; Thomas C. O'Brien, Boston, Mass.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.; Charles W. Wilson, Vergennes, Vt.

A second business meeting of the Division was held on Saturday, May 18th, at 12:00 m., Mrs. Hodder presiding and Mr. Hayford acting as secretary.

The Committee on Nominations reported that it recommended that the following persons be nominated for members of the Division Committee for the terms stated (see Part B, sec. 3, appendix).

It was voted that the recommendation of the Committee on Nominations be adopted and that the above named persons be nominated for members of the Division Committee to serve for the terms stated and that Col. Cyrus B. Adams of St. Charles, Ill., be nominated for chairman of the Division Committee for the ensuing year.

(Signed) JESSIE D. HODDER, Chairman.

F. LESLIE HAYFORD, Secretary.

## THE NEXT STEP IN THE CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT OF GIRL AND WOMEN OFFENDERS

*Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Superintendent, Reformatory for Women, Framingham, Massachusetts*

Reformatories for women are not now meeting the needs of the women sentenced to them by the courts. We reach this conclusion from a conviction that with so poor a tool no worth-while result can be achieved.

A reformatory which receives women from all of the courts of a given state has within its walls a group of people whose only common denominator is crime. How diversified such a group may be is shown

*Chart I, Analysis of Population of Massachusetts Reformatory for Women*

	NO NERVOUS DEFECT	NEURO- PATHIC	PSYCHO- PATHIC	EPILEPTICS	HYSTERICAL	TOTAL	TOTAL PERCENT
IMBECILE	5	0	1	0	0	6	1.2
MORON	35	16	4	15	6	76	14.9
SUBNORMAL	40	49	22	25	9	145	29.0
DULL	36	32	11	15	8	102	20.4
FAIR	24	10	15	15	0	68	13.6
GOOD	44	24	11	13	15	107	21.0
TOTAL NUMBER	182	131	64	61	44	500	—
TOTAL PERCENT	36.4%	26.2%	12.8%	16.2%	8.8%	—	100.0%

in Chart I, which is an analysis of the population of the Reformatory for Women of Massachusetts in 1915.

To turn such a group as this into a family whose chief purpose is re-formation of moral standards is to attempt the impossible. They have no common sympathies, no mental loyalties, no common ideals.

Let us turn the focus another way for a moment. Let us forget that we are talking about reformatories or prisoners. Just suppose, for the sake of argument, that we are discussing a new state project in which it is proposed to build an institution to house epileptic, feeble-minded, psychopathic, hysterical, neurasthenic, and normal women, who range in mentality from imbecile to high school grade, with 12 per cent illiterates,

foreign and native. One immediately sees how unconstructive such a plan is. If such a group were to be brought together because of appendicitis, or heart trouble even, one would pity the administration.

This is, however, the setting of our reformatories, because this is the population going through our courts, because no state has developed the policy of caring for its criminal women on the basis of an analysis of its criminal population. Reformatories, therefore, cannot meet the needs of the criminal women because they are not equipped to handle so complex a share of the state's burdens as falls to their lot.

A state reformatory or state training school should not transfer sane patients nor discharge them into the community as "unfit subjects," short of the maximum sentence, unless cured; it should make of itself the state laboratory on delinquency and by its studies should shape the state policy for the treatment of *all* of the state's delinquent women. There should be no tag ends to relieve administrative strain; the tool, by which I mean the reformatory, should be made strong and flexible enough to do the job so that no phase of the woman criminal problem should be left untouched. We ask, at last, to be conscious of it *all*. By conscious, we mean a whole-hearted consciousness of the needs of each prisoner and the possibility of fulfilling those needs, be they re-education with a view to reinstatement in the community, or hospital treatment to correct nervous defect, or permanent custodial care. The question may well be asked, Why mix hospital care with reformatory treatment?—that is, hospital care of the kind required for the treatment of psychopathic and neurasthenic women, with reformatory treatment, which used to mean fitting people for community life. The answer is—that the next step in the treatment of criminal women involves such action.

The states which build reformatories now are either going shortly to begin to transfer their unmanageable types to the state prison (that is, to the female annex of the men's prison), or what is just as bad, they will agitate for the building of a women's prison to relieve them of their unruly inmates. Now, an unmanageable woman prisoner is so because of nervous or mental defect, or both, and no prison discipline will overcome that defect. If the Women's Reformatory of Massachusetts, an institution with forty years' experience, has done nothing else for the cause of the criminal women, it has demonstrated that no women's prison is necessary; that no men's prison should have a female annex; that women prisoners should not be classified according to age or crime. It was built to duplicate, as nearly as possible, the men's prison. Time and use have modified its work. It has 60.7 per cent misdemeanants, 37.6 per cent felons, and 1.5 per cent lifers. So far as these crime designations go, they have no influence on our work. It is the personality of the woman that counts; it is the type to which she belongs which affects her harmfulness or helpfulness in the institution group, and which determines the kind of treatment she must receive. This being true, what is our next step?



Women criminals divide themselves roughly into three groups: (1) those who may safely be returned to the community after training; (2) those who need permanent custodial care; (3) those about whom prognosis is doubtful because they have formed the disciplinary problem wherever they have been, and for whom no method of treatment has been worked out.

Taking Chart I as a basis, we have analyzed the 5310 women criminals of Massachusetts who were on probation or sentenced to institutions in 1915, the year Chart I was made. I realize that such an analysis can only be tentative, but it is good material to argue from.

*Chart II, Classification of 5310 Women Criminals of Massachusetts on Probation or Sentenced to Institutions in 1915*

	NO NERVOUS DEFECT	NEURO- PATHS	PSYCHO- PATHS	EPILEPTIC	HYSTER- ICAL	TOTAL TOTAL PER CENT
IMBECILES	63 1%	—	11 .2%	—	—	64 1.2%
MORON	350 6.6%	170 3.2%	43 .8%	159 3%	64 1.2%	786 14.8%
SUBNORMAL	425 8%	520 9.8%	234 4.4%	265 5%	96 1.8%	1540 29%
DULL	382 7.2%	340 6.4%	117 2.2%	159 3%	85 1.6%	1083 20.4%
FAIR	255 4.8%	106 2%	138 2.6%	138 2.6%	85 1.6%	722 13.6%
GOOD	467 8.8%	255 4.8%	117 2.2%	138 2.6%	138 2.6%	1115 21%
TOTAL	1932 36.4%	1391 26.2%	560 10.4%	859 16.2%	468 8.8%	5310 100%

GROUP I—NORMAL, 1104, or 20.8%. GROUP II—FEEBLEMINDED, 850, or 16%.

GROUP III—3356, or 63.2%.

Given this as the woman criminal problem, it is surely evident that a reformatory, as we now think of that institution, cannot meet the needs of these women. Is it evident that a reformatory is not even necessary? Has the time come to give up reformatories? Are they going out?

In 1915 probation in Massachusetts carried 2783 women. This chart says there were only 1104 mentally and nervously normal women in all that year. Probation then was hampered with a large number of women who should never be dealt with on probation. Could probation handle all normal women who commit crimes? Numerically, yes. How about putting a murderess on probation? It has been done and done

successfully. There should be no limit to the possibilities of probation of normal women, because probation has all of the community resources at its disposal, also because of its low per capita cost the state could well afford to keep the number of probationers to each probation officer low. Probation officers would know better than I whether their technique would meet the needs of a criminal population of normal women of this size—theoretically it should be able to do so.

The *second group* are those who should have permanent custodial care. There are, in this analysis, 850 feeble-minded women who would need such care. These women should form a farm colony group in buildings of the simplest construction. Perhaps when their restlessness for city life wore off, they might be given under good leadership the problem of reducing the state's importation of poultry and eggs. They might? Well, let us be very optimistic about these poor souls who must never again be called criminals, but who are bearers of the "sins of the fathers." Let us say that with a combined truck garden, poultry farm, and light state-use industries for winter, they might be made self-supporting.

The *third group* are those about whom we know the least. They have formed the major disciplinary problem wherever they have been and were long supposed to be just bad. In some institutions they are chained to the floor, the administration being utterly at sea how to manage them. At an earlier stage of our social history one can imagine them being burned as witches. They certainly act possessed. If they were to commit murder, a plea of insanity might be filed, but when they are torturing themselves or the administration or fellow prisoners, alienists will not call them insane, and insane hospitals discharge them. Have they a socially available norm of conduct? Can they be trained to return to the community as useful citizens? This is the crux of the next step in the correctional treatment of criminal women. The question can never be solved by a reformatory, as we know that institution.

The problem is not one of giving in to the whims of nervous women. It is not a question of *conduct color-blindness* on their part, but a question of basic nervous defect as real as the loss of an arm is real to the physical body or as insanity is real to one's mental self.

A psychopathic or epileptic woman is a nervous cripple; her struggles for social adjustment are those of a soul pent up in an uncongenial body. Every struggle she makes plunges her deeper and deeper into behavior complexes until the last stage is worse than the first.

Do you ask the question, "Why is this a reformatory problem?" Because her conduct creates a public order, police, court problem; i. e., a crime problem; and, of course, the word re-form does not prohibit medical care. It prohibits nothing, no effort that will remake the individual. Those who are in this work have the right to unlimited materials to aid them. Reformation does not mean "keep that prisoner safe from doing harm to me"; it means "make that prisoner over, so that he may join me safely in the community." No tool, no material, no science,

no skill should be withheld. And so it is that we ask for separate colony groups for these various types—colonies on the cottage plan, so that within the colony there may be classification of degrees of defect. Each colony must be complete in itself and entirely homogeneous, and quite distant from any of the other colonies on the reformatory grounds.

Treatment will start from the type standpoint. It will no longer be purely a moral-conduct readjustment problem, but predominantly a medical-psychiatric treatment-of-conduct problem.

The next step, then, in the correctional treatment of girl and women offenders is a new kind of reformatory—a reformatory which shall be organized and administered on the principle that persons committed to it must be classified into distinctly separated groups, who shall be given the special care and treatment that these groups require, care and treatment which shall focus itself not only upon the physical problems involved, but especially upon the psychiatric problems which are the predominating factors in their delinquent careers.

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#### DOES WAR INCREASE CRIME?\*

*F. W. Blackmar, Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence*

War does not necessarily increase crime in the civil population, yet in many instances the facts indicate that it does have such a tendency. In discussing a question of this kind there are a number of important factors to be considered. The first is in reference to the influence on the population of the purpose of war. If war is inspired by high ideals of justice, liberty, and self-defense, the spiritual tone of the nation may be elevated rather than depressed. Such a spirit would have a tendency to suppress crime rather than increase it and on the other hand, if war is inspired by lust for power, by brutal conquest, oppression and savagery, it will depress the moral tone of the nation and become a strong factor in increasing crime.

Again, the criminal tendency varies somewhat in respect to the kind of discipline in the army and the kind of treatment of the men. Excellent discipline accompanied by humane treatment and care of the lives of the soldiers will improve the moral tone of the men in the service and have a good influence on the people at home. Also considerable depends upon the purity of national life, especially of the people in high places. If, during the war, the government should be run by exploiters of humanity who seek to gain their own selfish ends by political and financial profiteering, then the influence on the public at large who are making the sacrifices and paying the bills of the war, is very significant. Those who lack moral resistance are liable to develop, under such influences, criminal tendencies. The man who is not well fortified is apt to make such conditions an excuse for laxness in observing the law, if not an excuse for actual crime.

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\*An abstract.

Again the organization of the rank and file of the home people in patriotic service is of tremendous importance in preventing the development of crime. When the people are roused by a high moral ideal and everybody works cheerfully and willingly in the support of that ideal, there is not very much opportunity for them to develop criminal tendencies. It is true that when the nation is devoting its energies to one great purpose, it might grow lax in watching the thieves and thugs that already exist and who may take the opportunity to increase their crime. Yet such tendencies may be offset by the increased discipline of the whole nation, working out its strenuous life for a common purpose, everywhere at work, and with no occasion for idleness; where the community is universally organized in the drive for Liberty Bonds, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and Thrift Stamps. It is a positive cure for crime. When the popular idea is abroad that everybody must work or fight, the criminal has no place in the system.

However, defects of national or municipal government have a far reaching influence in time of war. If a municipal government is lax in its administration, criminals are the first to discover this.

There are those who advocate the theory that the horrors of war tend to develop a contempt for human life and property, and, therefore, juvenile crime will increase. I repeat what I said in general at first; that this is not necessarily so. If you have your community life organized as it should be with attention to recreation, playgrounds, boy scouts, organized efforts for labor, vocational education, home gardening, and everything that is now being advocated, there will be a tendency to decrease juvenile crime and make it less than in times of peace.

Reports coming from Germany are that juvenile crime is increasing rapidly. But there is a specific cause for this that should not be overlooked. In the first place, the purpose of the war was one of brutal conquest. Consequently, absolute destruction of homes and the killing of innocent people have all been paraded as ideals of that nation. Also, the method of Germany in discipline of the young is one of arbitrary authority. The self-determined discipline which arises in a free country where the child is allowed from his earliest existence to take his own initiative, will stand the test of war times without increasing criminal tendencies. But when children are ruled by arbitrary force and that force is withdrawn, they have no self-determined guide to keep them within the law. We must remember that the man power, the governing force of the home of German, has been withdrawn from civil life and gone to the front, and the youth of the land has not been able to exercise self-restraint which has not been developed in him in the process of the growth of free manhood.

It must also be remembered that food and clothing and all forms of material comfort have been lacking in Germany and this has induced crime against persons and property. When people are absolutely hungry, sometimes on the verge of starvation, there is no safeguard on the rights of property. Therefore, one would expect that increase of juvenile crime



in Germany would be the essential outcome of the system under present conditions. We have not gone far enough into this war to get anything conclusive regarding the increase of juvenile crime, but in the towns and communities about which I know most, I find a tendency for juvenile crime to decrease under the home discipline accentuated by the stress of war and the central ideal of that discipline is the feeling of the boys and girls that they are associated closely with others in doing something worth while for the nation, and if we continue to keep watchful care of the growing boy and girl, and work with them in the various enterprises in which they are now engaged, I predict that the war will bring to our doors such a wholesome discipline that its whole tendency will be to lessen crime in the United States.

Statistics do not show that adult crime is increasing since the beginning of the war. Indeed where there existed before the war, an effective and responsible government and a wholesome community life, crime has actually been decreasing since the war. Jails have fewer inmates, many of them being closed. Moreover the watchful care brought about on account of the army camps has had a tendency to suppress crime and vice. The last legislature (in Kansas) passed a law creating a farm home or colony for women prisoners who have been accustomed to inhabit the county jails. Heretofore every effort to arrest such persons, to fine them, and then let them go back to the old practices has only witnessed an increase of evil. While the state has not yet built this home for this class of women prisoners, provision has been made at the penitentiary at Lansing under the wise supervision of Warden Coddling. At last report 120 had been assembled there, where away from their old haunts they receive proper medical care and such training for a useful life as they are able to take. Other states have gone beyond the experimental stage in the colonization of women criminals with good results of lessening crime. I doubt not that the war will teach us many things concerning the apprehension and discipline of criminals. It will doubtless quicken the discipline by labor. It will reinforce the idea of the utilization of every available character left in the individual criminal.

Regarding the inmates of the Kansas State Penitentiary, Warden J. K. Coddling writes me under date of April 1st:

The war has not been going long enough to really give us sufficient facts from which to form a conclusion, but there are now some things evident. We are not receiving at the penitentiary any more the adventurous, daredevil type of criminal.

The fellow who held up banks and robbed people for the adventure of it, as well as for the money, is not coming. He having all the adventures he wants, has gone to war. We notice that we have more of the weakling, the fellow who cannot be called to fill the labor demand, the fellow who is crippled, in other words, the state is unloading onto us its defective and delinquent who cannot meet the call now on.

The vagrant who is able-bodied has, to a great extent, been absorbed by the war. He has either been drafted or the wages have been so good that he has gone to work, but we notice, of course, a tendency to send us the degenerates, delinquents and failures.

The physical, mental and moral standard of our prisoners received this year are not equal to those we received last.

I have no evidences of the conditions in other prisons in the United States, although I am morally certain that the diagnosis of one would be correct of all except in case of prison population contributed from large cities where the momentum of crime may have been increased. A letter from Thomas W. Morgan of the Federal Prison at Leavenworth seems to indicate that war has made little change upon the prison population.

### COURTS OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS

*Report of a Committee of the National Probation Association, Charles W. Hoffman, Judge of the Court of Domestic Relations of Cincinnati, Chairman*

At the meeting of the National Probation Association held in Pittsburgh last year, a resolution was passed incorporating in outline the provisions essential for the organizing of family courts. This resolution, and the statement preceding it, discussing the necessity of these courts for the purpose of dealing with the family as a unit, was not published until quite recently. The *American Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* printed it in a late number, and the proceedings of 1917 of this Association containing the resolution have been issued within the last month.

#### *Idea Being Adopted Rapidly*

However, notwithstanding the lack of extensive publicity, such as we feel the resolution merits, the propositions contained therein have been discussed in several localities with the view of ultimately securing legislation providing for family courts, approaching in their constitution some, at least, of the recommendations of this association. Judge Edward J. Dooley of the Court of Domestic Relations, of Brooklyn, N. Y., during the year last past, has done much toward familiarizing the public with the idea involved in organizing these courts and has been an ardent supporter of measures in New York, tending toward the incorporation of some of the principles of the resolutions into the courts of domestic relations of Brooklyn. An enthusiastic and earnest coterie of social workers in Connecticut are striving toward the formulation of some system of courts of domestic relations and the provisions of the resolution were submitted to them last month by the chairman of your committee.

The greatest progress has been made in Ohio. Courts of domestic relations, or as they might be termed, *family courts*, are now organized in Cincinnati, Dayton, Akron and Youngstown. The court at Toledo was held unconstitutional, but it is hoped that the constitutional defects in the legislation creating the court will soon be removed. These courts have jurisdiction in desertion cases and exclusive jurisdiction in divorce and alimony cases, all matters coming under the Children's Code or Juvenile Court Act, which includes cases of adults contributing to the delinquency, or dependency of children, or acting in a way tending to encourage, or contribute to such delinquency, or

dependency. When the Ohio courts obtain legislation providing for probation forces and psychopathic laboratories for the domestic relations division of the court, they will be very near the principles embodied in the resolution. It will not be difficult probably to obtain for the Ohio courts, additional jurisdiction in paternity cases and guardianship of the persons and adoption matters. In fact, there are now certain provisions in the Ohio statutes which, for the practical purposes of providing for an illegitimate child, gives the court power to act.

The committee at this time, with your permission, desires to emphasized and re-state some of the facts, based upon social service necessity, which should impel the organizing of these courts in every community.

#### *Relation to Juvenile Courts*

The family court is not intended to limit or restrict the jurisdiction incident to juvenile courts. In fact, the juvenile court will become an integral part, or division, of the family court. By reason of the organization of family courts, we believe that the administration of the juvenile court will become more effective and significant and better understood, not only by those connected with the juvenile court, but by the public generally. There is need for publicity on this point.

The juvenile courts were founded and organized not as criminal courts, but as child saving institutions from which were to be excluded all semblances of criminal procedure and penal methods. In many localities the interest of social workers in these courts has decreased, because they have become no more than police courts where children are "tried." The idea of saving the child has been lost, and the instances are altogether too frequent when the judge in the spirit of semivindictiveness, such as the populace sometimes exercises, commits the child to a semi-penal institution as punishment. And, strange as it may appear, beating, lashes and whipping posts are sometimes covertly suggested, if not actually used.

There is a misapprehension in some jurisdictions as to the function of these courts. So serious has this become that the co-operation of the Federal Children's Bureau has been obtained for making a nation wide study of the juvenile court. It is not a court in which the child should be tried for the commission of an offence; in fact, in a number of the states of the Union it is specifically enjoined upon the judge not to try a child for the commission of an offence, but to transfer the guardianship of the child from the parents to the court, as the representative of the state, and save the child for the benefit and welfare of the state. The misconception of the juvenile court that exists in some localities deserves investigation.

It is the duty of the juvenile court to save the child by whatever means it may have at its command. If the child be feeble-minded, it should be sent to an institution for the feeble-minded to ascertain the extent of its feeble-mindedness and the chances of its being educated, so

that it may be released without danger to the community. If the child cannot be educated or returned safely to society, it should be permanently segregated in order that it may not propagate its kind, or commit devastating offences. If the child comes into court by reason of social influences, such influences should be removed.

If a child, who is mentally normal, comes into court with a mind bent upon the commission of some offence, he should be sent to a special school, having for its purpose the education of such children. This is one of the great problems for the schoolmen to solve. There is a strong probability, amounting almost to certainty, that a normal child, having a tendency to commit anti-social offences, can be cured by means of proper education and treatment. We believe this statement is sustained by the works of such sociologists as Ward, Giddings and Small. Let the great departments of psychology and sociology of our colleges and universities devise a course of instruction and education that will reclaim a juvenile delinquent, who is mentally and physically sound. If they can accomplish this, thousands of boys and girls, who annually pass through the juvenile courts, will be redeemed.

These brief comments on the juvenile court are made in this report, because of the obvious connection of the juvenile court with the family courts. It is clear from the reading of the resolution, that the principle of the juvenile court is the foundation upon which the family court must be constructed.

#### *Divorce Cases*

It is becoming apparent to all social workers that anti-social conduct is involved in divorce cases. The states exercising complete control over the *status* of residents within their respective borders, have enacted codes stipulating therein the character and nature of the anti-social acts that warrant the dissolution of a marriage contract. In fact, the divorce laws imply that the anti-social conduct of one of the parties in a divorce case is so great as to warrant the severing of the marital bond, and the distintegration and disruption of the family. The family is the greatest institution of modern society and government. It is the foundation stone upon which our social fabric has been constructed. It is of great importance that this institution be preserved in its purity and integrity.

While all but a small percentage of men and women are capable of living in peace and happiness in the marriage relation, yet the number of divorce cases is so great as to reserve serious investigation as to the cause of marital dissensions. In some of our cities divorce cases constitute 60 per cent of all the cases filed in the courts of record. These cases involve a multitude of children, whose welfare is threatened; some authorities holding that from 50 to 75 per cent of the children of divorced parents become delinquent or dependent. In all time past no consideration has been given these children by the courts, so far as supervision is concerned. An order seldom enforced, and then with difficulty, is made and thereafter the case and the children forgotten.



There is an urgent, immediate necessity that these children at the time of the divorce, become in fact, wards of the court, as the representative of the state, and all means provided for their care. There is as great a need for probation officers in the divorce courts as in the juvenile and criminal court.

The work in the divorce division of the family court will throw a flood of light over the work in the juvenile division. In divorce cases will be revealed pathological and social conditions of parents that have existed from their childhood. We are convinced that in 50 per cent or more of the cases, the real cause of the trouble is not stated in the complaint or petition and is not known to the lawyer or the court. It is true that neglect, cruelty of some character, infidelity and such is mentioned, but back of these are other matters that caused the neglect, the cruelty, the infidelity. Here is the greatest available field for scientific research that is presented to social workers and students of abnormal psychology. If psychopathic laboratories be established in connection with these courts, many of the causes of anti-social conduct will be disclosed, which heretofore have not been known, except by a few investigators in this field. We submit that we are justified in these views by many specialists who have written on this subject, and particularly by the works of Dr. William Healy, the pioneer and greatest of all investigators in the field of juvenile delinquency.

The committee, in conclusion, desire to submit for your consideration the following recommendations in the organizing of family courts:

First. That an active educational campaign be conducted by the members of this Association for the establishment of these courts throughout the country. This can be accomplished through the newspapers and other publications and by the aid of clubs and societies interested in social work. We believe that the necessity for these courts and their purpose should be presented to the public. Local sentiment must be created before any progress can be made.

Second. While local conditions may demand some changes in the plans for the family court as provided in the resolution contained in the report of 1917, we feel that the leading principles contained in the resolution should be followed and insisted upon by social workers.

Third. That the court may have a fixed, definite and certain policy governing its proceedings and work, we recommend that the judges of these courts be appointed or elected for a term sufficient in length of time to afford the opportunity to develop the social service program necessary in carrying out the work for which the court is designed. The rotation of judges, such as prevails in some of our larger cities, should be discouraged, so far as it applies to family courts, as it has been abundantly shown in juvenile and domestic relations courts that this principle has been productive only of chaos and constant conflict in the work incident to these courts.

We further recommend that judges of these courts be selected because of their especial knowledge and information concerning social service work, as well as their attainments in knowledge of the law.

Fourth. That an immediate effort be made in all jurisdictions to obtain probation forces in the divorce courts, for the purpose of investigating the alleged grounds for divorce, and the home conditions and environment of the children of the parties in the divorce action, and for supervising the homes and children after the decree is granted.

Respectfully submitted,

Committee:

Charles W. Hoffman, Judge, Court of Domestic Relations,  
Cincinnati, Chairman.

Jane Deeter Ripplin, U. S. Commission on Training Camp  
Activities, Washington.

Edwin J. Dooley, Judge, Court of Domestic Relations,  
Brooklyn.

Monroe Goldstein, Secretary, National Desertion Bureau,  
New York.

John F. Hamill, New York.

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INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Martha Riley*, juvenile probation officer, Madison, Wisconsin, asked: Is there any way by which we can raise the qualifications of the standards of those who apply for marriage licenses. We are bringing in families with from three to seven which the father is not capable of supporting financially, and in which the mother has no capacity for home management. Some associated charities relief or county aid is given, but as soon as the children become ten or twelve years of age they become delinquent.

2. *Judge Hoffman* responded as follows: "We have always refrained from advocating any theory in reference to marriage. In the report of The Family Court made at Pittsburgh in 1917, our committee said that it would not place within that court the power to issue marriage licenses, because long before the public was able to understand that for which we were striving, we would have serious trouble and it would interfere with the work of the court. It is a fundamental rule of our court that divorce shall be discouraged. The question of hasty marriages is often raised. It cannot be prohibited by anyone. Nature intends to perpetuate humankind. Nature will assert itself. The race will continue and will be recruited from the lower levels. Our Harvard graduates do not propagate very rapidly. Miss Richmond suggests 5 to 30 days between the period of issuing licenses and the date of marriage. We believe 5 days to be sufficient. The greater number of marriages do succeed; it is a small percentage after all that fail. Divorce in our county has not increased since 1914; it has slightly decreased. Divorce occurs only in a small proportion of the marriages, and back of every one of them is a reason. The marriage relation implies forbearance. All should forbear, but some cannot do it, and in 75 per cent of such cases a terrible condition results. Now comes the time for the challenge; place at the aid of the court a psychopathic laboratory like those in Boston and Chicago; there will then be revealed so many causes of anti-social conduct that we will not have to concern ourselves very long with marriage laws. They will automatically be revised and reformed.

3. *Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin*, director of the section of women and girls, Law Enforcement Division, Commission on Training Camp Activities, of the War and Navy Departments, said: I am interested in Judge Hoffman's discussion of marriage laws, especially where they relate to some of the social problems that are arising from mobilization. I wonder if we might in this meeting discuss juvenile marriages; and as a result of that discussion, will this Conference make a constructive suggestion? At many of the camp cities we have found children marrying out of grammar school. As a reflex from this we have attempts at suicide. This number is very small, however, and not at all alarming. However, we do want to know now before there is a tremendous increase, how to control these early marriages and how to treat them. Should we recommend forced marriage? Is this wise after the birth of a child born out of wedlock? Some of the members of this Conference believe that marriage will settle any situation and that after marriage the child is a woman and a different factor to be dealt with. Personally I do not agree with this opinion. Mr. Towne suggests that the juvenile court be responsible for investigation before marriage if the girl is under the juvenile court age. In a few instances in which these child marriages have occurred, it was later learned that the man was already married.

Mrs. Rippin said, further, in response to questions that in such cases where a soldier has really committed the crime, the judge advocates have been very quick to administer the law, and if the man is found guilty is sentenced to Leavenworth or some some other military prison. The ratio of rape and illegitimacy in cantonment cities is almost negligible in comparison to the cases handled among civil population in large cities. This seems to me a great credit to our men who are going from our country and are being sent over to fight for democracy.

Most of these girls are married by ministers or justices of the peace, not always with the consent of their parents.

4. *Lottie S. Olney*, superintendent, Municipal Bureau of Protection of Columbia, S. C., said: An order was issued May 1st, to the effect that no soldier could marry without consent of his commander, and in some cases before such consent could be secured the name of the bride was sent to the provost marshal and inquiries made as to the character of the bride. This was because we had had a number of marriages of common prostitutes to soldiers.

5. *Katharin Ostrander*, director Social Service Department, State Board of Health, Lansing, Mich., said: Michigan has a state law whereby no girl under 18 can be married without the parents' consent. In my follow-up work for venereal disease under the State Board of Health the question of whether or not a girl suffering from venereal disease shall marry comes up constantly for discussion. We are getting girls of all ages and all stages of infection. The question of deciding whether marriage is advisable or not has never been discussed in any general conference, so far as I know. I am urging that my women wait until the man comes back from France, continuing her treatment during that time. There is no legal way of preventing these marriages.

6. *Mrs. Rippin* took the position that the public health officer should have the power of decision as to whether or not the girl should marry.

7. *Mrs. Hodder* made the inquiry: Doesn't your law say that your patient shall be held until no longer in an infectious stage? We have a law in Massachusetts which requires all persons in penal and charitable institutions to be so held; to which Miss Ostrander replied that the regulation did not apply because it is not a court case.

8. The challenge was made by *Mrs. Rippin*: Does this Conference want to put itself on record for some uniform law or federal action? We have too long kept silent on the question of venereal disease. In this particular case I should suppose it would depend upon the physician's statement as to whether the girl would improve in health and whether the man in question had a venereal infection. In one of the camp towns where we have been examining every prostitute arrested, it was found that 98 per cent of them had gonorrhœa and 68 per cent had syphilis. This indicates the type of professional coming to our camp cities. I do not believe that mobilization has brought this about at all, but rather that mobilization has made us conscious of conditions which existed long before war was declared.

9. The Michigan situation was explained further by *Miss Ostrander* as follows: Michigan has a health plan operating under the State Board of Health and is treating free of charge all men and women who cannot afford private treatment. We have a quarantine law which makes it compulsory that every doctor and druggist report all cases of venereal disease to the State Board of Health. The state is prosecuting doctors who do not report their cases. This law went into effect in November, 1917, and since then we have had something over 4,000 cases reported. A little less than one-third are women. The social work of which I am in charge is not dealing with the man proposition because we feel that the woman is the more serious factor. Men of the same age are being cared for through the army and navy. No attempt is made to apprehend women who are able and willing to care for themselves. Every girl arrested in Michigan on moral or disorderly charges is turned over to a health officer for examination, on the basis that she has been exposed to venereal disease. All positive cases are interned in hospitals where they are detained until no longer in an infectious stage. We have no state hospital for this work but are using beds donated by the various established hospitals throughout the state. The state has made arrangements for a temporary place of detention for feeble-minded women. The feeble-minded, insane, and epileptic are being sent directly to the state institutions established for their care. This takes out of our work the most serious element. The patients come to us voluntarily or they are street women apprehended through the police or other courts. The Social Service department of the State Board makes a complete social history of every interned patient. Detailed family history, mental and physical examination and follow-up work indicated by the social and mental investigations are handled by this department. Also this department sees to it that every patient attends a clinic for after-treatment for so long a time as the attendant physician requires. We have not taken time to educate the physicians. We just enforced the law. There was not sufficient time to put on an educational campaign, so we had copies of the law sent to every doctor, with a follow-up letter to be sure he received the first. It has been necessary to prosecute in a few instances.

10. *H. P. Richardson*, superintendent, Detention Home for Children, Philadelphia, questioned: What would you do if the patient refused to go to the clinic? Would you use some means to have the order carried out? To this an affirmative answer was given; after which Mr. Richardson inquired further: Suppose the same patient, not being entirely cured, wishes to take up a marriage relationship, why not use the same pressure as you would in the first instance?

11. *Miss Ostrander* replied: I have a law back of me in the first instance, and not in the last. Michigan has passed a law when a patient is no longer in an infectious condition she is no longer liable to the



dictation of the state. She is not cured necessarily. Cure is an indefinite proposition. She may or may not be cured before death.

13. The *Rev. A. J. D. Haupt*, director of social service, St. Paul Federation of Churches, said: I wish to caution against jumping at conclusions in these matters. In the past four years two thousand and more cases have come under my care in the juvenile court. In quite a large proportion of these the parents are not responsible, except in some cases indirectly and unknowingly, for the delinquency of their children. There are certain men in our city, junk dealers in particular, who have been guilty of training or encouraging boys to steal. Our boy delinquents last year were 404; out of this number 160 were cases of larceny, also 40 per cent, and most of these were gangs of boys who had been taught junking.

14. *Arthur W. Towne*, superintendent, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Brooklyn, said: At last year's conference the question was raised as to whether domestic relation courts and juvenile courts should remain separate or should be brought together under one jurisdiction. Judge Hoffman can, I believe, try cases of juvenile delinquency, neglect, non-support, bastardy, divorce, and separation. It seems to me that there are decided advantages in giving one judge control over all of these closely related matters. I would even bring still other cases into the same family court, namely, guardianship and adoption and the granting of marriage licenses to minors. It is altogether too easy for the mothers of illegitimate children to rid themselves of their responsibilities by passing their children over to so-called baby farms or other persons absolutely unfit to be entrusted with their custody and care. It should not be possible for a mother to give away her baby by simply signing an affidavit before a notary public or by any other means short of the decree of a competent court which will first institute a thorough investigation of the merits of the case. The modern methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency and non-support cases should be extended all over the country to the related matters like divorce, separation, guardianship and adoption. Every unfortunate child, no matter what the background causes of the misfortune may be, should have the very best care and protection which the community can provide.

The marriage of girls fifteen years old or younger, particularly those known as forced marriages, in which the man's motive has been to save himself from punishment upon the charge of rape, ordinarily turn our disastrously. They are very apt to end in exploitation, inadequate support, desertion, or other neglect and ill-treatment. At present there is too much of a division of responsibilities on the part of the courts and their authorities with respect to these marital problems. For example, a court trying a man charged with assaulting a young girl may order a marriage, in spite of the fact that the criminal court having jurisdiction over the man defendant has no jurisdiction whatever over the girl, and no adequate conception of what is really for her best welfare. We all know how common it is for attorneys, and friends of the defendant's to say to the girl's parents, "He is a fine young man," although he may have a venereal disease or a criminal record. They may say to the parents, "Unless your daughter does marry this man, her name will be ruined forever, and she will be sent to a reformatory until she is 21 years old, or perhaps for life." Perhaps the defendant will borrow or rent an automobile for use while he calls on her parents, for the purpose of impressing them with his great wealth. Far too often the parents, through ignorance, fear, or old-world infor-

mation as to the necessity of marriage under certain conditions, will give away their daughter in matrimony, only to repent after it is too late.

Now, I think that the children's court should step in at the earliest stage of all such cases and obtain a hold on the girl and see to it that she is not allowed to be married to the defendant until after a thorough inquiry by the probation officer and such medical or psychological examinations as may be needed have shown that the marriage is probably desirable. In Italy and France no girl under 15 is allowed to marry without a dispensation from the King of Italy or the President of France, as the case may be; and the same law applies to boys under 18. In Massachusetts and Michigan there are somewhat similar provisions requiring the approval of the probate judge before a girl under 15 can wed. Why should we not look to the juvenile courts, or, better, to the family courts, like the one in Cincinnati, to acquire jurisdiction over such matters?

15. On motion of *John J. Gascoyne*, of Newark, N. J., the meeting in the capacity of representatives of the National Probation Association, voted to accept and approve Judge Hoffman's report and to continue the committee another year.

16. William D. Matthews, Oklahoma City, also participated in the discussion.

### MUNICIPAL DETENTION FOR WOMEN

*Jane Deeter Rippin, Formerly Chief Probation Officer of Philadelphia*

There is no place in the country where all types of women and girl offenders over the juvenile court age are detained while waiting for disposition. Lawyers, social workers, policemen and citizens having contacts with the children's courts appreciate the value of municipal detention for children and the methods of treatment worked out in connection with the detention houses in the disposition of cases. Experience has proved that methods of treatment cannot be determined by chronological age alone. We should extend the methods developed in children's courts to apply to all ages, wiping out our arbitrary age line by improving the treatment of the older groups.

The tendency in the socialization of courts has been to develop municipal detention for women and woman's courts. California and Pennsylvania seem to be leading in this experiment.

The data for this paper has been gathered from the court and the House of Detention for Girls and Women coming under the jurisdiction of the misdemeanants division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. This House of Detention facilitates work by having in it the court room, the medical clinic, the psychological clinic, adequate quarters for the probation offices and the opportunity to classify the cases to be detained. Since January, 1917, it has housed all the girls and women needing detention while awaiting court action by the Municipal Court—averaging not far from one hundred new cases a month. It has also given shelter to girls and women held for the federal authorities as witnesses or prisoners in white slave and drug traffic cases. Two distinct groups are provided for: the girls and the women arrested as street-walkers and younger

girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one charged by their parents or guardians with being incorrigible or runaways.

This study would be much more illuminating if opportunity had been given to study all groups of women offenders. The limited jurisdiction of this court makes this impossible.

During the year of 1917, 1205 women and girls new to the Misdemeanors Court were detained and their cases disposed of. The general make-up of this group of girls and women in relation to the charges against them, their nativity, conjugal condition, age, schooling, occupation and wage, their habits and physical condition have been studied. Their mental condition had been examined only when some abnormality was suspected. This plan of selection has now given place to one by which all the younger girls are examined mentally, with a view not only to de-

*Table I. Nativity*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER	KNOWN CASES PER CENT BY GROUPS
Total	1205	100
United States	1015	86
Philadelphia	468	14
States other than Pennsylvania	441	
Pennsylvania	106	
Foreign Countries	162	
<u>English Speaking</u>	<u>55</u>	
Ireland	37	
England	11	
Scotland	4	
Canada	3	
Russia and Poland not otherwise specified	46	
<u>Teutonic</u>	<u>50</u>	
Austria	15	
Germany	12	
Hungary	3	
Italy	17	
France	5	
Romania	2	
Other foreign countries	7	
Unknown	28	

testing irregularities, but also to estimating the girl's temperamental make-up and forming plans for her accordingly.

The following tables indicate the possibilities for the tabulation of social data through modern methods of dealing with women offenders. Though tables cannot express the infinite variety of human reactions, they suggest broad roads of treatment.

The table on Nativity shows only 14 per cent of these girls are foreign born, as compared with 25 per cent of foreign born in the total population of Philadelphia.

This table indicates at first glance that a great proportion are unmarried, but when we realize that 47 per cent of the girls are under 20 years of age the significance of this is lessened, particularly when we know that the average marrying age for women in Philadelphia is between 20 and 24 years, as shown by studies in the Domestic Relations Court of Philadelphia.

Table II. Conjugal Condition

CONJUGAL CONDITION	TOTAL NUMBER	TOTAL PER CENT
Total	1205	100
Single	759	63
Married	216	18
Separated	139	12
Widowed	61	5
Divorced	14	1
Unknown	16	1

Table III. Relation between Charge and Age

CHARGES		A G E S												
		Under												
		TOTAL	16	16-1920-24	25-2930-34	35-3940-44	45-4950-54	55-5960-64	65-69	Unknown				
(Total)	1205	11	565	290	166	75	39	32	17	4	2	1	1	1
Street-walking	545	2	67	202	142	70	26	24	8	2	1	-	-	1
Runaway	292	6	251	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Incorrigible	235	2	216	16	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protection	45	1	25	13	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Disorderly Conduct	44	-	5	21	5	2	5	1	3	2	-	-	-	-
Drunkenness	36	-	1	2	10	3	5	6	5	2	-	1	1	-
Vagrancy	8	-	-	1	4	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-



The highest per cent group comprises those between the ages of 16 and 19 years. This bears out the experience of the Probation Department that the younger girls are more impressionable and their habits less firmly fixed. It is with these girls, therefore, that the court can best do its preventive and constructive work. These girls are usually brought into court as incorrigibles and runaways, though they are prostitutes in the making.

It is interesting to note that four-fifths of the girls were in Grades IV, V, VI, VII and VIII, and the largest number had reached the eighth grade. The thirty-one who had no schooling are made up mostly of the foreign born.

Table IV. Correlation between Grade and Age of Leaving School

GRADE LEFT SCHOOL	Total	AGE OF LEAVING SCHOOL																
		No Schooling	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20 or over	Still attending	Unknown	
Total	1205	31	2	5	17	28	54	106	430	166	143	40	23	7	3	1	129	
No schooling	31	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Ungraded class	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	
First	14	-	-	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Second	17	-	1	-	4	2	1	-	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Third	56	-	-	1	1	3	8	9	18	6	6	1	-	1	-	-	2	
Fourth	112	-	-	2	2	4	15	13	60	12	6	1	-	-	-	-	3	
Fifth	135	-	-	1	1	2	8	20	53	33	14	1	1	2	1	-	1	
Sixth	215	-	-	-	1	4	14	16	110	35	26	5	3	-	-	-	1	
Seventh	125	-	-	-	-	-	3	16	60	28	12	3	2	1	-	-	2	
Eighth	224	-	-	-	1	2	5	24	84	46	44	12	4	-	1	-	1	
High or Tech. School	65	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	9	14	13	10	7	1	1	1	7	
College	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	
Unknown	202	-	1	1	5	2	4	7	31	18	15	5	5	1	-	-	107	

Even allowing for inaccuracies of statement as to grade and age of leaving school and discrepancies between the grading used in Philadelphia and that of other places, this table shows a decided tendency among these girls and women to have been quite definitely behind their normal grade in school. Of the total 949 girls whose ages and grading upon leaving school were known, 597, or 63 per cent, were retarded, and 356, or 38 per cent, were retarded two years or more. It will also be noted that this tendency toward retardation increases with age. With those of ten years,

for instance, those below their grade form 50 per cent of the total; at eleven years they form 54 per cent; at twelve years, 48 per cent; at thirteen years, 44 per cent; at fourteen, 62 per cent; at fifteen, 64 per cent; and at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years, or high school ages, the proportion swells to 81 per cent.

Of the total number of girls whose occupations were known, 40 per cent were semi-skilled factory operatives, averaging a weekly wage of \$8.00. The house servants, who form the next highest group, give us 16 per cent of the number. This contradicts the once more or less prevalent idea that the house servant was the greatest source of supply to prostitution. It is interesting to note that almost no industrial group is omitted.

Table V. Correlation of Occupation and Wage

OCCUPATIONS	TOTAL	AVERAGE WAGE	DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWN WAGES													Work- ing for Board	Never Work- ed	Wages Un- Known
			\$1	\$2	\$3	\$4	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$9	\$10	\$15	\$20	\$25			
			2	12	41	86	38	43	22	24	44	107	32	10	10			
Total	1205															1	90	245
Semi-skilled																		
Factory Oper.	461	\$ 8.00	1	1	2	11	42	72	71	55	44	72	16	5	-	-	-	75
House Servants	207	4.50	1	9	28	42	51	34	12	5	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	28
Waitresses	61	6.00	-	-	3	10	8	9	6	3	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	15
Saleswomen	48	6.50	-	-	1	3	7	9	11	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	7
Laundry Oper.	45	6.50	-	-	1	3	8	9	7	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Cleaners	37	6.00	-	-	-	6	5	3	7	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	12
Show Girls	28	19.00	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	9	2	9	-	-	4
Dressmakers	26	9.50	-	-	-	2	3	1	1	3	2	4	3	1	-	-	-	6
Clerks	21	7.50	-	-	-	1	1	5	4	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	5
Telephone																		
Operatives	20	8.00	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	4	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hotel servants	19	5.00	-	-	1	6	1	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Child nurses	14	4.00	-	2	3	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Cashiers &																		
Bookkeepers	11	10.50	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
Stenographers	10	10.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-
Other	50		-	-	2	2	6	2	2	5	1	5	1	1	1	-	-	20
Never employed	90		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	-
Unknown	57		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57

This table rather tends to prove that certain industries, such as textile mills, clothing and cigar factories, bear some special relation to delinquency, though this may be a condition local to Philadelphia, since these industries prevail in those sections of the city from which delinquents are most likely to come.

Habits of drinking and using drugs are closely allied with the charges of street-walking and disorderly conduct.

Table VI. Relation between Charge and Occupation

OCCUPATIONS																															
CHARGES	461 SEMI-SKILLED FACTORY OPERATIVES																														
	TOTAL	Textile Clothing	Cigars	Food	Paper	Printing & Binding	Leather	Trimmings	Metal	Amittions	Chemicals	Jewelry	Miscellaneous	Unspecified	House Servants	Waitresses	Saleswomen	Laundry Operators	Cleaners	Show Girls	Dressmakers	Clerks	Tel. & Tel. Ops.	Hotel Servants	Nurses	Cashiers & Bookkeepers	Stenographers	Other	Never Employed	Unknown	
	Total	1205	107	33	23	25	36	7	15	21	0	5	4	2	15	59	20	75	14	45	37	28	25	12	20	19	41	11	10	50	20
Street-walking	545	28	26	25	13	11	1	6	7	2	3	5	3	3	19	12	23	42	17	26	20	19	5	7	13	3	4	22	29	51	11
Runaway	292	40	24	15	14	6	5	5	3	2	-	-	2	6	19	29	10	12	13	4	3	1	7	4	2	7	5	21	21	18	6
Incorrigible	235	34	10	6	6	5	1	5	3	5	4	-	-	5	10	33	5	12	12	-	4	3	6	3	1	2	4	2	12	16	6
Protection	45	2	6	3	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	1	-	1	2	2	5	2	1	-	2	2	1	4
Disorderly conduct	44	3	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	10	3	-	1	5	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	4
Drunkenness	36	-	4	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	7	5	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	4
Vagrancy	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

Table VII. Relation between Charge and Habits

	THOSE RECORDED AS BEING OR HAVING BEEN ALCOHOLIC, DRUG USERS OR BOTH								Recorded as never being Alcoholic or Drug Users— also Unknown
	TOTAL	Sub- Total	Alco- holic Only	Drug Users Only	Both Alco- holic and Drugs	Alcoholic now, - Former Drug User	Former Drug User	Former Alco- holic	
	1205	385	270	60	34	10	6	5	820
Street Walking	545	236	178	57	32	10	5	4	259
Runaway	292	22	20	-	1	-	-	1	270
Incorrigible	235	14	14	-	-	-	-	-	221
Protection	45	5	1	1	-	-	1	-	42
Disorderly Conduct	44	20	17	2	1	-	-	-	24
Drunkenness	36	36	36	-	-	-	-	-	--
Vagrancy	6	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	4

When compared with tables giving the percentage among institution inmates of those known to have venereal disease, this table shows a remarkable difference. The group under the observation of the probation officer, while a selected group, is much less limited in its scope than the group finally sentenced to the institution and offers, therefore, a broader though less intensive field for study.

In the final disposition of the 1,205 cases, 299 were adjusted without court hearing, 467 were placed on probation, 195 were discharged and 444 were committed for various kinds of institutional treatment, including hospitals.

*Table VIII. Prevalence of Syphilis, Gonorrhoea, and Tuberculosis among 750 New Cases Examined*

<u>DISEASES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	750
No Tuberculosis, Syphilis or Gonorrhoea	469
Gonorrhoea only	127
Syphilis only	109
Syphilis and Gonorrhoea	42
Tuberculosis and Syphilis	1
Tuberculosis only	2
<b>Venerally Diseased</b>	<b>259</b>

Among the 26 per cent whose cases were settled outside the court room, it is interesting to note the relation of the complainant to the disposition of the case. The largest proportion, 105, or 35 per cent, were reported by the girls' parents. The next largest number, 39, were referred by social agencies, who may have come to know the girl's difficulty in attempting to solve other problems in her family, or who may have come into direct contact with her as a runaway or incorrigible and felt the question outside their province. A number were brought to the court by the police, being for the most part runaways of whom the detective bureau had been informed and for whom search was being made. Others were referred by the juvenile court, where they had been sent because mistakenly supposed to be under sixteen or where they had been as juvenile offenders, but having outgrown the age of jurisdiction in that court, were considered not ready for release from the probation officer's care. In 167, or a little over half, of these cases, the trouble was



adjusted by the probation department, thus saving the girl from the stigma of a court hearing.

The advance in modern thought in regard to the treatment of women offenders is expressed in the greater stress laid upon the investigation and observation of every individual with the purpose of social readjustment wherever possible. Detention houses which provide opportunities for this careful study are evidence of the recognition of its importance. Probation has already proved its value. Legislation which enforces the care of women with venereal disease, is already established in some states. The next progressive step to be taken is the passing of such laws as shall provide permanent custodial care for the feeble-minded and the psychopathic delinquent women and girls.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *C. C. Carstens*, general secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston, said: In the process of reshaping our children's codes in the various states, it is important to remember that at the present time courts in many instances are dealing brutally with young girl offenders when they come to testify regarding the sex crimes that have been committed in which they were the victims. In the development of the juvenile court system, a few cities, and particularly Chicago, ought to be held up as examples for all of us in that they have sought to make provision to meet this need, but I doubt if any of our cities have as yet developed a thoroughgoing method of dealing with this problem.

When the young girl who has been the victim of a sex crime comes before the court, the result is that she becomes the greater sufferer rather than the man. After having told her story before the lower court, she has to go before the grand jury and lay bare her soul and then it is necessary for her to go before the trial jury, withstand the grilling of opposing counsel, requiring her to go into minute details regarding the crime, with the result that there is in most instances very little self-respect left. We have developed a juvenile court for the purpose of giving greater protection to those who have committed delinquencies, but we are failing to protect the juvenile in sex cases where they themselves are the victims.

It is necessary in the development of our children's codes and our criminal codes to establish, if possible, a method by which there shall be only one hearing, and to relieve the young girl of the necessity of telling her story again and again. If an appeal is taken it should be possible only on questions of law. At the present time a group of children's workers are giving thought to this subject. Out of it should come a more humane way of dealing with this problem.

2. In response to a question, *Mr. Carstens* said that the suggestions on this subject should be sent to Mr. James E. Ewers of the Cleveland Humane Society, Mr. Ewers being chairman of a sub-committee of a group representing the Children's Protective Agencies. Mr. Ewers spoke of the object of this group being chiefly to protect girls when they appear before criminal courts in the prosecution of adult offenders. Among other things, the committee is considering the possibility of eliminating the personal appearance of girl witnesses before grand juries.

3. In response to a question, *Mrs. Rippin* said that of the 527

girls referred to by her as runaways and incorrigibles only 4 were non-sex offenders.

4. Others who participated in the informal discussion, which consisted chiefly of questions relating to the leading address, were: Roger N. Baldwin, New York; George B. Newcomb, Bismarck, N. D.; Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; Rev. A. J. Haupt, St. Paul; Mrs. T. F. Kinney, Minneapolis; Maude E. Miner, New York; James E. Ewers, Cleveland.

### CURRENT TENDENCIES IN ADULT PROBATION

*Edwin J. Cooley, Chief Probation Officer, Magistrates' Courts,  
New York*

For the past decade the probation officers of the country have been making a pilgrimage once a year to this conference of the National Probation Association, to compare notes, to clarify their minds and to measure values and results. It would appear, therefore, that at this, our tenth annual meeting, we might with profit pause a moment to take stock, and turn an introspective eye upon *ourselves, our work and the probation service.*

Social service is one of the finest developments of the Twentieth Century. The Nineteenth Century saw the inception and birth of this vast movement for the improvement of society. The attitude of people towards their fellow-beings has been changed exceedingly in the past century. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the insane, the feeble-minded and the epileptic, for the most part, were treated as criminals and cruelly punished, and very little family relief work of a scientific character prevailed. People were allowed to go hungry and cold, infants allowed to die, the aged were not cared for, and all the misfits of society were treated with cruelty and contempt. Criminals were punished in the most horrible manner for very slight offences.

A survey of the situation at the present time, in the second decade of the Twentieth Century, reveals a remarkable transformation. Family relief work has become an indispensable function of the municipal government. The state now takes care of its blind, its deaf, its insane, its feeble-minded and epileptic. Penology emphasizes not so much punishment for punishment's sake, as the reformatory and educative effects of prison sentence. Foundlings, orphans, and the aged, in fact all types of dependents, are now more than ever being treated humanely and skillfully.

The great industrial establishments of the country are introducing social welfare work in their factories, as an investment in human efficiency. It is not a namby-pamby experiment in emotional expression, but a hard-headed business proposition which pays returns in dollars and cents.

It is only during the past few decades that *probation* has been born and has stepped into the courts of our country to humanize harsh and rigorous legal procedure, and to act as the gloved hand of the law. It

has been demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that probation, entirely aside from its saving of the human and spiritual resources of the community, is a paying investment in terms of dollars and cents. We now all know that it is cheaper to pay probation officers to supervise probationers, than it is for the state to construct and maintain extensive penal institutions.

### *Probation Requires Testing*

Probation has been accepted by the community, and no longer do workers in this field have to fight to retain its standing in the eyes of the law. The community in general has adopted us as a legitimate part in the scheme of social machinery. Our present task, therefore, is that of justifying our continuance in the eyes of the community. When probation was in its infancy, much could be forgiven it, but now that probation has passed into maturity, the community will survey it with a much more critical eye, will place greater demands upon it and will expect definite and permanent results. Our next step, therefore, to facilitate the production of the expected results, is to formulate and work out a definite body of knowledge and a scheme of procedure. Mr. Arthur W. Towne, former secretary of the New York State Probation Commission, has aptly summarized the situation: "The development of probation has reached the state where extension is not as important as are a critical study of the system and refinement of its methods, and the willingness to allow experimentation in certain features of its administration."

Moreover, the sheer volume of work gives us pause. The number of juvenile and adult persons released by our courts during 1917 in New York state, was greater than ever before, totaling 22,518 persons. We must recognize, therefore, that with over twenty-two regiments of juvenile delinquents and adult offenders placed on probation in a single year, the probation system in New York state, taking it as an example, has assumed immense proportions and demands careful, intelligent study and administration.

Probation, in order to reach its highest development and in order to perfect a methodology of its own similar to that of other professions, must sharply define its wants, its problems, and its methods of procedure. The medical profession, for example, as an organized body, fixes its rates of compensation, formulates its own code of ethics in accordance with objective morality, determines in the main the body of its knowledge, criticizing and refining it constantly, and develops its technique. Similarly, probation must work for an improvement of the conditions under which it must labor, and, by means of experiment, analysis and careful planning, must work out a methodology or technique of procedure. In the present discussion let us consider, therefore, in the main:

First: the fundamental working conditions necessary for effective probation work.

Second: the problems of formulating and improving the methodology; that is to say, the technique of the probation method.

### *I. Fundamental Working Conditions*

Let us first consider the problem of the improvement of the probation officers's working conditions. In order that a probation officer may have the opportunity of accomplishing any adequate results, he must not be overburdened with work. No probation officer can properly supervise, for example, two or three hundred cases at one time. Every possible attempt should be made to reduce the quota per officer to fifty probationers under supervision at one time. Again, probation officers should work for an increase of compensation until the proper standards of salaries are obtained, whereby men of the right type of mind and ability will be attracted to the profession and retained in the service.

Furthermore, probation officers should see to it that they are not overburdened by clerical work. An adequate clerical staff must be provided so that time is available for the essential field duties of the probation officer. No probation officer should be compelled to make his preliminary investigation reports in long hand, or do all of his case history work, correspondence and reports in long hand. A sufficient number of typists, record clerks and dictaphones should be provided for these purposes.

Most important of all is the kind of material that the probation officer is given to work upon. Probation officers cannot accomplish the impossible. They must not be given confirmed alcohols, habitual criminals, hardened prostitutes, feeble-minded or defective persons, as material to improve and transform into normal, happy human beings. The source of the supply of material must be protected and judges must be led to recognize the importance of the right choice in the kind of persons to be placed on probation.

Let me emphasize again that an improvement of the conditions under which we work is as essential to the highest development of probation, as is the improvement of the methods of the actual, practical details of our work. Hand in hand with our refinement, for example, of the methods of conducting preliminary investigations, must go our fight for a reasonable amount of work, adequate compensation, adequate clerical help, and the proper human material to work upon. Assuming that we are agreed as to the necessity of obtaining the proper conditions under which to work, let us now consider how we can develop a methodology to improve the quality and test the results of our work.

As you all know, preliminary investigations of offenders are absolutely essential to any constructive probation work. It must not be forgotten, however, that preliminary investigation work is only the first step in the process. It occupies the same place in probation as diagnosis



does in medicine. It opens up, analyzes the problem and puts its finger on the specific diseased part. As in medicine, very little practical good would result if the physician spent the greater part of his time in the diagnosis of a large number of persons and made but little effort to treat them. So in probation, only a slight advance will be made if probation officers spend practically all of their time conducting investigations and make but little effort to help the offenders placed in their care.

As a means of preventing the work of investigations from interfering unduly with the proper carrying on of the probation work, we are going to try out the interesting experiment in the Magistrates' Courts of New York City, of dividing our probation staff into a corps of investigators and a corps of supervising officers. We hope through this specilization materially to improve our work and to render more constructive supervisory care to the large number of delinquents in our charge.

As a general proposition, therefore, we should urge the exercise of care on the part of justices and magistrates throughout the country, lest the making of preliminary investigations require so much of the time of the probation officers as to prevent them from properly performing their principal duty of looking after and aiding persons who are placed on probation.

## *II. Improving the Technique*

One of the current developments in our Probation work is the realization that there is a definite methodology in the making of a comprehensive diagnosis of a delinquent. Miss Mary E. Richmond's book, *Social Diagnosis*, which, by the way, should be in the hands of every probation officer, is a very definite step in the development of social case technique. We have passed the day in probation work when perfunctory and superficial investigation and supervision of a defendant will suffice. We must go to the root of the trouble and get accurate information as to the structure and functioning of the human mechanism we are trying to repair and rehabilitate. How can we expect to modify temperament and character if we are ignorant or indifferent in regard to the nature of the biological, moral and social forces regulating temperament and character?

In order to accomplish our purpose it is obvious that we must study intensively the lives of the human beings in our care. We must train ourselves to become capable of observing the causes and effects of human conduct, and of recording the manner in which probationers respond to various methods of treatment and of discovering definitely the causes of our failures and successes. We must correlate the results of our experience and discover principles which will serve as compass and chart for future navigation. Diagnosis is the hardest part of medicine, but very often the correct diagnosis of a given problem suggests the proper treatment.

That many delinquents are defective mentally and physically and that this is a contributing, if not the principal cause of their offenses, is a

matter of every-day observation in our courts. Not only should the facts of feeble-mindedness, dementia praecox, and other abnormal mental conditions be determined, but the presence of tuberculosis, venereal and other diseases, the effects of alcoholism and other excesses, and the degree of mental and moral responsibility should be, if possible, ascertained. The trained psychologist working in our courts can be of the greatest assistance to the probation officer in his efforts to cope with the problems of the delinquent.

The idea of clearing houses as aids to court work, probation and parole, as a necessary part of the machinery of justice, is an important current tendency in probation work. On May 1, 1918, the state of Ohio established its new Bureau of Juvenile Research. Under the juvenile research law, all wayward and defective youths are to be committed by the courts to the Ohio Board of Administration, instead of directly to the various institutions. After mental and physical examination and social investigation, the bureau will decide whether the children are normal or defective. Defectives will remain in the custody of the state and will be assigned to the proper institutions for treatment. Normal, but delinquent children, whenever possible, will be paroled. Along these lines we have the current administrative problems in our large cities of the possible correlation of probation and parole, and the possible consolidation of the probation systems of the various courts under a commissioner or commission, for consideration and decision.

It has been said of the great Napoleon that he once declared that the best thing he ever did was to decide that he no longer would see things as he wanted to see them but as they really existed. If we would take that position and determine to look at things as they are, could we not make great improvements in our work? One of the commonest weaknesses in Probation work is that many probation officers have more work than they can do well, with the result that they can make but little effort to better the conditions of probationers or improve their associations and habits. They have little opportunity to do other than have the probationers report to them in a perfunctory manner each week or at longer intervals. Such reports if made personally may occupy often only a moment or so, sometimes they are made by mail. Should we not protest vigorously against such conditions and make a determined fight for relief before the proper authorities? Should we not be alive to the danger of our work becoming mechanical and devoid of human warmth and sympathy? If a minute analysis of our work were conducted, in how many cases would it be found that we made an intensive study of each probationer and that under the circumstances we did the best we could for all those who were under our care? These are important and pertinent questions, and must be answered in the light of the facts.

Of course, you are all aware of the various influences that can be brought to bear upon the probationer to effect his reformation. For example, the probation officer should make an adequate number of home visits so as to acquaint himself intimately with the probationer's environ-

ment and associates. Religious influences, proper recreation and remunerative employment should be provided. We must realize that no two persons are alike, and even though they have committed the same sort of offense, it does not follow that they can be reached in the same way. Case conferences should be held frequently to consider special problems and peculiar and difficult cases.

Some years ago a very wise probation officer remarked: "The most effective probation work that I have ever come in contact with is the result of tying up the probationer to the constructive forces of the community. If you fill his life full of constructive things he will neither have time nor opportunity for the destructive." This was another way of saying that he recognized the values of co-operation. Hans Gross tells us that only the sham knows everything; the trained man understands how comparatively little the mind of any individual can grasp and how many must co-operate in order to explain the very simplest things. The successful probation officer recognizes his limitations. He realizes that he cannot do everything. It is his bounden duty to keep in such close touch with the social agencies of the community that by simply stepping to the telephone he can command immediately their best resources and co-operation. The past ten years have taught us the necessity of getting together all the forces of the community to aid in the solution of probation problems.

#### *Statistics and Publicity*

One of the great problems of the probation officer is the checking up of violations of probation conditions. Courts and probation officers have no greater responsibility than to keep the probation system from becoming regarded by offenders and the general public as a system of sentimental leniency—of simply letting offenders off without punishment. Probation is intended to give the delinquent not only another chance, but also real oversight, practical assistance, and the assurance that in case of continued misconduct he will be returned to court and be more severely dealt with. Probation fails of its purpose unless it is very definitely and concretely a helpful disciplinary and reformatory agency.

An interesting experiment is about to be set on foot in the City Magistrates' Courts of New York City, namely, that of a probation part, or court. This court will be presided over by a special judge, who will devote ample time to the consideration of probation problems. He will review periodically the progress of probationers, will reprimand or sentence all violators of probationary conditions, and will discharge in an impressive manner probationers whose periods of probation have terminated.

Adequate probation forms and proper records and an accurate system of reports and supervision should be an essential part of the probation system. Probation has reached the stage of development when it should commence to check up scientifically the results of its efforts. A great deal of time and effort should be spent on the checking up of persons released

from probation. From the successes or failures, in the long run, we determine the relative value of certain types of activities of our work as compared to others, and if results are favorable we can take increased confidence in our work. Such a study was made in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1915, with interesting and enlightening results. Of this study Mr. Homer Folks said: "This study has given me a greater degree of security, confidence and satisfaction in the ultimate results of our probation work in serious cases, than any other examination that has so far been made."

Publicity is a duty incumbent upon us and not an optional act. Publicity is a recognition by the probation officer of his stewardship to the public. By publicity we mean the kind of publicity that explains, that stimulates, that clarifies, that fights, that defends, that gives the public the knowledge it has a right to ask. How can this be done? In many ways. Let us make our annual reports not only accurate, but interesting. Let us make our literature attractive and educational. Let us accept such opportunities as come to us naturally to appear before the public and speak of our work. Let us discover what is valuable to a newspaper, and reveal to it the so-called human interest side of our profession. We must publish facts and findings and must constitute ourselves guides of the public, or we shall often find ourselves in the embarrassing situation of being compelled to defend certain fundamental principles of our work which have seemed to us personally so axiomatic as to require not even an exposition.

In the ultimate analysis, however, the value of probation to the individual probationer is due only slightly to the methods or the machinery used. Fundamentally, its value depends largely upon what the individual probation officer does for the particular persons entrusted to his care. No system without constructive, discriminating, individual work can operate well. The great surgeon is the man who has devoted himself earnestly to his profession and has brought to it right altruism, high intelligence, earnest zeal and all the powers of his personality. Probation is a difficult profession, demanding skillful service. Entrusted to the man or woman who merely looks upon it as a political job, probation is doomed to failure. No matter how swift and powerful an aeroplane may be, it will never give maximum service to an army unless directed by the skilled hand of a trained airman.

Should we not, therefore, approach our task with great humility, with a proper respect for its difficulties and with a true appreciation of its opportunities? Should we not by training, reading, and conference, endeavor to acquire all of the knowledge which will help us to do our work more effectively? Should we not endeavor to learn from all agencies and individuals the truths which they have discovered in their respective field and which we can utilize in our own. Should we not give a careful study to the relative merits of different methods of applying probation, and improve our case treatment in the light of such study? Should we not approach every individual probationer with a conscientious



determination to give him the best service of which we are capable, realizing that his future is largely in our hands?

A broad vista of opportunity stretches before us. The probation officer is primarily a builder of human character, a force for the betterment of social life. As yet the community is not fully alive to our work nor does it realize clearly just what the probation officers are attempting to accomplish in their daily work. The day of this realization, however, is approaching us swiftly, and with it will come progressive rewards and recognition of the dignity of our Public service. Those who have visited the battle fronts of the Great War have come back impressed with the wonderful efficiency which our forces are showing in the struggle. More impressive, however, than the machinery which has been put into action are the splendid human qualities of loyalty, co-operation, precision, orderliness, self-sacrifice, and spiritual devotedness evinced by the officers and men—the same qualities which you and I know to be essential to effective probation work.

As we do our work from day to day and make tests of our individual output, let us make sure that back of our efforts are the courage and loyalty and conception of the greatness of the task which alone can produce the highest efficiency. Let us respect the great constructive work in which we are engaged. Let us always remember that its code of ethics is based upon the true service that we owe and wish to give humanity. A wise philosopher once said that the only wealth is life. In our fallible human way we are trying to give a more abundant life to those unfortunates of society who come under our care.

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### SOME PRINCIPLES FOR PAROLE FOR GIRLS

*Edith N. Burleigh, Superintendent Girls Parole Department, Trustee of Massachusetts Training Schools, Boston.*

Unless parole is considered in its relation to a state program for the correction of delinquency, no true estimate of its value can be made. Penology should deal with correctional systems and should recognize the various phases of treatment as parts of one whole, preserving the relations of one part to another and the interdependence of the parts.

The following paper attempts to indicate the place of parole in the care of the delinquent girl and some of its principles.

We are considering girls who have been committed to the institution by the court because of having broken certain laws or statutes. We are not talking about dependent or neglected children, who in certain states are being put into industrial schools. We are also assuming that the institution has been established as a training school on the cottage plan, which means a certain free life as contrasted with the stricter discipline which goes with the high walls of reformatory institutions.

It is because the girl could not adjust herself, was a misfit in the community, that she was sent to the institution. Parole is the process

of re-education—the specific kind of community service through which the girl is reabsorbed into free community life.

*Place of Parole and Probation in the Correctional System*

The difference between parole and probation is that parole is dealing with a girl who has been removed entirely from the community and subject to all the influences of institution life, while probation undertakes readjustment without this experience. No girl of average mentality could pass unchanged through a period of enforced retirement in an institution, because so many new forces have been brought to bear upon her.

It is the purpose of this paper, then, to discuss by what methods parole can best accomplish its end, establishment of the girl in free community life as a helpful force. Its conclusions are based on experience with girls only and may differ materially from the principles applicable to the parole of boys and adults. Reabsorption into the community is governed in each instance by widely differing considerations. The normal boy, for instance, has an economic value and an interest in his own economic efficiency. Such interest is secondary in importance with the girl—at least in her own mind. Earning her living presents itself to her in a form which offers none of the inducements of a career and is but a necessary tiding over of the time until she shall marry and have a home of her own—a frankly avowed ambition with a majority of these girls. This difference in mental attitude must have a great bearing in determining methods of parole and methods should be applied principles.

The fact that parole should be a part of any correctional system will undoubtedly be accepted. It is conceded by some of the most progressive institution superintendents that parole is of importance equal to that of the institution. Their reason for this rather radical stand is that the institution, because of its restricted and practically homogeneous group, cannot hope to complete the girl's training, since it can offer no practical application of the knowledge gained in her industrial training, nor test the sincerity of her change of heart and the strength of her good resolutions when the girl is called upon to face the temptations of normal community life. The institution, then, is only the first step along the road to the complete rehabilitation of the girl.

*Theories Examined*

As the unrestricted return of the girl to the community is manifestly too dangerous both for society and for the girl, a second step must be provided for in the state program which shall include continued training and supervision. The return of the girl to the community under these conditions is made possible by a system of parole. There are several theories as to the best system.

Most institutions have a parole office, perhaps several officers, belonging to the staff, where possible living in the institution, and usually having some duties in the institution itself. These parole officers are under the direction of the superintendent of the institution. This

system has been upheld on the ground that the girl was best known to, and therefore best handled by a person living with her in the institution.

A theory more recently advocated is that parole and probation should be co-ordinated and that when the girl is paroled from the institution she should be returned to the jurisdiction of the court which committed her, as otherwise the knowledge of her gained through the investigation for the court would not be available.

The real test for any theory of parole is how effectively it can accomplish its object—the complete restoration of the girl. A parole system established as an independent outside department, under the same board of trustees would seem to be the most effective means of solving the problem. While under certain conditions parole might be well done under the direction of the superintendent of the institution, separation from it insures a more complete identification of the girl with the community from the start. It marks for her the second step in her progress toward freedom. The possibilities of parole are so great that the work needs most careful organization and the undivided attention of its officers. They should not be hampered or distracted by the problems of the institution, since their work demands a constant study of the resources in the community which can be utilized for the development of the girl on parole. This study can be made best by people who are themselves a part of the community.

#### *Separation from the Institution*

Parole should offer the girl a chance to put behind her all the signs of her delinquency—court, probation, institution—and herein lies the strongest argument against the co-ordination of probation and parole. This separation need imply no disloyalty to the institution which has done so much for her, but it allows the girl to become more completely hitched up to the community from the beginning of her parole. She must not fly back to the institution as a refuge from the difficulties or the temptations she meets. She must learn how to fight them in the open with the resources which are available to her there.

This encouragement of independence of the institution does not preclude the return of girls to it when necessary for the protection of the girl and of the community. In certain instances girls need the discipline of the institution, sometimes they need medical treatment, or further training to make them capable of earning their living.

It is fundamentally bad for the girl to make the reformatory institution a home centre. It should be a background for future attainment instead. With every desire to give the girl a sense that she has a home, tying her to the institution unwittingly helps to prevent her from making new and more normal ties in the community. I believe this would hold true also of any plan which held the girls together in a group anywhere outside the institution, such as a home from which the girls went out to work in factories or stores. Any such group, even though in a lesser

degree, continues the abnormal segregation of the institution and lessens the chances of the complete readjustment of the girl in society.

The continuance of association formed in the institution with girls of lower standards than those acceptable to the community tends to lessen in the girl's eyes the seriousness of the offence she had committed. It is only after she comes out on parole that she can make her first application of the principles of right living taught her in the school. It is then she realizes that if she does things other people condemn, she cannot hope to win their respect or to maintain her own self-respect.

The stimulating mental effect upon the girl of marking her forward progress by this separation of institution and parole is evident, because it offers her a new allegiance, a new loyalty, new influences, a chance to begin all over again with new people and under entirely new conditions, where old failures need not be recalled.

As in most instances her own home does not offer the best opportunities for her development, it is usually necessary to secure for the girl a home in a family very carefully selected to fit her special needs, a home which will give her in an unusual degree oversight, protection and opportunities for further training. In every instance the girl's temperament and capacities must be considered. It would be disastrous to place a slow-moving, slow-thinking girl with a quick, red-haired woman—the discouragements of both would be too great; or again to give a chronic runaway a place with unrestricted chance to slip away from the woman's notice.

### *Working Principles of Parole*

This leads us to the conclusion that certain working principles, certain methods are essential to successful parole. These working principles interlock but can be differentiated.

1. The first of these is *individual treatment*, based on knowledge of an individual. Each girl is an individual problem and her mental attitude as well as her capacities must be considered. The school has been teaching her the fundamentals of good conduct—truthfulness, honesty, clean thinking—as well as giving her industrial training, supplementing her school education and laying the foundations of habits of self-control, cleanliness, order and industry.

The girl's attitude towards her parole depends upon how much hold, how much formative power, the institution has acquired over her. She may be determined to begin over again, her success depending only on her strength of will; or she may look upon parole as an opportunity to have her own way, to be free; or she may dread it as she has grown dependent on the institution. A more or less childish attitude seems to be a frequent result of group treatment. It is the responsibility of any parole system to comprehend and meet any of these attitudes.

No treatment of the individual can be intelligent which is not based on a thorough knowledge of that individual; her heredity, her



environment, her companions, her reactions to school, her recreation, her health, her characteristics and disposition, and her delinquencies prior to her commitment. A thorough investigation of the girl's background should be made as soon as possible after commitment, in order that the institution can do its work intelligently and prepare the girl for parole. The information thus gained is also of great value when the girl comes out on parole.

A person is her potentialities (not what she is, but what she may be) plus her experiences. The girl who has had institution treatment is different from a girl who has never had it, and different from what she would have been if she had never had it, because it is an added layer of experience. So it is necessary to add to what has been learned about the girl prior to her commitment, her reactions to the institution. These may be learned from reports from the various people who have come in contact with her in the school. They should cover as many sides as possible.

While it may be easier for the girl to know her visitor before she comes out on parole, there are real advantages in making a fresh start. It adds to the adventure. Such appeals to the imagination of the girl are real helps in arresting her attention and catching her interest at the beginning.

2. This individual treatment can only be secured by *oversight* over every girl—the second working principle. It is through constant oversight that the girl's development is noted and her best interests insured. This oversight is secured by means of visitors, each visitor responsible for a certain number of girls who look to her for sympathy and guidance.

3. This oversight means also the *protection* of the girl—the third working principle. Protection includes both the girl and the community—protection of the girl from temptation by placing her in an environment which will stimulate her good impulses at the same time that it attracts and interests her. Oversight over the girl may protect her from exploitation through overwork, or neglect of her health or happiness. The protection of the girl from her bad impulses protects both the girl and the community.

4. The fourth working principle, *education*, or *re-education*, is one of the most important. To make oversight and protection possible, the girls, when they first come from the institution need to be placed at housework. There are several reasons for this—the chief reasons are because it is only at housework that they can be constantly supervised and protected and because, having come from bad or weak homes, they need to learn the essentials of a good, happy, well-ordered home, as most of them will become home-makers themselves. There is a third reason for this placing of girls in families; a good employer, who is willing to interest herself in the further training and welfare of the girl is a powerful means of regeneration. If the girl learns to love and respect the woman she lives with and works with, she learns lessons in right-living,

the value of which cannot be overestimated. It may take several trials before a girl is fitted into the home best suited to influence her, but the final result is worth the most patient searching.

Return to her own home may be educative if it is made under the right circumstances. Either the home should offer special constructive influences or the girl should have developed sufficient character to grow through the responsibility of raising the standards of her home. Ideally, constructive study of the family of the girl should be made while the girl is in the care of the state. How can new forces be set to work to build up a new family life and thus bring about a safe reuniting of girl and family?

The girl's church connections may be a great influence in her rehabilitation. While many of the girls have not developed any real religious feeling, they get in the habit of forming their social contacts through the church. Some girls are honestly and deeply religious. A true spiritual awakening is always possible and is always most hopeful.

Recreation means to most of the girls before they come to the school the commercialized recreation of the "movies" and the dance halls. They know nothing of the wholesome pleasures of purely social intercourse. The good-will aroused in the give-and-take of happy family-sharing of good times, the generous impulses awakened and the quickened intellectual response resulting from social contacts of the right sort contribute largely to the growth of the girl's character. It is usually possible to gratify a girl's ambition for lessons in music, in school branches or in various other things in which she is interested, either through private lessons or through the public schools, where under wise oversight, a girl who has failed utterly before commitment because of bad influences, may be reabsorbed into the school population and become a normal, happy unit of it.

The establishment of the habit of thrift is another source of education and is most important for the welfare of the girl and of the state. It is only through thrifty habits that the girl can be self-supporting when she has to stand upon her own feet after she passes out of the care of the state. The girl must be taught frugality which is the basis of prosperity—respect both for the uses and the values of things. If you can show the girl that frugality has associated with it the joy of achievement she will find real pleasure and pride in making over her dresses and retrimming her hats. The attractiveness of planning is a wedge between the girl and the temptation of pretty clothes which can otherwise be hers only through illicit means. As far as possible the girl should be self-supporting from the start. Self-support and self-respect are closely allied. A girl who feels that whatever the state does for her is no more than her due, that having been committed to the school against her will, the state should support her, must be taught to realize that this is not the attitude of self-respecting people. Her growing independence may well give her a new vision of her relations to others.

5. The fifth working principle is closely linked to all the others and is the care of the girl's *health*. A parole system has no greater responsibility than this. Many of these girls are physically in poor condition, if they are not diseased at the time of their commitment. They make surprising gains because of the regular life and the medical care of the institution, but the neglect some of them have previously experienced, the natural delicacy of others as well as the normal possibilities of illness make the solution of medical problems a very important part of the work of parole. The most difficult of these is that of the girl's suffering from venereal disease. In spite of apparent cure after long treatment in the institution the possibility of later development in such cases make extra care in placing and constant watchfulness a necessity. The precaution of putting these girls immediately under skilled medical supervision as soon as they are paroled protects the community and insures the continued good health of the girl.

6. Among the working principles of parole never to be lost sight of is *the long look ahead*. Good parole work implies much more than watchful care on the part of the officer. What is the girl going to be and to do after she passes out of the care of the state? From the beginning this should be borne in mind. Nothing should be done with the girl which does not look to her future. What does she need most to hold her steadily to her purpose of being a good citizen after she has formed that purpose? She must have the constant and sympathetic encouragement of her visitor. She must be given hope and the incentive of a gratified ambition if she has one within the bounds of good sense and earning her living. The plan for her future must be her plan or she will abandon it when she is free. Even if you make a much wiser plan for her unless you can win her honest acceptance of your plan it must be given up for hers. The best you can do then is to give her a chance to test her own out before she passes out of your care. One of the lessons parole officers have to remember is that the girl has to learn from her own experience, sometimes from her own mistakes, to make her choices wisely. The learning of this lesson is worth the risk of many failures.

This long look ahead is much complicated by the variety and difficulty of the problems presented by the girls. No thoughtful prognosis of the girl's future can be made without careful observations of her mental development. Not so long ago most girls who behaved badly, who yielded to every impulse, or who were swayed this way or that by their emotions, were called feeble-minded—that happy dumping ground of the social worker. The psychiatrists and psychologists in their increasing comprehension of these problems, though they have not yet determined upon treatment, have taught us the value of careful diagnosis, and in some instances are able to advise methods of care. We at least have learned that sometimes apparently wilful conduct the girl herself is unable to control; that intellect is not always the factor which gives most trouble in the mental makeup of the individual. A girl with

average intellectual capacity may have no emotional control or may be the victim of her own impulses. The most hopeful feature is that this greater comprehension, this combination of the experience of medical and social specialists may eventually be able to prove to legislative bodies, that there are certain individuals who are not feeble-minded nor insane, but who are equally dangerous to the public welfare and who must be placed in custodial care. In the present overcrowded conditions of the institutions for the feeble-minded and the lack of institutions for the care of these even more difficult girls, which include the *defective delinquent* and the more dangerous of the *psychopathic personalities*, the future of these girls can be easily predicted, but not prevented.

Then there are the girls who present problems of character and disposition: the high strung girls with bad tempers, many of whom can learn self-control; the suggestible girls, swung either way by the people last with them; the girls with babies; the girls who steal; the girl who is unchaste; the girl with a grouch, who believes the world will only give her what she demands. And we must never forget that any one of them may be all of them.

What is the test of successful parole? The girl herself. We cannot measure success in exact terms, nor can we analyze the relative importance of the elements which compose it: the unexpected responses, the sudden awakening of unsuspected powers, the new loyalties, the development of the child into the woman. Nobody can standardize the parts of a human character, nor assemble them, but "by the grace of God" they grow, while we stand by, opportunists in character-building, ready to encourage or to restrain, to sympathize with the joys and the sorrows and most earnestly endeavoring to understand.

If the community would recognize its own handiwork and its own job, parole would not only be a larger part of its plan for the correction of delinquency, but would be an accepted field of study for preventive measures—measures which could be taken with little children before they become delinquents.

"For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope."

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION.

1. *Mrs. Fannie French Morse*, Sauk Center, Minn.: If there is any function standing out in the institution, it is the individual study of the individual and close personal contact. The superintendent of the institution and her workers know the girl better than anyone else. I have some parole workers who live in the institution and some who live outside. A very marked difference is noticeable in the work of the two groups; the resident parole visitor has been in very close touch with the girl and knows her more intimately.

2. *B. M. Jostad*, State Probation Officer, Madison, Wis., asked for a statement of principle as to whether the probationer should be informed regarding his condition as determined by diagnosis, for example, supposing he were feeble-minded.

3. In making answer *Miss Burleigh* cautioned against taking the diagnosis made in the institution as final.



4. Dr. Bernard Glueck, Ossining, N. Y., said that while it might not be of any benefit to tell a feeble-minded person that he was feeble-minded, the principle of taking a patient into one's confidence to the extent of telling him the dangers and limitations confronting him was excellent. Dr. Glueck said further that we all agree that probation is a very excellent remedy, and yet every year more and more of us are anxious to find out why it does not work. A probation officer or a judge who recommends probation for a person just because he has to deal with a first offender ought to seek some other occupation. The first essential is diagnosis, for if you make a diagnosis correctly you can sometimes dispense with treatment. Probation is one of the most patent factors in restoring individuals to normal life. But probation is frequently a very bad remedy if blindly applied.

5. In her closing remarks, Miss Burleigh said that probation, institutional training and parole are only spokes in one wheel.

### THE CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY

*First Report of Subcommittee. Bernard Glueck, M. D., Chairman;  
Director, Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y.*

The creation within the Division on Delinquents and Correction of your Conference of a sub-committee on Causes of Delinquency adds further proof to the clarity and breadth of social vision which dominates your deliberations. At the same time it affords those of us who have been working in this field of criminalistics a welcome opportunity to exchange notes upon our findings and experiences with those of you whose preoccupation has been with other phases of this common movement for social hygiene and social control. Your committee, it may be confessed, found themselves from the first somewhat perplexed in their endeavors to decide upon the form this first annual report should take. We were, of course, fully agreed concerning the central importance of the subject of causation in criminology. Causation is the keystone of the problem. It not only has its intrinsic theoretical value, but it affects in a direct and decisive manner prognostication, treatment and prevention, whenever a rational solution of the problem is attempted.

For the same reason, reform in procedure, no matter how aggressive and well-intentioned, will at best be but a temporary expedient if it ignores the question of causation. The object, therefore, of your committee ought to be clear enough. We should find no difficulty in defining the direction in which our efforts might help to clarify the problem of criminality. We might even proceed to sketch, in tentative outline, at least, the manner in which a definition of causation may be rendered eminently practical in the administration of the individual delinquent. Such a practical definition should ultimately carry sufficiently dependable information for the guidance of the judge in the original disposition of a case, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the administrators of reformatory and correctional institutions in their endeavors to prepare the individual inmate for a more adequate adjustment to life in a free community. The crystallization of experience and practice in the definition of causation in individual cases into principles of fairly wide applica-

tion should ultimately make possible the development of proved and dependable criteria for prognosis.

Our aims are clear. The difficulty arises when we undertake to specify the processes for assuring the attainment of these aims. In view of this difficulty your committee were particularly happy to accept the invitation of Mrs. Hodder to meet at Framingham, Mass., for a preliminary discussion of methods and viewpoints.

This meeting of the committee, held on April 14th last, was attended by the following members and guests: Dr. Bernard Glueck, Chairman; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Dr. William Healy, Dr. Herman Adler, Dr. V. V. Anderson, Dr. Abraham Myerson, Dr. Paul Wander, Mr. F. Leslie Hayford, Dr. Elizabeth A. Sullivan, Dr. Catherine A. Brannick, Dr. Edith R. Spaulding, Dr. Augusta F. Bronner, Dr. Anne Bingham, Miss Edith N. Burleigh, Mrs. Tess L. McKernon, Miss Inga M. Johnson, Miss Barbara V. Sanborn, secretary.

#### *Study of Crime Causation versus Diagnosis of Individual Offenders*

Those present were agreed upon the importance, as a first step in orientation, of a survey of what is being done in this country in the matter of studying criminal behavior and its causes. It became evident in the course of the discussion on this point that such diversity of method as admittedly exists among the workers in this field carries with it the danger of confusing the etiologic study of criminal behavior with the mere definition of personality, of the assumption of a cause-and-effect relationship where only coincidence exists.

Unsatisfactory as must be the status of methods which permit such extremely discrepant estimates of, say, the extent of feeble-mindedness in reformatory and penal institution populations as are reflected in the current literature on the subject, the mischief caused by such inaccuracies can never equal that involved in suspending the search for causation when mental defect of some sort has been brought to light as a factor.

So grave a misconception through over-simplification of the problem must inevitably lead to an under-estimation or even to a total blindness for the many social-environmental factors which may, and frequently do, play a significant, yea, a determining role in the causation of criminal behavior even in pathological personalities. It also runs the danger of seeing in original, native endowment the sole constitutional determinants of behavior, and of failing to recognize the potency for continuous and lasting modifications of original tendencies that reside in the very processes of life and adaptation to the outside world. The feeble-minded individual only less than the normal is never quite the same after having experienced, say, a prison sentence, as he was before. Since experience modifies behavior and the springs of behavior, and since the modification may have a pivotal significance in the causation of a given delinquent act or career, the stopping short with the mere diagnosis of feeble-mindedness obviously misses an essential link in the chain.

The recent illuminating study by Dr. Bronner on *Special Abilities and Disabilities* furnishes impressive evidence that much still remains unsaid when a diagnosis of feeble-mindedness has been made. A study of causation of crime, therefore, even in the individual case, involves much more than a mere diagnosis of the offender. It demands a diagnosis of the whole situation on the basis of dependable information concerning behavior reactions, habits, mental attitudes, predilections and idiosyncrasies of the individual in his daily life.

#### *Preliminary Outline for Field Study*

Such information can best be supplied through an intelligent and painstaking field inquiry, supplemented whenever possible by continued clinical observation within the institution. The laboratory examination, particularly the type whose scope is restricted to the mere gauging of intelligence grades by means of measuring scales, might be said to possess a value in the diagnosis of abnormal behavior similar to that which the chemical estimation of the functional activity of the kidneys might have in the diagnosis of *Bright's Disease*. It has little to do with a helpful understanding of behavior, nothing whatever, in many instances, with throwing light on the precise conditions that render behavior anti-social.

When we keep in mind still further the practical aspects of treatment and adjustment which a diagnosis should bear, the mere estimation of grade of intelligence must be of very limited value unless we restrict our conception of adjustment to mere institutional segregation. The committee believe that a case study should embrace as a minimum, at least an attempt to define:

1st. The type of personality one has to deal with.

2nd. Any temporary or lasting grafts or inroads upon the integrity of the personality, whether these have their origin in some constitutional pathological process, or in some deleterious environmental contacts. In other words, does one, for instance, merely deal with an epileptic or does one have to do, in a given instance, with an epileptic who is alcoholic and in whom the effects of alcohol, acting upon an epileptic personality, are the determining factors in the criminal act?

3rd. The relationship of the personality, as such, to the criminal act, or criminal habitus, and

4th. The relation of the superimposed disintegrating process, whether it be temporary or lasting, to the criminal act.

Such an approach ought to enable us to state, more or less accurately,

1st. The type of administrative problem one has to deal with. Is it exclusively or primarily a medical problem, as coming essentially within the province of the physician, or is it a social problem, that is to say, a problem the adequate solution of which demands attention to some external crime-provoking situation? Is it a problem predominantly for judicial adjudication, free alike from individual or sociologic pathological determinants, or is it, on the other hand, a medico-custodial problem such as is presented, for instance, by a segregable feeble-minded individual?

2nd The significant or determining criminogenic factors in a given case:

- (a) Of an hereditary nature.
- (b) Of a constitutional nature.
- (c) Of an environmental nature.
- (d) Of a behavioristic nature.

3rd. On the basis of the foregoing, an outline of treatment or adjustment which would meet, as far as it is possible to meet them, the individual's and the community's requirements in the case.

That notwithstanding the rapid growth of the study of causation of delinquency, the above program still remains largely an ideal, with the exception of the noteworthy work of Healy with the juvenile delinquent, and of the work of others in cases involving clear psychotic situations, should serve as a challenge rather than as a discouragement. But progress toward this goal can be greatly accelerated and facilitated if instead of working in isolation, more or less indifferent to the efforts of others in the same field, and leaving clarification of principles to chance, we endeavor to proceed along the lines of a consciously and experimentally evolved program.

#### *Nation-Wide Co-operation in Research*

The first direction, therefore, along which the deliberations of your sub-committee may furnish a much-needed impetus, is that of a better understanding among the workers in this field concerning the nature and aims of scientific effort in the study of delinquency. As a concrete suggestion, your committee recommends that among its activities for the ensuing year a careful study of the nature, methods and scope of the work now being done in the field of scientific inquiry into the causes of delinquency, should occupy a prominent place. Such a survey would be of inestimable value to all of us, and its accomplishment might be powerfully assisted by the administrators and boards of institutions who are already alive to the importance of the problem of research, and are willing to give their professional workers an opportunity to prepare their material for publication.

It is an important feature and a real defect in the existing situation that was well expressed in these words by one of the members of your sub-committee: "It is most unfortunate that for the majority of people actively interested in criminalistics, the pressure of the daily work is so great that little time or energy remains for research." Your committee is of the opinion that much valuable information has already been accumulated along various lines, and that the whole problem of causation might be clarified to a considerable extent if this material were made more generally accessible.

Two distinct lines of procedure might effectually bring this about. First, the publication by the various investigators in this field of complete, unabridged case studies, with full theoretical discussions of the problems involved in the given case; and, second, the publication of



standardized statistical data on large groups of cases studied. It is very important that we agree on a more uniformly standardized method of statistical presentation, and your committee recommends this as another important undertaking among its future activities.

It would be regrettable if our insistence on more extensive publication of studies were to be taken to mean that we are either indifferent to or not fully appreciative of the many excellent studies in American criminalistics which have already come to light. Our point is that the time has come when our studies should form the source of dependable guiding principles for those who are charged with writing into statutes our practical recommendations, and we are as yet largely unprepared to convince them by furnishing an incontrovertible body of information. We are not ready, as representatives of a specialized discipline in the field of the social sciences, to present a well rounded-out program for the action of legislatures, a program concerning which there is a consensus of opinion, at least among ourselves. Our studies frequently lead to significant criticisms of legal and social procedure, but they lack still more frequently detailed constructive suggestions of a practically attainable nature. If we, as workers in this field, are to meet adequately the challenge which our critical contributions have provoked, our material must be organized with this aim in view.

#### *Point of Inception for Study of the Criminal*

It is somewhat of a question as to where in the process of legal administration the diagnostician should come in contact with the prisoner. At what stage of the intricate procedure of the criminal law should the delinquent be studied? Those who are looking forward to the day when the community's viewpoint toward the offender will find its inspiration less in a moralistic or a dramatic interest and more in a broad humanistic conception of adjustment and maladjustment, insist that the study of the offender should be begun even before arraignment. They even go a step further and insist that the study of abnormal behavior, or more specifically of misbehavior, should be undertaken before the individual comes in conflict with the law. There is much greater feasibility in this plan than might be admitted to be the case at first thought. In fact, where the school authorities are fully alive to the nature and objects of public education, timid beginnings have already been made in the direction of studying individuals during school life.

A certain degree of dependable predictability is already possible wherever opportunity for the study and observation is offered in connection with an adequate system of ungraded classes. With the growth of a clearer appreciation on the part of the school teacher of the broader social aspects of her work, such predictions will grow in reliability and will eventually justify radical measures of control in the individual case.

The very excellent and progressive work that is being carried on in some of our juvenile courts, points conclusively to the great economy—material and human—to be effected by intelligent early diagnosis.

In not a few instances the cost of a trial, and what is more important, the damaging violence to the youthful offender which is inherent in contact with the criminal law, is obviated through such timely intervention of the diagnostician.

It is problematic, however, whether the same procedure is applicable to the adult offender. This is especially true for large communities where the daily arrests are altogether too numerous and the offenses very often altogether too serious to make the diagnostician's interference before trial feasible or practicable in all cases.

This of course does not mean that gross and obvious cases of mental disease or defect should be ignored, and permitted to be handled by the courts in the routine manner. Police departments of the more enlightened communities, even under present conditions, aim to divert these obviously pathological cases to other than penal or correctional institutions. Where they sadly fall down is in the less obvious cases, and occasionally in cases which might be considered sufficiently obvious even for a layman's detection. The judges of the courts of inferior jurisdiction should, however, be given an opportunity for a dependable diagnosis before trial, at least in such cases as in their judgment require it. Some compromise is possible here even with the present large number of arrests, as the work in the municipal courts of several large communities demonstrates.

But over and above the grossly and obviously pathological cases there remains the enormous army of adult offenders, the ceaseless stream of disturbers of the peace and the happiness of the community, whose depredations will defy adequate control just so long as our attack on the problem continues to be blind and unintelligent, and the individual cases administered without an adequate diagnosis of causation and needs.

When should this diagnosis be made? Does the most practical procedure lie in allowing the court to establish first the fact whether a given individual is an object of social control? That is to say, let the courts decide whether or not the individual committed an act which endangers the welfare and integrity of the community, and that some steps therefore should be taken by the community to safeguard its interest. But before any steps are taken, the diagnostician should outline the situation and guide the procedure into the most promising channels. Should the convicted offender be diagnosed while under temporary detention, and should final disposition of the case be based on this?

#### *Plan of Work for Ensuing Year*

All the above are important questions to us if we desire to guide and influence procedure. Is it not justifiable to expect that a closer co-operation among the workers in the various branches of applied criminalistics in the matter of evaluating their data and of bringing these before the public, might lead to some agreement and enlightened action on these important questions? Aside from the immediate practical value

of such a policy of co-operation in the matter of publication, the growth of criminalistics as an organized branch of science depends upon it. Radical improvement in procedure all along the line will come into existence just as soon as the workers in the field of criminology and penal administration come to look upon their work as a profession and approach their tasks with the integrity, serious-mindedness and dignity which go with training and preparation for specialized service.

But where are students to find the opportunity for training? Is our knowledge concerning this subject sufficiently organized to enable us to undertake the teaching of criminology? What is the scope of a science of criminology? From what sources might such a science develop? The demands for the teaching of the subject are becoming more pressing daily. The socialization of legal procedure and of penal and reformatory processes in particular, is attracting a constantly growing aggressive group of social workers to this field and they demand information. Should those who work with the living sources of criminal behavior undertake the task of organizing this information?

Your sub-committee have been in existence only a short time and have had no opportunity thus far to organize their efforts in these directions, but in conclusion, beg leave to propose the following program as a tentative outline of their labors for the ensuing year:

1st. A survey of the facilities for criminological research and observation afforded in connection with penal, correctional and reformatory institutions, in connection with courts, probation and police departments, and in connection with universities and professional schools for social workers.

2nd. A study of aims and methods conscientiously pursued by each of such research agencies, especially their co-operation or correlation with practical administrative processes, and the utilization for scientific and educational purposes.

3rd. A survey of official opinion respecting the desirability of criminological studies as an aid to the intelligent administration of the criminal laws, especially of the opinion of police commissioners, judges, prosecuting attorneys, probation and parole agencies, wardens, superintendents, and directors of institutions for delinquents.

4th. An inquiry into the organization of existing efforts directed toward the prevention of crime with a view to determine the theoretical and fact basis underlying such efforts.

5th. A study of methods of presentation of data in criminological research, both with reference to individual case studies, and with reference to statistical information on large groups.

To secure the maximum participation on the part of the members of the sub-committee in this proposed scheme of inquiry, it is recommended that the present make-up of this committee be continued for a year, and that the chairman of the same be authorized to extend membership on the committee to such additional persons as may be needed to carry the above program into full effect.

## SCHOOLS AND DELINQUENCY

*Catherine Brannick, M. D., Psychologist, Reformatory for Women,  
Framingham, Mass.*

The aim of this paper is not at all an ambitious one—it seeks to make but a single point, namely, that the most profitable time to study aberrant personality is during school life. It is admitted that the majority of delinquent careers begin during youth—it is here contended that the delinquent tendencies appear even earlier in the child.

Those of us who work within the institution with what one might call the finished product in delinquency, know how frequently we have to throw up our hands in the matter of treatment, and almost as often in the matter of diagnosis. The institution has to take the individual "as is," so to speak, and "as is" he must be diagnosed, though the original personality may be pretty well obscured by years of bad habit of attitude and reaction. It is most difficult at this stage, and sometimes impossible, to determine what part should be assigned to defective constitution in these social failures, and what part to defective environment and fixed habit. And even when the diagnosis has been laboriously and imperfectly made, we have to admit that for many, no essential transformation of the nature can be attained.

At the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, where we have girls and women ranging in age from 17 to 60 years, with a record of previous known arrests ranging from no arrest to more than sixty, we are continually faced with the question, "at what time in this woman's life might effective study of her personality have been made and treatment given?" We ask the question of ourselves, after careful study of her history, and frequently we ask it, with appropriate modifications, of the woman herself. Neither of us can answer it very satisfactorily—neither of us can see quite straight so far away from beginnings. The older women are apt to sum things up by conceding that as they are today, so they were in lesser degree as children. "Oh, I've been in trouble all my life;" "I never amounted to much in school or anywhere else," they say. In the case of the younger girls, however, whose school life is more accessible, the number who give a definite history of school failure, either in conduct or scholarship, is striking. Yet none of these girls came into actual conflict with the law until adolescence was fairly well advanced.

Even without any figures on the subject, it seems quite reasonable to expect that tendencies which in the adult manifest themselves in repeated offences against the law, should appear in the child. Surely the traits of the instinctively anti-social individual may be recognized in marked degree in the child, and in lesser degree a child's lack of response to educational measures and a continual tendency to relapse to characteristic conduct disturbance, are significant.



*Special Study Made*

In an effort to locate beginnings of delinquent tendencies in the individual, a study was made of the school histories of delinquent girls under 17 years committed to a reformatory school within the last four years. These histories are much more reliable, because of the youth of the girls, than the histories of the majority of the women sent to us at the reformatory, whose school period is so remote.

Three hundred consecutive admissions were covered in this study. Only the school histories were considered and the psychological examination, in the few cases in which one was made. There was no attempt to relate the form of school failure to the particular type of delinquency for which the girl was committed, nor to weigh environmental against constitutional factors. The aim was simply to find out how many of these girls, delinquent to the point of being committed by court, were school failures in the sphere of either scholarship or conduct. These records were not gathered for a special purpose, they simply occur as summaries of the school histories of the delinquent girls made in the routine of the individual investigation.

Of the 300, 230, or over 76 per cent, were more or less retarded in their studies. 175, or 58 per cent, showed conduct disturbance of some form.

In the retarded group, 35 per cent of the whole were three or more years behind the average child who is graduated from the grammar school between 14 and 15 years. Twenty-one per cent showed a retardation of two to three years; 19 per cent were retarded one to two years.

In ten of the cases, the grade reached was not given, but of these ten three had been diagnosed as feeble-minded by psychological examination; six more were described as "dull and backward" by their teachers; in the case of one only, no mention of scholarship was made, simply a description of troublesome conduct was given.

Only sixty out of the 300, 20 per cent, were reported as normally advanced in school studies.

Of the conduct failures noted ninety-six, 32 per cent of the whole, were reported as truant—thirty-six of these being described as chronic truants. Other forms of conduct disturbance described were many—many of them being associated with truancy:

Violent temper, noted in seventeen cases.

Stealing in school, in twenty-three cases.

Stubborn, obstinate, defiant, in twenty cases.

Obscene in speech and action, in eleven cases.

Writing obscene notes, in twelve cases.

An immoral influence, teaching others, in nine cases.

Incorrigible or unmanageable, in nine cases.

General poor conduct was noted in forty-four cases.

The cases described as of general poor conduct are those in which the bad conduct is not specifically described, as in these school summaries:

Graduated when 15 years 10 months. Scholarship fair; conduct unsatisfactory. Teachers considered her mentally normal; they made frequent reports to her mother of unsatisfactory conduct on the street and in the school room, and were politely informed they could mind their own business.

(2) In 1912 dismissed for irregularity; was then in Grade 4, at the age of 13 years 10 months; this was her second dismissal from school. Scholarship and conduct, as well as attendance, was of lowest order.

A separate study of the scholarship was made in the 125 cases in which no conduct disturbance was reported. Seventy-seven, or 65 per cent, of these were from two to five years retarded, and only thirteen, or 11 per cent, were normally advanced in grade. Eighteen or the group were described by the teachers as "mentally deficient," twenty-one more as "dull and backward"; eight more were diagnosed as mentally defective by psychological examination.

As shown by these records, the early history of these delinquent girls is apparently a history of school failure in a majority of the cases, 76 per cent in some degree in scholarship, 58 per cent in conduct. These are significant facts, when one considers the close relation between mental defect and the production of crime, as established at the other end of delinquency, by study of the criminal repeater; and the frequency of the unstable constitution, with emotional and volitional defects, in the same class.

#### *Normality Compared With School Advancement*

A closer analysis of these histories brings out some interesting points.

It appears that normal or nearly normal advancement in grade, as noted in the school records, does not always mean average intelligence; there is frequent reference to "promotion on account of age rather than scholarship," and even an impression on the teacher's part of actual mental defect in children normally graded. Here are two cases:

(1) Began school at 7; at 14 was in grade 7. Teacher says was promoted on account of age rather than good scholarship. Liked school, especially fond of nature study; excellent in drawing and painting; always very troublesome because of habit of appropriating things of others; obscene notes found in her desk written by men. Was suspended because of her stealing and the obscene writing.

(2) Was graduated at 14 (entered high school but did not continue). No repetition of grades. Highest in arithmetic. Considered by teachers mentally deficient, peculiar, irresponsible, erratic, silly, lacking in self-control. Began at 10 to seek men and boys; guilty of exhibitionism first at 11 years. (This girl was diagnosed as a case of borderline mental defect by two different examiners; very weak on the moral side; custodial care recommended.)

On the other hand retardation does not always mean intellectual defect as in this instance, which is one of many in the group:

Reached fifth grade at 15 years (not promoted, but transferred because of age). Two years in second grade, 3 in third, 2 in fourth; irregular attendance and many transfers. Did not rank high in any study; memory poor, best in arithmetic. Antagonistic and stubborn; had disturbing effect on other students; very quarrelsome with others; was found choking a girl in a quarrel. Truant since third grade at 10 years. Outbursts of temper at home and in school—would double up her fist and throw things. (Psychological examination showed no intellectual defect in this girl.)

The same is true in this case in which the teacher apparently made no question of the fact that a bright pupil was two or three years retarded:

Promoted to 7th grade at 14, when she left school to go to work. Regular attendance. Conduct excellent. Scholarship very satisfactory. Stood highest in arithmetic. Seventy-six per cent lowest in any study. (This girl had been grossly unchaste during her school course, apparently unknown to her teachers.)

Bad conduct is not by any means necessarily associated with retardation or mental dullness; this is seen in the high percentage of retardation and probable mental defect among the group in which no bad conduct was recorded. On the contrary, good scholars are frequently bad actors, as in this case:

Always a good scholar, but gave trouble to all her teachers after entering grammar school. Would disturb the class whenever she wished some excitement and was insolent and defiant. Expelled twice and taken back on aunt's intercession. In 9th grade expelled for insolence to principal and not allowed to return. Next fall started evening school, but was unruly here and not allowed to continue.

Conduct disturbances are often taken for indications of intellectual defect:

Reached 7th grade in public school. Scholarship very poor, did acceptable work in spelling only; teacher thought her of very low mentality. In school she needed constant watching; had to be seated away from other children; could not be trusted with the simplest tools. Was expelled by the principal for threatening to "smash the teacher's face." (No psychological or mental examination was made in the case of this girl during her school course, but several were made after she became delinquent to the point of requiring court action. By these she is described variously as "alert and active mentally," "above the average," "type of moral imbecile.")

On the other hand again, there often is no apparent recognition by the teacher of very probable mental defect, however poor the scholarship, if the child gives no trouble in the sphere of conduct.

#### *Similarity of Earlier and Later Careers*

The records make interesting reading for one who deals with the adult delinquent. At the reformatory we recognize three main types of repeaters—the feeble-minded, those defective in the emotional or volitional field, and the group who are habitual offenders from over-social, rather than anti-social instincts. Many of the school records of these delinquent girls sound like early editions of these three groups. The screaming, biting, smashing type that is returned to us at the reformatory all too frequently has her prototype in these young histories, as well as the untrained, undisciplined feeble-minded repeater. The backward, friendly, nice little girl frequently described in these records, seems like a description of the youth of many of our over-social group, whose characteristics of affection and generosity and loyalty have been exercised along wrong lines.

The following summaries might easily have been the school histories of many of our adult group:

(1) Repeated second and fourth grades; irregular in attendance. Kept at home to work. Low standing in studies, considered subnormal mentally; some days brighter than others. Reached grade 6 at 13½ years. Had falsified age to go to work. Came to school physically exhausted. Conduct satisfactory. Was shy, hungry for affection, responsive, poorly dressed and conscious of it; honest and truthful. Liked by teachers. (Many of our dull, lovable, generous, over-social drunken repeaters might have had just such a history.)

(2) Was in grade 6 when she left school at 13 years; repeated first grade. Troublesome in school. In grade 6 disobeyed teacher, and in trying to settle the difficulty, bit the teacher's arm. A fighter in school; had terrific fits of temper. (The Reformatory has had many of her kind, grown up.)

(3) Began school at 5 years. Repeated first, second and third grades. Pro

moted to fourth grade only because of age and size. Attended irregularly; was frequently sent home because so dirty. Rating unsatisfactory. Considered by teachers "mentally deficient." Reached grade 4 at 14. First attended parochial school, and at 13 years was refused readmission there because of bad reputation. In grades one and two was well disposed and quite dependable. In grades 3 and 4 was vulgar, profane, wrote obscene notes and on the walls; was silly, lazy, reticent, untruthful. In grade 4 began to dress up. Leader of gang of younger girls. (No psychological examination was recorded in the case of this girl, but her school history is typical of the untrained feeble-minded girl with fair innate characteristics other than the purely intellectual, as described in her good conduct in the lower grades.)

When we are trying at the reformatory to teach the A B C's of self-control to the screaming, smashing, psychopathic woman, we cannot help but ask how far her innate tendencies might have been modified by early recognition of her type and educational methods applied in time. When we are trying to reshape or overcome long established habit in the feeble-minded woman who has been recognized as such for the first time as an adult, we ask again how far her ability to adjust socially might have been modified by deliberate fostering of any socially favorable characteristics during the pliable, habit-forming age.

The over-social group is rather a large one at our reformatory. As found, they are for the most part classed as intellectually dull or sub-normal, and show a marked lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. They are the women who say, "I was never much good in school or anywhere else." They are as a group very likeable women, from the standpoint of the institution, and model prisoners. It is often a question with us how far the women acquired in school the "what's the use" attitude, how far the habit of failure in school influenced their failure in life. The knowledge acquired in school is much less important than the habits formed, and the attitude toward life in relation to one self. Dullness does not consist alone in failure to digest school subjects; it involves a slowness or inability to adjust socially as well as in school. A habit of failure acquired in school is quite likely to follow the child into working life; some measure of faith in ourselves is indispensable—nothing succeeds like success in school as elsewhere.

#### *Summary and Conclusion*

To sum up, these records show that tendencies that lead to delinquency certainly appeared in the school life of these delinquent girls. The histories show an apparent inability on the part of the school to interpret the failure of the children, and sometimes even to recognize the failure. Conduct disturbance, like disease, may be classified according to its origin as environmental or constitutional, and in either instance some modification can be brought about by appropriate treatment. The same classification might be applied to school retardation—it is well known that psychopathic tendencies may so interfere with the acquirement of school knowledge through the ordinary channels, as to simulate intellectual defect. Indeed, there may be as many causes for school retardation as there are degrees of potentiality within the normal limits.

There is already a very fair sense of social responsibility in the school in relation to physical health—it should be as strong in relation



to the mental health of the child. Individual study of every school failure should be made, whether in scholarship or conduct, to determine the probable basis of failure.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. A cordial invitation was given by Colonel Sedgwick Rice, superintendent of the United States Disciplinary Barracks, at Leavenworth, to this division to visit his institution.

2. *F. M. Bennett*, vice-president, Children's Service Bureau, Youngstown, Ohio, told about the work of the clinic at Youngstown in connection with the public schools. Four experts there are examining subnormal school children. There is cooperation between the schools, the judge of the Juvenile court and the city police court. Physical examinations are given and the homes of the backward children are studied. In one large school there is special examination and training of children. *J. M. Hansen*, secretary of the Community Service Society, is in charge of the work.

3. *Capt. R. M. Chambers*, M. C., officer in charge, department of psychiatry and sociology, United States Disciplinary Barracks, Leavenworth, gave a brief account of the method of handling prisoners. He stated that many of the cases are accidental offenders, in many instances deserters, although there are also some of the worst criminals. No man who has a sentence of less than one year can be released on parole. A man with a sentence of more than a year is eligible for parole after serving one-half of his time. Two months before the time for him to be released on parole he makes application to the Parole Board. (This board consists of a parole officer, the Commandant of the Barracks and the Secretary of War.) A complete history is then taken of the man, with a detailed account of every year of his life. Men who are mentioned in this account and prominent men of cities mentioned are written to and questionnaires are sent to them. An estimate is then made of the man from all the material at hand, including psychiatric and sociological data. This information is all sent to the Commandant and then passed upon by him and also by the Secretary of War. When the man is released on parole, he is put under the care of a first friend and adviser who has agreed to furnish him with employment at a stipulated initial compensation. Men are carefully instructed before released. The parole certificate outlines all regulations. These rules are explained to him. He must make a report on the date of his arrival and after that every thirty days. This method has worked successfully for three years, and it is interesting to note that less than six per cent of the men paroled have violated their parole.

#### THE PUBLIC DEFENDER—AN AID TO A SQUARE DEAL IN THE COURTS

*Homer Talbot, Secretary, Municipal Reference Department, University  
of Kansas*

That every person accused of crime should have the right to a fair trial is a principle universally accepted. The right to a full and fair trial to every defendant is essential to the safety of society, and to public confidence in the institutions of government and the administration of criminal law. The major premise, then, is accepted. Every accused person is entitled, of right, to a full and fair trial.

We now face the question: As conditions exist, does every defendant actually receive a full and fair trial? To any one of open mind

and humane spirit, and possessing any save the narrowest experience, the answer thunders in one's ears—No!

### *Authorities and Cases Cited*

Is there equality—substantial equality—before the law? Let a distinguished jurist, former President of the United States, be heard on the question. Ex-President Taft says:

We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not the fact.—Quoted in *Mayer C. Goldman, The Public Defender*, page 48.

To call up illustrations very well known to Kansas Citians: The J. S. Chicks and the Doctor Hydes—men of wealth, able to employ the most capable legal and political talent, receive a full and fair trial. Possibly more. But what shall be said of the hundreds of unknown prisoners, without money or influence to command the services of astute legal and political attorneys of this great city?

I quote from the statement made four years ago by a Kansas City man who in his duties had come close in contact with conditions in the jails and criminal court of this county, Mr. C. E. Waters:

In the prosecuting attorney's office there is no cognizance taken of the fact that all the men who come before the prosecutor are not criminals, but each man is considered guilty; and every method known to the lawyer is used to convey that impression to the jury. If a man does not plead guilty the attention of the jury is called to the criminal look on his face, his criminal parentage. The sweat-box methods of ancient times are used to obtain a confession. Nothing is left undone to convict every man who is charged with a violation of the law—except those who have political friends.

Still quoting from Mr. Waters:

Within the last few months a dozen or more cases have been reversed by the supreme court because of the questions asked the accused by the prosecutor. In several reversed decisions the supreme court plainly stated that this is the reason the decision of the lower court is reversed. One opinion handed down by the higher court charged that "railroad methods" were used to obtain a conviction.

Mr. Waters was asked why the prosecutor was anxious to convict, and he answered:

In order to make a record of sending more men to the penitentiary than his predecessor. (Kansas City Times, March 11, 1914.)

Lest any hearer obtain the impression that the unfair conditions referred to are not general, or prevail only in the west, let us go east again, and examine the problem in New York. The testimony of Mr. Justice Howard, of the appellate division of the New York supreme court, will now be heard:

My experience as a district attorney and on the bench of the supreme court leads me to concur fully in the contention that there should be a public defender to look after the rights of the poor. The creation of such an office would be not only justice, but economy. The poor man cast into prison, no matter how innocent, is helpless and hopeless. He cannot cry out to justice, for nobody hears his cry. He is the prey of the policeman, the captive of the jailer, the butt of other prisoners, the plaything of young lawyers. He is immured beyond human reach. His protestations of innocence are drowned by the ribald jeers of hardened criminals. He walks to the court house fettered by brutes and degenerates. He is browbeaten and threatened by his captors until his heart sinks in despair. As he is arraigned before the judge, he stares about the court-room, but he sees no friend—no hope.

Every technicality and delay and defense and avenue of escape known to the cunning of lawyers are available to the rich man indicted for crime. The poor man under indictment is permitted to go through the forms and appearances

of a trial; but such a trial is only a mockery. He dares not assert his innocence for fear of a double sentence at the end of a trial—a trial which he knows will be a travesty. Therefore he pleads guilty and disappears from human view. And this is the triumph of civilization—a triumph for those who have money; ignominy for those who have not.

Justice Howard concludes:

The provision for a public defender should be imbedded in our statutes. No law could be more economical—none more humane.

Again, to be specific, consider the case of Alfred Schwitofsky. The defendant was sent to Sing Sing prison in New York for a term of twenty years, under a conviction for burglary and felonious assault. In June, 1914, at a public hearing before the state board of parole, there were revealed facts showing how the lawyers assigned to his defense had practically ignored him, and how, on account of his lack of means and competent defense, he had been unable to produce a single witness in his behalf. Finally, from the office of the district attorney who had prosecuted the man, the assistant district attorney who represented the state said:

The district attorney had been convinced, by reason of newly discovered evidence, that Schwitofsky was not guilty of felonious assault, upon which charge ten years of his twenty years' sentence was based, and the district attorney was recommending to the governor that this ten years' sentence be revoked by a parole or pardon.

On September 18, 1916, the governor of New York commuted Schwitofsky's sentence.

#### *Remedies Offered*

If it be admitted, now, that there is necessity for extending more adequate legal assistance to accused persons who are poor than is now given, what remedial program may be adopted? The mental inert and the sneering cynic will, of course, do nothing to aid.

Perhaps the first response may come from some one who concedes the existence of injustice in the existing situation, but who, knowing the high and unselfish character of many American lawyers, believes the problem may be solved by the bar associations furnishing a corps of reputable attorneys who would volunteer their services as counsel for accused persons unable to employ legal assistance.

The difficulty with this proposal as a solution is two-fold—as is pointed out by Mayer C. Goldman in his excellent work on *The Public Defender* (page 78):

Reputable and busy lawyers do not care to volunteer their services for this unproductive work, and the judges are not inclined to assign them—except in rare instances and in capital cases. It is unfair to expect a lawyer to devote his time and skill to such gratuitous service.

As a second proposed meeting of the problem it has been suggested that legal aid societies and other charitable organizations may render the service of defending accused indigent persons. The student of the problem is at once ready and glad to give full recognition of the very excellent work which has been done by these associations. As a substitute for the public defender—publicly paid and provided for—the charity organization defender is not a substitute acceptable to society. The accused person is entitled as a matter of right—and not charity—to a full and fair defense.

Possibly some one may have in mind a third proposal as to a means of relief. "Let the trial judge be empowered to fix compensation to counsel in each case, such compensation to be publicly paid," is suggested.

The plan meets two difficulties, and is inadequate. Unless fees of considerable amount are given to the attorneys assigned to the defense, the compensation will not be sufficient to attract the services of competent counsel.

On the other hand, if fees of sufficient amount are given in individual cases to induce able lawyers to render proper defense, the aggregate of the amounts paid will probably be considerably more than the sum necessary to provide a public defender—and, in addition, many of the benefits in having the services of a regularly employed officer for the work will be lost.

### *The Public Defender Movement*

This, then, brings us to the question of the desirability of employing a public defender. Without devoting further attention to the principles underlying the proposal, let us examine the facts as they have to do with the public defender movement. For this summary Mr. Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York bar, has placed us all under obligations.

In 1913, the people of Los Angeles County, California, adopted a home rule charter which included a provision for the appointment of a public defender. On January 6, 1914, Walton J. Wood was appointed to the office. In June of the next year a separate public defender was appointed for the police courts of Los Angeles. During the same year a public defender was appointed for Portland, Oregon; and similar officers were chosen for Douglas County (Omaha), Nebraska, and the city of Columbus, Ohio. In 1917, the Minnesota legislature passed an act providing for the office of public defender in counties having a population of 300,000 or more—that is, Minneapolis (Chapter 496, *Public Laws* 1917.)

As to the results of the creation of the office of public defender, reference may fairly be made to the experience of Los Angeles—the first county to provide for the new public service. The facts show that the judges of every one of the four departments of the superior court of Los Angeles which handle criminal cases endorse and commend the functions and activities of the public defender. Likewise, the district attorney himself praises the new department and its administration. The testimony of Judge Frank R. Willis of Los Angeles, one of the judges occupied exclusively with the conduct of criminal court trials, is representative and significant:

The work of the public defender and his representatives in the criminal department of the court has been of an eminently satisfactory character. I find that instead of the ordinary method of defendants' attorneys in trying to secure an acquittal by any or all kinds of means, legitimate or otherwise, the public defender has uniformly endeavored to present the facts of each case thoroughly to the jury, and tried to secure only such a verdict as the facts of the case would warrant.

It has been a great saving to the county in the matter of expense, and has usually been productive of a more fair and impartial administration of justice



than the method formerly employed of appointing attorneys unfamiliar with criminal law to represent the defendants' interests. I am well satisfied with the efficiency of the office and of the necessity for its continuance, as a matter of economy and justice. (From a letter under date of June 2, 1914.)

Both on principle and on the facts, it is earnestly submitted that the public defender cause has proved its case. In order that there may be a fairer deal in the courts; in order that every person accused—no matter how poor—may have a full and fair trial; and in order that public confidence in our government and our system of criminal law and administration may be merited and given in a larger degree than at the present time, let each one of us render service in carrying the message of the new gospel to its acceptance throughout America! In so doing we shall aid in making democracy safe for the world.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *F. Emory Lyon*, Superintendent Central Howard Association, Chicago, referred to his introduction of a resolution in the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology to the effect that courts in all counties should have public defenders equal in ability with prosecuting officials. He said that in states where provision was made of a fee of \$50 for the defense of cases, the money was usually spent upon lawyers who were not worth even that much. "The organization of a group of volunteer defenders, however, is a step in advance of that. It has worked out very well in Chicago, where we have about one hundred lawyers who take turns and give a day now and then in the boys' court and take up each case and defend the boy and carry it through, but it is more particularly for the preliminary hearing. It is simply out of the question for the man who is without funds and without friends, without reference even to unnecessary technicalities, to secure the ordinary, average defense. The ignorant defendant hasn't the least idea of court proceedings and his own rights. The old offender, in court before, knows the ropes, knows how to take advantage and has learned some of his rights, but the green fellow who comes in from the country and gets in bad, who hasn't been in court before, hasn't the slightest idea what to do or not to do, and he needs advice and counsel all the way along. The greatest danger is bound to be that the public defender may play into the hands of the prosecution and after getting the facts in confidence from the defendant if so disposed may turn them over to the prosecutor."

2. In answer to the question by the chairman, *Mr. Talbot* replied that he believed the selection of administrative officers is best provided for by appointment, although it would be necessary to make adjustment to the requirements of the various state constitutions and statutes.

3. *John J. Sonstebj*, attorney, United Garment Workers of America, Chicago, said: I am probably the only one here who has acted as a public defender at any time, except of course not in a professional capacity. In Chicago, as *Mr. Lyon* has mentioned, we have in the boys' branch of the Municipal court of Chicago a Public Defenders' Association, entirely voluntary, to the work of which each member gives one day every two or three months. We have a list of lawyers who have become members of the association and we assign a certain day to each member—the member knows the day in advance—and prepares accordingly. Of course, in the boys' cases comparatively few are really trials in the sense of the ordinary criminal trial, because where the offense is serious, such as hold-ups, there is nothing to do but hold them for the grand jury. We are not paid for this service but we do not mind giving a day once in a long while. I have not made up my mind whether we ought to have one public defender paid by the county or whatever body pays him. If we had such a person it would

necessitate having a corps of investigators, an office force, and would become part of the political machinery. There might be trading between the office of the prosecuting attorney and the public defender in order that each office might be taken care of financially. In certain states the state pays the attorney something, not enough to pay the full expense of handling the case. Let the judges make up a list of the lawyers they want to use for that kind of work. It isn't wise to take any lawyer to defend a criminal; some of the very best attorneys would be absolutely useless in trying the ordinary criminal case. They do not know the procedure, except theoretically. At one time I handled for the United Garment Workers of America more than 1,000 cases, arising from a strike, everything from disorderly conduct to murder, in the course of three months. I knew every judge, prosecuting attorney, and their peculiarities, and one must know the peculiarities of the judge to properly try the case and give the defendant a "fair show," as we call it. I am inclined to think that the best way of handling it at the present time is to have the judges make up a list of lawyers in the community capable of handling the work, some for the bigger cases and some for the smaller cases; then let the county board or whatever body pays them, pay them for the service and you will get better service. I have seen lawyers appointed to defend men, and where there was no fee they have done it in a very perfunctory way. I am a little uncertain of the public defender who devotes his entire time to that kind of work; he is liable to become too mechanical in his defense.

4. Throughout the remainder of the discussion speakers emphasized the importance of hearty cooperation of the legal profession and the willingness of leading lawyers to undertake to defend accused persons gratis. A parallel and distinctions were drawn between medical and legal service in this respect. Cases of improper treatment of persons charged with crime were cited, delegates participating were: Mary E. Richmond, New York; Mrs. Katherine Van Wyck, Milwaukee; Anna G. Williams, Denver; Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; Mrs. Martha A. Slaten, Carthage, Mo.

5. *Mr. Talbot* said in conclusion: There is need in most counties of size in the United States for additional legal assistance to poor persons who are accused—with the exception of a very few counties, which have been so fortunate as to have some persons who are voluntarily looking after the needs of the unfortunate and accused. Such counties are to be congratulated, but they are very, very few. If there is need of additional legal assistance to poor persons accused of crime, shall there be a public defender for each individual case, appointed by the judge for that case; or shall there be a regularly paid and provided for public defender? That, as I see it, is the issue. It seems to me as we look carefully at the matter there can be little question but that from the standpoint of justice, efficiency, and economy, the public defender regularly provided for is the more desirable. On these three points, the system of the public defender is advocated: first, it is more just than any other remedial system which has been suggested; second, it is more efficient; third, it is more economical to the people. As a necessity for society as a whole, the plan should be adopted.

## PROHIBITION AND DELINQUENCY

This was an entirely informal discussion.

1. The first speaker, *Mrs. Alice Adams Fulton*, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado, Denver, spoke of the experience of the state penitentiary of that state. Colorado "went dry" in the fall of 1914. The population of the state penitentiary has steadily diminished as a result. The State Board of Pardons find that between fifty and seventy-five per cent of all crimes which they review have been committed as a result, directly or indirectly, of the liquor traffic. Now when friends of convicts appear to plead for their parole they always state:

"I am sure, now that the state is dry, we will never have a repetition of this crime." In half the counties of the state the jails have not had any prisoners during the last two years, since the state went dry.

2. *Mrs. L. O. Middleton* of Kansas City, representing the National W. C. T. U., spoke of the campaign for ratification of the national prohibition amendment and reviewed the effect of alcohol upon the human body. She spoke of its effect from the moral standpoint and made a plea for the building up of self-control and self-restraint.

3. *J. K. Coddington*, warden of the State Penitentiary, Lansing, Kansas, said in part: The dearth of criminal statistics makes the subject of intoxicating liquor and crime rather a hard one to handle. In determining the causes of crime, and the reason why men commit offenses, we are to a great extent dependent on the man himself, and he is not always truthful.

In a personal examination of over four thousand criminals the past few years, seventy-seven per cent of them have said that intoxicants were the direct or indirect cause of their downfall. This is about the average given by others who have taken their statistics from the men themselves. In Kansas about 12 to 16 per cent of our men violate their paroles, and 90 per cent of the parole violations are on account of intoxicating liquors.

Vital statistics of 1916 show that Kansas had 4.6 homicides per 100,000; Missouri, 7.6; California, 14.2. Kansas is prohibition, Missouri is half dry, and California pretty wet. The United States census report of 1910 shows that Massachusetts had 933 commitments per 100,000 population; Missouri had 462, and Kansas 192; Massachusetts wet, Missouri half wet, Kansas dry.

We have had prohibition in our state for a great many years; not the absolute kind that we desired, but it was prohibition, nevertheless. The open saloon with its invitations, with its machinery for making criminals, and at the same time providing alibis, packing juries, suborning witnesses, reaching courts and juries, has been for years lacking in our state. For the past two years, however, we have commenced to have real prohibition, under the bone dry law passed by our legislature. This makes the possession of liquor an offense, and does away with the pool-hall, livery stable, back-alley kind of joint, and a great decrease of crime is apparent in our state. We have over 200 less men in our penitentiary now than we had two years ago.

One-half of the prisoners in the Kansas penitentiary and about 60 per cent in the state reformatories were never residents of our state, but are the product of the saloon states, north and east. We find that the going dry of Oklahoma, Colorado and Nebraska has materially aided in decreasing our criminal population. We are looking forward to the time when we will have nation-wide prohibition, and then we know, from past experience, that crime will still decrease. Perhaps the time will come when we can abolish penitentiaries and institutions of like kind; at least, we can so reduce our criminal population that we can feel we are on the road, not only in the cure of the criminal but the cure of crime as well.

4. *President Robert A. Woods* spoke especially of the objection to prohibition, that will create serious resentment among habitual drinkers. Experience at the Norfolk (Mass.) State Hospitals with individuals confirms the experience of the prohibition cities showing that, when the whole atmosphere is changed, there is little or no expression of resentment. He mentioned recent scientific evidence of injury caused by even small amounts of alcohol. The campaign for ratification in Massachusetts showed a surprising sentiment for prohibition among all sorts of people.

5. *Monte H. Pasley*, chief probation officer, Spokane, Wash., held, from experience in Missouri and Washington, that prohibition actually prohibits. The jails of Washington, he said, had become almost depopulated since prohibition went into effect. At the jail in Spokane County it has been necessary to keep a corps of three matrons for care of the women alone, but within six months after the adoption of prohibition there was no need

for any matron at the jail. There has been a remarkable decrease in juvenile delinquency.

6. *Leroy A. Halbert*, general superintendent, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City: Kansas City, Kansas has a population of 100,000. Kansas City, Missouri, 300,000. Therefore, we should have by normal comparison three times as many arrests and criminals here as there. They sent in a year 22 people from Wyandotte county to the state penitentiary; we should have had 66 from Jackson county, but we had actually 720. The fact is, that the proportion of people in the bawdyhouses in Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, is about as grave a disparagement in comparison as the number of criminals. Arrests, if I remember correctly, were about 3,000 in Kansas, and that would give us 9,000 here, but we had 57,000. The juvenile statistics were about the same. When the joints were closed in Kansas City, Kansas, it was thought it would be an injury to the business men. After they were effectively closed by Mr. Trickett (the man who invented the idea of closing them by injunction), there were, of course, some places vacant, but within a very short time the Mercantile Club got out bulletins advertising the valuable effects of having the joints all closed that were sent all over the country for the purpose of advising capitalists that because they did not have any saloons in Kansas City, Kansas, manufacturers could go there and have employees that wouldn't be drunk every Saturday night. Some days there was not a single person convicted in the police court in Kansas City, Kansas, and in the state of Kansas whole counties passed a year without any persons arrested. Abolition of crime? We cannot have a millenium in a day, but if by abolition of crime you mean a state of society where we can control people by persuasion and do not have to arrest anyone, that is another term. That is a long way off, but it is an absolutely realizable thing, that can be realized in many a county and sections all over this nation. We won't have to have the machinery of jails. There are many counties in Kansas where the jails have not had an occupant in a whole year. A commissioner from Manitoba told me they closed four out of seven provincial jails after the province became dry. People here from Colorado tell you they have closed up one wing and one building after another in the state penitentiary because they did not have to have prisoners there since it became dry.

7. *Major Ernst Sims*, Salvation Army, Winnepeg, gave testimony to the fact that under "bone dry" conditions existing in his region there is practically no trouble with returning soldiers, indeed, none with the public in general.

8. *Nat Spencer*, secretary of the Church Federation of Kansas City, spoke of the experience of the Kansas City Society for the Suppression of Commercial Vice with the liquor question, and the relation between drink and sexual immorality. Ineffective national control and the politically governed police department of Kansas City were described as the seat of the great danger that exists there with respect to incoming troops.

9. Aside from the discussion of relationships between the operation of prohibition laws and delinquency that have been noted in the informal discussion, considerable was said by speakers about the effect of drink upon social conditions in general and many arguments presented for the adoption of national prohibition.

10. *Others*, whose names are not included in the foregoing account, who participated in the informal discussion were: George M. Bates, Tulsa, Okla.; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal; Mrs. Rosa M. Webb, Kansas City, Kansas; D. F. Shirik, Topeka, and the chairman, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder.



III.  
HEALTH

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

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### *Acting Chairman*

Mary E. Lent,

Associate Secretary, National Organization for Public Health Nursing,  
New York.

### *Acting Secretary*

Mrs. Bessie Ammerman Haasis,

Educational Secretary, National Organization for Public Health Nursing,  
New York.

Jacob Billikopf.....	Kansas City	Grace L. Meigs, M. D....	Washington, D. C.
Arthur H. Burnett.....	Toronto	James Minnick.....	Chicago
J. S. Crumbine, M. D.....	Topeka	Irwin H. Neff, M. D.....	Norfolk, Mass.
A. E. Dowling, M. D.....	New Orleans	Katherine Tucker.....	Philadelphia
Lawrence Flick, M. D.....	Philadelphia	Frederick H. Whitin.....	New York
Edna L. Foley, R. N.....	Chicago	Linsly R. Williams, M. D.....	Albany
Edna G. Henry.....	Indianapolis	J. H. Landis, M. D.....	Cincinnati
Anne C. Jamine.....	Sacramento	Haven Emerson, M. D.....	New York

## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, one hundred and eighteen delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as appointed at the 1917 Conference at Pittsburgh, is shown on the opposite page. Four meetings for discussion were held as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 3:30 p. m., "War Time Developments in Public Health Nursing" .....	187
May 17, 8:15 p. m., General Session: "Public Health in War Time".....	179
May 20, 11:00 a. m., "The Housing Program in War Time" .....	194
May 21, 11:00 a. m., "Health Insurance, Pensions and the Problem of Inheritance".....	389

The session on May 17th was a joint session with the Division on Children. The session on May 21st was a joint session with the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems.

On May 16, at 12:45 p. m., the Division met at luncheon. At 1:45 a business session was held at which Miss Mary E. Lent, of New York, vice-chairman of the Division, presided, and Mrs. Bessie A. Haasis of New York acted as secretary.

After a statement of the relationship of the discussion of health questions to other subjects in the National Conference, and of the composition of the group interested in this question in the National Conference, by various delegates present, it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to frame a suggestive list of members for the Division Committee and also of a chairman for the Committee, these nominations to be reported and acted upon at a subsequent meeting. This committee as appointed consisted of Mr. George Nelbach, Miss Ida M. Cannon and Mrs. Haasis.

On May 16th, at 10 p. m., an adjourned meeting of the Division on Health was held, at which the Committee on Nominations, through its chairman, Mrs. Haasis, made a report recommending chairman and members of the Division Committee. The report was accepted and returned to the committee with recommendations for additional names, bringing the membership up to 24, the final report to be presented at an adjourned meeting next day. The members present wished to go

on record as favoring an arrangement of the program for each year's conference in such a way that each group of interests represented in the Health Division should have one paper presenting a national program.

On May 17th, at 3:15 p. m., an adjourned meeting of the Division on Health was held, at which the final report of the Nominating Committee was accepted, embodying the names shown in Part B, sec. 3, appendix of this volume.

The meeting then turned its attention to the advisability of organizing a national body of hospital social workers. The previous history of the movement was described and reasons for and against taking such a step during war times. The meeting adjourned as a meeting of the Health Division, and went into executive session as an organizing committee of hospital social workers.

(Signed) MARY E. LENT, Chairman.  
BESSIE A. HAASIS, Secretary.



## PUBLIC HEALTH IN WARTIME

*Claude C. Pierce, M. D., Senior Surgeon, U. S. Public Health Service*

The protection of the public health; the prevention of communicable diseases; the conservation of human life are at all times one of the important functions of the national, state and local authorities. During wartime these problems of disease suppression and control take on an added significance and the measures to be carried out must of necessity be somewhat modified. What is to be done must be done quickly in order to conserve the man power for the army and to protect the civilian workers so essential for the rapid development of an effective military organization. Ordinarily, under peace conditions, the urgency of action is not so imperative; nor is the completeness of details so important in carrying out remedial measures for the control of disease-producing conditions, as these both become immediately upon the declaration of war.

When our country entered this great world strife the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service at once directed trained sanitary officers to examine into conditions around the sites selected by the War Department for the location of cantonments, with a view of making recommendations for sanitary control of the extra-cantonment zones. After the survey had been made and the extent of the work to be accomplished was determined—indeed, in many cases contemporaneously with this preliminary work—trained officers were assigned to these extra-cantonment areas, to have supervision over the sanitary work that had to be done. Public health officers so detailed always work in harmonious co-operation with the state, county and municipal health authorities, and in that way the activities of all interested are correlated and directed as one organization. This system prevents reduplication and makes impossible the shifting of responsibility. The United States Public Health Service has organized and is operating more than thirty of these co-operative, special sanitary units for the control of conditions affecting the public health in extra-cantonment zones, many of these units being larger in personnel and expenditures than an ordinary State Board of Health. The scope of the work is great because an effort is being made to control the spread of disease among the civil population in territory adjacent to army camps, not only as a military necessity in protecting the soldiers from infection, but to increase the efficiency of the entire citizenship.

The work that has been done at Little Rock, Arkansas, in the Camp Pike Extra Cantonment Zone is similar to the work done at all the other Public Health Service stations, so that by giving some of the details of the work at Little Rock, an idea may be conveyed regarding the varied activities, and from the results already obtained, the immense value of the work may be judged.

*Communicable Diseases*

One of the first tasks undertaken was to secure the reporting of communicable diseases by local physicians, as provided by the state laws. It is a recognized principle of preventive medicine that the health officer must know when, where and under what conditions cases of communicable diseases are occurring. By persistent effort, the co-operation of the doctors in reporting cases has been secured, and the usual precautionary measures are carried out for the quarantine of cases, regulation of contacts, discovery of carriers and their control, the carrying out of vaccination and other prophylactic measures directed against the further spread of preventable diseases. The information obtained regarding disease prevalence in the locality is transmitted daily to the medical officers of the army at the nearby camp, so that they may know just what to guard against in their efforts to keep the soldiers free from disease. By having this information promptly, and carrying out necessary sanitary precautions, the prevention or control of epidemic diseases has been made possible.

*Health of School Children*

Medical inspection of school children is one of the most important health functions and has received proper attention in the Service extracantonment work. School children are the great reservoir of communicable diseases and the control of these diseases among children of school age through active medical inspectors, trained nurses and intelligent co-operation of teachers can accomplish much. The physical defects found have been in many cases corrected through clinic treatment, where the parents were unable to have their own physician. A free dental clinic for school children was likewise established and has done much work through the loyalty of patriotic dentists who donate their services. The lecturers for a special course in trained nursing have been supplied by the Service in the high school, an average attendance of sixty-four high school girls receiving this important instruction.

*Control of Places Where Food and Drink Are Sold*

In accordance with the authority given in a military order issued at Division Headquarters at Camp Pike, no men in uniform are allowed to patronize any hotel, restaurant, soda fountain or cafe, or other place where food or drink is sold, unless such places have a permit card issued by the United States Public Health Service. In accordance with this military order, a detailed sanitary inspection was made of each place of this character in the cities of Little Rock and North Little Rock (or Argenta), and a physical examination was made of each employee engaged in such establishments. During the preliminary physical exami-

nation, 1,743 employees of hotels, restaurants, etc., were examined and of this number 92 were rejected and barred from further employment on account of being affected with syphilis, gonorrhea or tuberculosis in a communicable stage. Each new employee is required to undergo a physical examination prior to his engagement, and at the time of the physical examination each employee is vaccinated against smallpox and against typhoid fever. In the sanitary survey of hotels, restaurants, soda fountains, etc., 135 premises were examined. Of these only 57 received a first class permit; 28 received second class permits; 19 received third class permits and 31 places were refused permits as places where men in uniform could be served. Many of these establishments receiving second and third class ratings have since made the necessary improvements to receive a higher rating. The great importance of supervising employees of places where food and drink is sold is shown by the finding, upon a preliminary examination, nearly one hundred employees that had dangerous communicable diseases in infectious stages.

#### *Control of Barbers and Manicurists*

The same military order applying to places where food and drink are sold applies to patronage by soldiers of barbers and manicurists. All persons so engaged in Little Rock and North Little Rock were given a physical examination, and of 293 examined, 22 were rejected on account of dangerous communicable diseases in an infectious stage. Regulations were promulgated and posted in each barber shop requiring the sterilization of implements and of utensils, towels, etc.

#### *City Sanitary Improvements*

On account of Little Rock being the city to which all soldiers from Camp Pike necessarily come for recreation and business transactions, the existing insanitary conditions in the city required considerable attention. Many surface wells were in use, the water from which was polluted and dangerous, and a great many premises were not connected with sewers. A large number of stables afforded fly breeding foci, and the many miles of open ditches throughout the city were prolific breeding places for mosquitoes. A system of inspection of all premises throughout the city was carried on; notices to correct insanitary conditions were served upon property owners, and a very material improvement has taken place. Tabulation of the work accomplished during the period from July 1 to December 31, 1917, is as follows:

Number of wells permanently closed.....	554
Number of premises connected with city water.....	186
Number of premises connected with sewer.....	518
Number of sanitary privies installed (outside sewered area).....	371
Number of stables making improvements to prevent fly breeding.....	428

This work is still in progress and during the past thirty days the work has been accelerated through placarding insanitary premises, warning against their use as human habitation until the necessary improvements have been completed.

### *Rural Survey*

Officers of the Public Health Service were detailed by the Surgeon General for the purpose of carrying on a campaign of education and sanitary improvement throughout the rural territory adjacent to the cantonment. In this work each home was visited by a trained officer and record made of the existing sanitary conditions. Recommendations were given for the correction of all insanitary conditions found existing, such as the method of disposal of human excreta, the protection of natural water supply, prevention of mosquito breeding and general information for the prevention of communicable diseases. Thousands of copies of public health bulletins were placed in these homes where sufficient interest was created to warrant the use of printed matter, and from time to time the residents of particular communities were assembled and given plain talks on sanitation. A placard was placed in each home, giving important facts in regard to the transmission of typhoid fever and malaria, the two preventable diseases most prevalent in this community. A general systematic vaccination against smallpox and typhoid fever was carried on in order to lessen the number of persons susceptible to these two diseases. "Follow-up" work from time to time made it possible to determine the result of this educational campaign and considerably more than half of the homes visited made some effort to improve their sanitary environment. The work accomplished at Little Rock in this demonstration of rural sanitation carried on during the four months, August to November, inclusive, was as follows:

Number of homes visited .....	4,804
Number of schools visited .....	107
Number of public addresses given .....	155
Number of persons vaccinated against smallpox.....	9,269
Number of doses anti-typhoid vaccine given.....	87,852

### *Sanitary Engineering*

The department of sanitary engineering of the Public Health Service has devoted most of its activities to the control of mosquito breeding by carrying out ditching, draining and oiling of pools and streams. An area covering more than seventy-five square miles, including the city of Little Rock, North Little Rock, Fort Roots, Camp Pike and adjacent and intervening territory, has been thoroughly covered by systematic anti-mosquito control measures. On account of the rocky nature of the soil in this vicinity, permanent drainage work is extremely expensive, and therefore a considerable amount of maintenance work must be carried on at all times. During the past season the amount of new and main-



tenance work for the control of mosquito breeding has been very extensive, but the amount expended has been an investment of great value. The work around Little Rock was divided into three areas, briefly described as follows:

(a) The area including the city of Little Rock and adjacent territory. In this area 54 miles of streams have been ditched and 55 acres of swampy land drained, and 4,300 gallons of oil was used.

(b) The area including the city of North Little Rock (or Argenta), Camp Pike and intervening territory. In this area 56 miles of streams were ditched and 7,100 gallons of oil used.

(c) The area north of Camp Pike used as a training camp. In this area  $41\frac{1}{2}$  miles of stream were cleared of brush and 1,540 gallons of oil used.

The cost of the total amount of work outlined above was \$31,929.44. The question naturally arises as to what results were obtained and whether or not these results were worth the amount expended. The object of this work was to protect the soldiers of Camp Pike from possible malaria infection, and this was actually accomplished and no cases of malaria were contracted at the Camp, either during its construction, nor since its occupancy. The effects of the anti-mosquito work upon the health of the civil population in the districts under control are not so easily estimated, since the reporting of cases of malaria was not enforced prior to the taking over of the work by the Public Health Service. However, in the city of Little Rock, records of deaths are considered reasonably correct and complete. Reference to these records show that there have been the following number of deaths from malaria within the city since the year 1910:

Year 1910	.....68 deaths
Year 1911	.....86 deaths
Year 1912	.....48 deaths
Year 1913	.....40 deaths
Year 1914	.....47 deaths
Year 1915	.....69 deaths
Year 1916	.....41 deaths
Year 1917	.....15 deaths

Notwithstanding the large increase in population of the city during 1917, an increase in a type of population more or less susceptible to malaria, there were 26 less deaths from malaria than in any of the previous eight years. Now, the season of the year when malaria is most prevalent is from July to October. The United States Public Health Service started its mosquito eradication campaign July 1, 1917. Therefore the effect of the work should make itself manifest during the four summer months—July to October, 1917. References to the death records of the city of Little Rock show that the total number of deaths for the four months, July to October, inclusive, by years, was as follows:

Year 1910	.....45 deaths
Year 1911	.....47 deaths
Year 1912	.....30 deaths
Year 1913	.....28 deaths
Year 1914	.....24 deaths

Year 1915 .....	88 deaths
Year 1916 .....	30 deaths
Year 1917 .....	15 deaths

We find here a decrease of 25 deaths from malaria in the city of Little Rock during the summer of 1917, compared with the deaths occurring in 1916; yet, the population of the city increased at least 25 per cent. It is shown, therefore, that within the city of Little Rock alone, at least 25 lives were saved and 2,500 persons who would have, under ordinary conditions, suffered malaria during the summer of 1917, did not so suffer. This estimate of 2,500 persons is made on the assumption that for each death from malaria, there are 100 cases of the disease. If we may assume that the same saving of lives and sickness occurred over the whole area controlled, as in the city of Little Rock, then there were a total of 33 lives saved and 3,300 persons prevented from suffering with malaria fever. These results were accomplished by the expenditure of approximately \$32,000, which amounted to an annual per capita expense of 40 cents.

#### *Control of Venereal Diseases*

The venereal diseases have not been included with the ordinary communicable diseases for the reason that in most states they were not reportable until since war has been declared.

As a war measure, a nation-wide movement is now well launched to carry on a vigorous campaign to control these venereal infections that are undermining our civilization, polluting our manhood and womanhood, and penalizing succeeding generations. Arkansas was one of the first states to promulgate regulations for their control after the request was made upon all states last winter by the Government, and as their law is similar to those of other states, its provisions will be briefly outlined. It provides that: "It is the duty of every physician in the state, and of every superintendent of a hospital, or dispensary, to report promptly to the State Board of Health the occurrence of cases of these diseases." The reporting of these diseases will be done by number only, the physician retaining in his private, professional, secret files the name and address of the patient. Therefore, such reports as are made to the State Board of Health are confidential and no publicity will attach itself to the patient under ordinary conditions. However, the physician reporting by number only, will naturally have to assume the responsibility for the patient observing the necessary precautions to prevent the spread of the disease.

It is the duty of all physicians under this new law, now in force, to keep the patient under observation until a non-infective stage of the disease is reached. In order to accomplish this, each new case presenting himself must be questioned in regard to whether some other physician has been previously consulted, and if so, this physician must be notified. In this way, no case that once comes under the observation of a reputable physician can secure his release until he is non-infective, for if a patient

fails to return for treatment, and notice from another physician is not received that he now has the case under observation, the physician first reporting the case must turn in the name and address to the State Board of Health. Also, the names of those patients that fail to observe precautions to prevent the spread of infections must be reported to the State Board. This authority will then see that the negligent patient receives proper treatment, and if necessary, his quarantine or isolation may be ordered.

Immoral women found by physicians to have these infections must have the house in which they live placarded, just as in the case of small-pox, unless she can be removed to some hospital or other place where the treatment of the case can be continued and the spread of the disease prevented.

In order that patients may know just what precautions are necessary, a circular of instruction has been prepared and has been furnished to all physicians for distribution to their patients. These circulars also contain advice regarding the proper measures to observe to hasten the cure and prevent the transmission to innocent women and children. A wise provision of the law requires every druggist who sells remedies for these diseases to report the name and address of the purchaser to the State Board of Health once each week. These persons are visited and informed that druggists are not competent to treat such diseases, nor are patients able to treat themselves with patent medicines, and each such patient will be placed under the care of a reputable physician or taken care of through a clinic or institution.

Parents or guardians are made responsible under the law for the compliance of minors with the regulations to prevent the spread of infection. One common custom of past practice—sending the patient on to some other town or state—will be controlled under the new law, for the reason that infected persons will require a removal permit before they can change their residence, and also a permit from the health authorities having jurisdiction at the new location before residence can be changed. Failure to secure either of these permits makes the patient guilty of a violation of the law.

The period of control of these diseases is determined by definite regulations and shall continue during the time the disease is in an infectious stage. Persons affected with these diseases are prohibited from engaging in certain occupations, the nature of which is such that their infection is likely to be borne to others.

Now, there are no provisions of these regulations that are unreasonable or illegal. No publicity will attend any case where reasonable co-operation is secured from the patient. Where a patient insists upon a supposed right to spread loathsome diseases to others, a spread which is declared unlawful by the State Legislature, such a patient, either man or woman, must be controlled by the state, because the right of unbridled license cannot be recognized even by our free democracy. Under this

State Board of Health regulation, the Public Health Service is securing the reporting of venereal diseases in two counties of the state where cantonments are located, and are controlling infected persons. A free clinic for treatment and an isolation ward for hospitalization of infected women has been established and are operating satisfactorily. The United States Public Health Service is co-operating with State Boards of Health throughout the entire United States for the control of these diseases, and while this has been started as a part of the program, Public Health in Wartime, there is not a doubt but that intelligent public opinion will demand and secure its continuation after the war is ended. All of the sanitary work that is being done as auxiliary war work has a greater significance than the actual saving of lives, and the resulting prosperity. The great potential value of the work is the education millions of people are receiving in regard to what can be accomplished toward the elimination of disease.

This war will be followed by a reconstructive era unprecedented in history. For the past four years, and who knows for how many more years, but little has been, or will be done, throughout Europe and North America to maintain and repair the machinery of civilization, except where it has a bearing upon the winning of the war. When the world has been freed from the menace of the unspeakable Hun, a great and new era of progress, prosperity and creative industry will keep us busy for years. Then will the survivors of the war reap the full rewards of the strenuous efforts that are now being made to conserve the nation's man power.

From the army will come millions of men that have been taught that cleanliness of person and surroundings are health creating agencies; men that will know the value of exercise and plain, nourishing food; will know that alcohol and vice undermine the physical and mental development; that will know much about the methods of transmission of diseases by insect carriers and direct contact.

From the localities in which vast demonstrations of the value of community sanitation have been carried out will come the support that is needed to secure adequate funds for purchasing public health; will come the desire to have proper laws governing housing of those of moderate means; the elimination of the slums, the dive and the brothel, because these act as foci from which diseases spread, and as foci for those forces that undermine the resisting power of the nation. Therefore, the future will bring a new era of enthusiasm for sanitation. The health department appropriations will be larger; the various political units throughout our country at least will demand full-time, competent, trained health officers and public health nurses; and intelligent control of all communicable diseases, no matter what their nature, so that a world made a decent place in which to live, through the sacrifice of millions of human lives, may also be freed from the menace of preventable diseases.



## WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING

*Introductory Address by Mrs. Bessie Amerman Haasis, Educational Secretary of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York.*

During the past year Public Health Nursing has experienced a revolutionary change in its standing with the public. The necessity heretofore has been for the most part to create a demand for such service, while now it is facing such an enormous demand that the creation of a supply is the acute problem. The factors which have stimulated the demand have been as follows:

1. The findings of the draft, of large numbers of physical defects which the surgeons tell us might have been corrected or prevented during school age. This has created, the country over, a great interest in and demand for school medical inspection and school nursing.
2. The *Children's Year* program of the Federal Children's Bureau, needing for its fulfillment large numbers of nurses to do both general community work and specialized infant welfare nursing.
3. Greatly increased public interest in conservation of health, demand of Red Cross Home Service workers for public health nursing, and of industries for nurses to look after the health of employees.
4. Establishment of public health nursing units in connection with sanitary control of civilians in zones outside the cantonments, under the direction of the United States Public Health Service.
5. Calls for large numbers of public health nurses to inaugurate and carry on tuberculosis clinics and work with patients in their homes in France, also infant welfare work in Paris and throughout France.

Public health nurses are having pressure brought to bear on them from every side for service. Most of them are doing very valuable work in their own jobs, which while lacking in glamour, is really indispensable in protecting the health and welfare of the population in this country, on which depends the welfare of our soldiers in the trenches. The demand of friends and strangers that they do the more spectacular service is hard to deny, and they need every bit of moral support in staying where they are. The Red Cross itself has recognized this and is about to give a service badge or chevron to all of its enrolled nurses who are engaged in indispensable service at home, either in public health work, teaching in training schools, or other vital nursing work. This in no sense means exemption, and if conditions abroad become more acute, the balance will have to change, and some of even these workers will have to be sent to actual work in military hospitals. We must help create public sentiment to honor the nurses who are doing the less spectacular thing, but are none the less rendering real war service in sticking to their home jobs, to make the country and its families effective in supporting its military forces.

Systematic effort has been made also during the past year to increase the supply of nurses, particularly of public health nurses, but as this takes long periods of time, it has not kept pace with the demand.

The Committee on Nursing of the Council of National Defense has systematically sought to stimulate the entrance of women into training schools by public meetings, pamphlets, letters, newspaper publicity and the raising of scholarship funds, and has been successful in recruiting in this year's entering classes about 20 per cent more than the average number entering year by year.

The Vassar Training Camp is making an especial appeal to the graduates of the past ten years of our women's colleges, offering them an intensive course of theoretical instruction covering three months, after which they will be received into the best training schools of the country to complete their training courses in two years. This is going to bring into the profession the fine type of women who will be needed more than ever in the work of reconstruction and the already established branches of nursing work, after the war, and is offering to each such recruit the opportunity of "releasing a nurse for the war" within a very few months. The full number of 500 that can be admitted is already almost entirely made up. Other universities are making similar arrangements, though in some instances accepting women of less than college training, notably Western Reserve, University of Iowa and University of California.

The already established eight and four months courses for training public health nurses are being aided by the raising of special scholarship funds, the Red Cross having subsidized two, in Boston and New York, each of which can thus prepare at least 60 nurses a year in addition to their usual numbers, for the public health field. The inclusion of theory and practice in training schools where competent instruction in such subjects is available is being extended and stimulated with the result that several hospitals in Boston, New York City, Richmond and elsewhere, are releasing their senior students to take four months courses as part of their three years' training, and many others are releasing them for two months' experience in social service departments or for field work with some public health organization.

To meet the war emergency, a special short term of field work and intensive instruction, covering ten weeks, has been planned by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, which will assist in its presentation in those states where a state supervisor of public health nursing is or will be appointed, to carefully follow the workers after they are placed in their communities, to continue their instruction and to standardize their work. It is hoped that this state supervision will hold over from the war emergency period and become an integral part of the plan of every state for its health protection, just as public health nursing has been recognized as an integral part of community health protection by the United States Public Health Service.

In conclusion, two great needs are apparent.

1. To recognize the value of public health nursing as a war necessity here at home, and to create sentiment against depleting the ranks of those experienced or specially prepared for it, in recruiting for army hospital service.

2. To help maintain the standards of *training* for public health nursing, and as an aid to this, to persuade communities who wish such nurses to wait till they can get a trained worker, to subsidize if necessary the training of their workers, and to help maintain trained supervision of the work after it is established.

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### SANITARY CONDITIONS ABOUT MILITARY CAMPS AND PARTS PLAYED BY THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE

*Mary E. Lent, Director of Nursing in Extra Cantonment Zones,  
United States Public Health Service, Washington*

The United States Public Health Service has taken charge of sanitary conditions in zones surrounding the camps, for the better protection of the health of the troops in the camps. In each of these zones the officer sent by the service seeks to co-ordinate all existing health activities, and by various means to supplement such service as already exists by the employment of other workers—bacteriologists, sanitary inspectors, and nurses, supported by public or private funds, so as to secure a well rounded health protection service. This includes such work as the inspection of all stores handling food and their employees, and while this has been primarily for the protection of the health of the troops, it has also set a new standard which is appreciated and taken advantage of by the civilian population. The elimination of the fly and mosquito breeding groups, the examination of school children for communicable diseases, and many other functions, have thus had a double usefulness.

#### *Example of Service*

It may be of interest to note just how and why one of these zones was established. In the spring and summer of 1917, a typhoid epidemic was in full sway in a certain town. The local health authorities were unable to check it. This town being adjacent to a big army post, they sent out the "S. O. S." In August, 1917, the first government health officer arrived, and a short time after, the American Red Cross had a unit in the field, and work started immediately. Officially each of these zones are known as an Extra Cantonment Zone and Red Cross Sanitary Unit. The personnel of this particular zone consisted of: one medical officer in charge, one assistant surgeon, three United States Public Health Service nurses, three Red Cross nurses, one sanitary engineer, one chief sanitary inspector, one bacteriologist, one assistant, one milk inspector, three sanitary inspectors, one clerk, and one stenographer. Two Ford cars were donated by Henry Ford through the Red

Cross for the use of the nurses and the sanitary inspectors, and the city bought one for the use of the doctor. One of the first things done was to inoculate the people with typhoid serum free of charge; other physicians in the city offered their services in helping inoculate, and in a short time over 6,000 people were inoculated.

Each case of typhoid fever in the city was visited by one of the nurses, and before each patient was released from quarantine a specimen of stool was examined by the bacteriologist to be sure that he or she was not a typhoid germ carrier. For over two months the doctor and the nurses were on the go; working hours were not counted, visits were made night and day, but results began to show; new cases were dwindling—only a few new ones a day, where a month before it was nothing to have 10 or 12 in one day. Since October only five cases have been reported; two of them had just come to town and the others had not been inoculated.

In September smallpox broke out. Steps were immediately taken to prevent an epidemic. The order went out that all school children in the city not having a certificate of vaccination must be vaccinated or stay out of school for 25 days. Doctors and nurses went to the schools and vaccinated, free of charge; the result was that 94 per cent of the school children were vaccinated, and a large per cent of grown people. The same preventatives are taken when any other contagious disease is reported.

Every child in the schools of city and county has been examined and a history of the diseases they have had is kept in the office; also a record of any defects, and notification cards of these are sent to their parents, so that they may be treated by their family physicians. Every home in the county outside of the city has been visited by United States Public Health Service nurses, giving instructions on health and the care of babies. All sanitary conditions of the zone are looked after.

#### *Rapidity an Important Principle*

The organization and workings of this unit are typical of those throughout the country. The zone proper comprises five miles about each camp, but in some places, where it has been requested by the local authorities, whole counties have been included in the area thus administered, and local boards of health, county and state funds, chambers of commerce, men's and women's clubs, all have contributed to the salaries of the nurses needed.

On account of the tremendous increase in population over normal times, it has been necessary to correlate the work of the public health nurses in these zones and to drop much of the usual bedside care, in order to cover the immense amount of instructive work that has to be done. The conviction that this is no time to waste a minute underlies the plans for reorganization which has been recommended in the various extra-cantonment zones which have been visited. On a recent tour of



inspection in one of the cantonment zones, it was recommended that a combination of various existing agencies, under the direction of the United States Public Health Service be inaugurated, the following being a brief outline of the general plan submitted:

That the city be laid out in small districts, with a nurse assigned to do all the nursing work in each district; that the supervisors of the various existing associations be retained as specialists to train the nurses and to advise in difficult cases; that the funds now made available for nurses' salaries by the separate associations be applied for the same number of nurses for work under the new plan; and that the present directing bodies, such as the district nurse association, remain in existence as advisory boards.

This generalization of nursing work, wherever possible, has been effected as being the most economical use of the nurses' time and efforts. It will provide a more intensive nursing service, because it will double the number of patients a nurse can visit, will increase by 50 per cent the number of cases of disease reported, will enable disease to be recognized and treated in its early stages, will facilitate the isolation of patients before they are able to infect others, will keep people well by educational work, will protect the civilian population, and in that way the soldier—for a great proportion of the epidemics among the soldiers can be traced directly to the community in or near which the camp is situated. This plan will mean less besides nursing, but the nurses can teach others to do the simple things for which trained service is not required. It will reduce the number of special nurses, but special supervision will make up this lack. This war, with its mobilization of soldiers in great centers, with its demand for highest human efficiency delivered promptly at the fighting front, with its requirement for great numbers of nurses drawn into military service, presents an emergency which must be met by emergency measures. This plan has already been put into successful operation in a number of other cities and cantonment zones.

#### *Value of the Service*

Hundreds of American soldiers have died and hundreds of others have been brought down by preventable diseases, contracted in the preparation and training of soldiers who were unable to embark at the appointed time on account of sickness, and this form of organization would give the greatest protection to the men in training and preclude as far as possible the increment of military loss due to preventable sickness. How appalling this military, economic and human loss has been in the past was very clearly shown in statements made by Dr. Louis Livingston Seaman, in testimony which he gave recently before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of representatives. Dr. Seaman has been in eight different wars, on every continent of the world, for the sole purpose of studying military sanitation and the prevention of disease in armies. He gave, among others, the following statements and figures:

It must never be forgotten that in every great campaign an army faces two enemies—the armed forces of the opposing foe with his various machines for human destruction, who is met at intervals in open battle, and the hidden foe always found lurking in every camp, the grim specter ever present, that gathers

its victims while the soldier slumbers in hospitals, in barracks, or in bivouac—the far greater and silent form, disease. Of these enemies, the history of warfare for centuries has proven that in prolonged campaigns the first or open enemy kills 20 per cent of the total mortality in the conflict, while the second or silent enemy kills 80 per cent. In other words, out of every 100 men who fall in war, 20 die from bullets or wounds, while 80 perish from disease, most of which is preventable. This dreadful and unnecessary sacrifice of life, especially in conflicts between the Anglo-Saxon races, is the most ghastly proposition of modern war. In the five months of the Porto Rican campaign in the late Spanish-American War, 262 men died from disease, while only three were killed by bullets. In the mobilization camps of the United States during that war 26,649 men died of preventable diseases without one of them leaving the country or seeing the firing line. \* \* \* \* In this army of 170,000 there were 158,000 hospital admissions, or 90 per cent, although three-fourths of the men never left the camps of their native land.

Perhaps the most significant new piece of work has been the establishment of venereal clinics. This has followed the successful work done along these lines in some of our large hospitals during the past five or six years. Such clinics, to treat venereal disease in the civilian population, is the logical concomitant of the efforts being put forth to make and keep our troops the cleanest body of men that have ever gone into battle.

Surely these figures and facts carry their own convincing argument for the adoption of such means of protection for the men in cantonments as have been proved efficacious by the test of experience.

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#### VENEREAL DISEASES AND CLINICS FOR CIVILIANS NEAR MILITARY CAMPS

*Ann Doyle, R. N., Supervising Nurse, Division of Venereal Diseases,  
U. S. Public Health Service*

Immediately following the declaration of war and the establishment of cantonments by the War Department, the President, by executive order, charged the Public Health Service with the task of rendering the extra-cantonment zones safe for the soldiers.

When the first draft figures became available, the incidence of venereal disease was noted to be alarming. This accentuated the knowledge gained by the experience the army had just had with the troops on the Mexican border. It became apparent that something very definite must be done to control and prevent venereal disease. To accomplish this end clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases were opened in the extra cantonment zones. These clinics were supported jointly by the American Red Cross and the U. S. Public Health Service, and designated U. S. Government clinics. In charge of these clinics were syphilologists, genito-urinary specialists, bacteriologists, and nurses.

Close co-operation was established with the law enforcement division of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and extensive advertising was carried on through the newspapers, through trade journals, stickers in the pay envelopes of men employed in large industries, ship yards, munition factories, etc., as well as talks given by the medical officers and the nurses to groups of people wherever possible.

The clinics were located in the business sections of the cities readily available for all classes of people. The work of the clinics has proved to be very effective in the education of the venereally infected, and their preparation, through treatment, to return to society. . As the majority of these clinics are in cities where there has never been such care available before, they soon become crowded with patients.

Three classes of patients have received treatment. First: Persons taken in raids and brought to the clinic on charges of disorderly conduct for examination to ascertain whether or not they are infected. Second: Cases coming under coercion; in other words, people who have been under suspicion are warned that if they do not present themselves for examination and treatment, if necessary, they will be brought in by the police. Third: Voluntary cases. These include persons who have read the advertisements and who have been advised through the talks given at the various meetings; or persons sent in by the various agencies, such as the visiting nurse association, the infant welfare nurses, etc.

An analysis of the figures does not indicate that the problem of prostitution has been really solved, as few known prostitutes attend voluntarily, and for the most part these have been found to be only slightly infectious. The great problem of clandestine prostitution is as yet only partly touched. There is the greatest need for more workers in this field, workers who understand the problems of venereal disease, are trained in sex hygiene education, and who will be able to interpret to various types of mentalities the problem of prevention of venereal disease.

The social aspects of these diseases have received the attention which we, as public health nurses, have long felt would never come. Attached to many of these U. S. government clinics are social service departments conducted by socially trained public health nurses whose business it is to ascertain the moral, economic, and social reasons for the infection of each person applying for treatment.

The responsibilities of the nurse in the government clinic social service departments are many. She has constantly before her first, the duty of protecting the military forces from disease, second, the protection of the community, and third, the protection of the individual and his family. She must aid in ascertaining the source of infection; she must aid in the rounding up of contacts, for the venereal diseases have their epidemiology just as other communicable diseases have epidemiology, and contacts and carriers of venereal diseases require just as careful attention as do contacts and carriers of meningitis, etc. The final disposition or "post quarantine" stage of the venereal diseases is of utmost importance. Especially is this true of women infected with gonorrhea. Here the nurse must use exceptional judgment, for like carriers of typhoid or dysentery, carriers of the gonococcus are a constant source of danger.

The detention hospitals, maintained by the states, cities, or counties, the Red Cross in conjunction with the U. S. Public Health Service,

provide for the early, radical care these diseases require, segregate the carriers thus preventing the spread of infection, and at the same time detain these people long enough so that a plan for their future living may be made.

Section 13 of the Selective Act made it unlawful for any person to practice prostitution, fornication, etc., within a certain radius of a military establishment. Many of the patients brought in by the police authorities and under coercion are guilty of violation of this act. Plans are being made to have such offenders placed on Government farms and in Government reformatories.

Effort is being made to secure proper legislation for the prevention and control of venereal disease. The "State Board of Health Regulation for the Prevention of Venereal Disease" (Public Health Service reports, Volume 33, No. 13, March 29, 1918,) are comprehensive and practical. We are hoping that most of the new legislation will be based upon these suggestions. As the work goes on the enormity of the problem becomes apparent, and the U. S. Public Health Service is contemplating a very definite program for the future of this work. It is hoped that this campaign, started for the protection of the military forces, will become a nation-wide movement for the protection of every citizen—man, woman, and child, black and white—in this country.

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### HOUSING—ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL WORK

*Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, Evansville, Indiana*

There never was a time when social work was more important. There never was a time when housing was more important, and its relation to social work so clearly recognized. The war has enlarged the field of social work immeasurably. It has also suddenly brought to light the relation of housing to all classes of people, to industry, to government employees, to the very winning of the war. The appropriation by Congress of \$60,000,000 for housing, following a hold-up of ship building and munitions making, due to lack of housing facilities, is the strongest word that can be spoken in regard to this subject. Until the war is won, everything we do is estimated according to its relation to the war. But social workers, whose work has been made heavier and harder by the war, must be looking ahead to the days of reconstruction, after the war, when the excitement is over, the tension is relaxed, when the men come home. President Wilson has said that this war is to make the world a fit and safe place to live in. The social worker's job is also to make the world a fit and safe place to live in. That is also the job of the housing worker, and it will never be a fit and safe place to live in until "all the homes of all the people" are safe—until every little child is safe in its own home.

The purpose of this paper is to establish the true and correct relation of housing to social work. There seems to be no relation, in most



communities, or, that relation is not understood, because housing is not understood. So let us begin with definitions.

*Bad Housing Creates Need of Social Work*

Housing means shelter, dwelling places, homes. You speak of *housing* workmen, just as you speak of *housing* machinery, only the first is not generally done as carefully as the latter. The term properly refers to every place of habitation, whether it be a dwelling house, hotel or sanitarium. The housing problem is the problem of providing fit and adequate dwelling places for every person in a community. People can be housed—they are housed—in shacks, in stables, in lodging houses, in tenement barracks, in derailed cars, in old hotels, in garrets, in cellars, in styes, in compartment houses. None of these places are fit for homes. They are called homes, but they are not. So we lump them in *housing*. But they come under *bad housing*. The home, or the house that is safe, sanitary, convenient, comfortable, a fit place to rear a family, comes under good housing. That belongs to the upper story of social work. The foundation and the first story of social work must begin with those conditions of the unfit, unsafe home—bad housing, slums—that devastate and ruin human lives. These are the conditions that pile up social wreckage faster than churches can evangelize, faster than schools can educate, faster than doctors can cure, than stretcher bearers—I mean you—can bear them off the field.

I speak from fifteen years' experience as a social worker, and ten years' experience as a housing reformer, for I came into housing reform through the doors of social work. I had labored for child welfare, for working girls, for social uplift and civic betterment, for public health, had worked against vice, against tuberculosis, tried to relieve the sufferings of the poor and the aged. I found that all I could do gave only temporary relief, only partial improvement; that until we could get people who needed cures, families that needed to be reinstated, into more sanitary houses and more favorable environment, we might give them a lift, but we could not keep them up. We must recognize that all social workers meet cases that seem hopelessly wrecked, especially among the older ones, or that are so mentally defective that they have nothing to build on. But there is no case so bad that bad surroundings will not make it worse. And though an improved environment may seem to offer no hope of betterment, it will at least lessen their misery, when they are taken out of damp, dark rooms. It will lessen their chance of disease, and the chance of giving contagions to others. It will lessen congestion and reduce the moral menace to other families.

Now, as I said, it is bad housing—slums—that I must talk about mostly. It is to the slums, or near-slums, that you generally go to find your patients. It is there the police are oftenest called, where the patrol wagon and ambulance make most trips; where quarantines are

oftenest necessary. If it were not for slums, a lot of social workers would lose their jobs; the police force, the fire department and the health department could all be cut down. Fire insurance would be cheaper, in many districts, and so would life insurance. You know, doubtless, that life insurance companies will not give premiums in the worst slum districts. I might go a little further and say that if it were not for houses we would not have some of our diseases. Before houses, there was no tuberculosis, probably no pneumonia. Both are house diseases. You find them worst where you find most dark rooms and congestion.

### *The Typical Bad House*

Doubtless I am talking to people from big cities, little cities, towns and villages, so I must be explicit in speaking of slums. I mean the worst old houses in your community, whether you have 2,000,000 or 200—the houses where you keep your poor. Shut your eyes and think of the places where your poor live. I have visited the slums of many states, in cities, villages, or country places. I can see now the place that is before your mental vision. It is a rickety old house. If any of you keep your poor in nice new houses, please stand up, and let us get the name of the place.

The house you are thinking of is one of the oldest houses in the town. Ten to one it was the home of an early settler, perhaps once a mansion. Now it is tumbledown, rotting, weather-beaten, gray. It stands flat on the ground. Other houses have crowded up against it, perhaps business houses, so that it is dark and gloomy. It has several families in it, from two to a dozen or more. They are weather-beaten and gray, too. They look like members of the same family, in a way, slipshod, sallow, sullen, unsmiling. Dirty babies are crawling down dirty stairs, dirty children playing in the dirty yard. There is a gray washing hanging in the yard. There are blackened, rotting sheds in the yard, perhaps an old, uncovered cistern. The yard is damp with dishwater and suds. It has no grass, maybe tall weeds. Garbage is piled on the ash heap and flies are everywhere.

If the house is in a village, it may have only one or two families. If it is in a city, you are thinking of an old hotel, or a row of tenements, perhaps a Ghetto, where shops below have a display of fish, or old clothes, or junk, or shabby groceries; where old crones with shawls over their heads, dragged skirts and slippers down at the heel, sit at the door, with one eye on the customers, the other on a baby in the gutter or the boys fighting in the street. You have a mental vision of the dark, narrow, dirty stairs, mounting up to dark, narrow, dirty rooms; of filth and odors everywhere—of congested, swarming life. No matter whether you live in city or country, you see, in your mind's picture, the bent, hollow-chested consumptive, you hear the rattling cough; you see the sick baby, the pale, weary mother.

### *The Toll of Diseases*

Tuberculosis is the one unfailing spectre that every one of you encounters, whether you come from back woods slums or big city slums. We find country houses with a record for wiping out two, four, even six families by tuberculosis, in succession, as they move in. These are houses that are infected, that could not be disinfected by fumes, by soap, lye or paint, because the crevices are too wide, because the walls are so rough, and the plastering is so broken. It is not possible to escape getting tuberculosis if one moves into such a house, once the disease gets a hold in it. Everything about the house favors the disease, when it is low, damp, musty, dark and gloomy. If the patient is sent away in time, and cured, he takes it again when he comes back. It is a case of *house*.

Every social worker knows what tuberculosis means, in multiplying cost and effort, in leaving dependent orphans and widows, in bankrupting the family by the long illness. I need not dwell on that. In the city tuberculosis is increased by congestion. Houses built in crowded rows have dark inside sleeping rooms, dark halls, gloomy yards, if any. I need not do more than mention what the dark room means to tuberculosis. In the city humanity is more condensed. I need not tell you what congestion means to tuberculosis. I may have to explain, however, that congestion must be counted as a housing evil, because it means inadequate housing facilities and overbuilt lots.

So much for tuberculosis. If I stopped here I would feel that the relation of housing to social work had been established. But there are other house diseases—pneumonia, which congestion, with the consequent foul, vitiated air, makes so much more fatal, "Colds," with their long train of evils, resulting from dampness, sudden chill from draughts, lowered vitality, bad air; inflammation of the respiratory organs, tonsillitis, rheumatism, heart troubles—the long-linked chain is found in all of these dark, damp, unventilated, overcrowded houses. Added to these are the *filth diseases*, spread by contact, like eruptive diseases; or typhoid, disseminated in sewage-polluted water or filthy milk. These are all increased by congestion.

How much do they all add to the burden of the social worker? I have the word of more than one visiting nurse that her efforts were useless in many cases, so long as the family lived in the unsanitary houses where they were always sick, and could not get well. All social workers know of cases that have improved in health when moved to sanitary quarters, until the bread winner has been able to go back to work and the family was no longer dependent.

### *Crime and Mental Defectiveness*

I have said that before houses certain diseases did not exist. Have you ever thought that even our crimes have changed? Before we had large cities, crimes were mostly due to too high spirits and the over-

abundant vitality of outdoor people. Read the old sagas—read the stories of early Saxon or Britain fights and robberies. I appeal to those who have charge of our reformatories to know if crimes now are not mostly due to diseased bodies or brains, or to defective mentality; to minds over-clouded by brooding among shadows; or due to lowered resistance, to low vitality, and the stimulants craved as an offset to low vitality; to the over-close contact forced by congested living, and the nervous irritability due to the foregoing conditions.

In our conferences on mental hygienec we have discussed the relation of housing to insanity and feeble-mindedness. It was agreed by various experts that congestion and dark rooms made every menace of the feeble-minded, and every danger to the feeble-minded, greater. It was also agreed that many a mental breakdown was hastened by the breakdown in health due to unsanitary living conditions; and that depression, lowered vitality and irritability, due to house gloom, to noise, to lack of privacy and the general wretchedness of slum living, accelerated many a mental wreck. Put a strong, normal person into a slum, and he will have a fight to keep his physical and mental poise. Put a sickly, subnormal person into the slums, and he is overwhelmed. As social workers find so much of their work among the mentally subnormal, I feel this is in place. Of course, heredity gives us the mental defective. Environment makes the very worst out of him, and of his children.

#### *Vice and the Degradation of Family Life*

Vice also meets the social worker. All I have to say about the relation of bad housing to vice is that the dark room is the mother of shame; that dark rooms and halls offer temptation to both vice and crime. That congestion also makes vice almost inevitable, and that vice is found in connection with congestion and the dark room. The common use of every convenience by both sexes, young and old, promotes vice. Promiscuous living promotes vice. I need not cite examples. You know them. You know that the child of the slums lives in a school of vice. As a corroboration of the effect of environment, I have had old houses pointed out to me by officers in different cities. They would say, "Before we cleaned these places up, we had arrests every few days. Now we have no trouble. The people seem to have more self respect."

This seems to be the keynote of the effect of the slums on family life. The social worker knows the necessity of maintaining or awakening self respect in the family he is endeavoring to reinstate. In the slums there is everything to degrade, everything to suggest and foster evil. The housekeeper feels that there is "no use" to try to keep her rooms clean, when no one is responsible for the hall, stairs or yard, when dirt is tracked in on her freshly scrubbed floor, and when soot pours in through the loose window frames. The more thrifty who



move into an old tenement soon succumb to the shiftless, easy-going habits of the older tenants. What, indeed, is the use, when the job is hopeless, to try to make a slum look homelike? I need not go into the details of sights, odors, inconveniences that every one of you recall. When you went to wait on the sick mother, you had to go downstairs for water to wash the baby, go across the hall to get something to wash it in, and go upstairs to heat the water. You had to close the windows to keep out smells and flies, you had to put a chair against the door to keep out the fighting boys. When you found her husband had deserted her, you wondered how he had slept in that stuffy room so long, when a hobo life beckoned him to sweet air and the greenwood tree for shelter. When the pretty daughter went wrong, you remembered that she would never bring her "gentlemen friends" up those greasy stairs, to the room where the washtub and the coal pile jostled the beds, and the family circle had to stand up and lock arms. When the little boy got into the juvenile court, you didn't wonder why he stayed out as long as he could keep awake, before creeping into the stifling room and falling on his pallet. And the children, the little ones! You hear such words on their baby lips, you see such a knowing look in their baby eyes, that you long to gather them up in your arms and fly with them to a daisy pasture, where they can run and play in wind and sun, and grow up strong—and innocent! It is child welfare that has been the strong passion that has kept me at housing reform, because in ever city I visit I see the little old people of the tenements, weazened, pallid, sickly, stunted in soul and body, growing up to a hopeless life, following in the steps of their parents, unless a miracle lifts them out and away from it.

This is what I want to impress on social workers everywhere. Whatever home means to us, it means to others, for human nature is the same, and physical nature is the same, and mental laws are unvarying. If it is necessary for us to have peace, quiet, rest, sunshine and air, a cheerful environment, elevating surroundings, it is necessary for all other human beings. If we were wet, cold, hungry, wretched, shut into a dark room, amid noise and confusion, we would have a struggle to keep well, and to keep up our home life and atmosphere for the rest of the family. That thousands of children are growing up in styes that can not possibly be made homelike or cheerful, that can never have hallowed associations, is, it seems to me, a grave menace that social workers should consider.

#### *A Call to Reform*

Let us remember, then, that a dark room is not fit for a home.  
A cellar is not fit for a home.  
A stable is not fit for a home.  
A house crowded with vicious people is not fit for a home.  
A fire trap is not fit for a home.

A death trap is not fit for a home.

A house in a vile neighborhood is not fit for a home.

A public place, with no safety from intrusion, is not fit for a home.

Remember this when you visit the poor, and try to save their little children to something better than the parents know. Remember this when your chamber of commerce reaches out windmill arms to rake in new industries, exulting when it lands a factory with hundreds of working men, but makes no provision for finding them homes—when your city is already congested. Remember this when you see these workmen's families forced to double up in the slums, with the poorest and most degraded people. Remember that *the normal family, forced to live in a subnormal environment, sinks to the subnormal*, if it remains long enough; first physically, through illness or death of breadwinner, or loss by illness; then morally, by lowered standards and loss of self-respect. See how many recruits are brought to the ranks of poverty yearly, in this way. See if you can not use your influence against putting workmen's families in slums.

Some of you have long realized the truth of my statements. You have resorted to many devices to improve surroundings, but, unless you have a housing law, the best you can do, if a house is in very bad condition, is to get the family to move. Then another family goes in, and you have another case. Landlords won't improve slums unless they have to, and they pay from 15 to 50, even 100 per cent, as we have discovered. Nothing but a law will get rid of the old houses or improve them. Nothing but a fight will get the law. That's why we have not more laws. "It's a long, long trail a-winding" to get a housing law. But it is worth the fight. We have torn down over 500 old houses in my town, and I want to tear down at least 500 more. We have many thousands to tear down in Indiana before the wreckage of a century is cleared away. And we are making over hundreds that will stand repairs. Other states are doing it too. What is your state doing? If it hasn't begun on housing work, begin at once, for, notwithstanding the opposition of slum owners and the people who believe that the poor are "naturally vicious and like to be dirty," and the people who want to do things the easiest way, you will find that housing reform is fundamental to social work.

Remember, houses are building today that will be killing and costing fifty years after the war is over. Remember, too, bad housing is like a two-edged sword. It cuts both ways. It injures the poor, it injures the community. It cuts the real estate man hardest of all, whose property adjoins slums. It tears down the civic structure you are trying to build, it ruins civic beauty, it undermines public health and public morals, it is the stronghold of vice and evil. Wipe it out.

## CONSERVING DEVELOPMENT INCREMENT FOR THE COMMUNITY

*Lawson Purdy, General Director, Charity Organization Society,  
New York*

Mrs. Bacon has told you of the great need of housing reform and the slum conditions that exist; of the necessity for abolishing slums; of the demand for better housing laws so that we shall not renew old evil conditions.

The needs of the country arising from the war make a new demand for adequate houses and present an opportunity both to do what is necessary to win the war and to create an asset for all time. Long before the war, industrial corporations were confronted with great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of skilled workers and unskilled workers. Men left their employment so quickly and so often that it was necessary in many plants to hire during a year three or four times as many workmen as were employed at any one time. There were many causes for this great labor turnover, as it is called, but there can be no doubt but that one of the causes was the unsatisfactory character of the living conditions, only too common. Employers generally were fearful that if they invested money in suitable homes for their workmen they would be charged with a patriarchal attitude resulting in the same feeling of unrest and ill-will which was said to have contributed to the labor troubles of the Pullman Company twenty-four years ago.

### *Conditions Disclosed by Surveys*

When the town of Gary was established by the United States Steel Corporation, the company bought land enough for its own plant and for the plants of some subsidiary companies, but very little more. It has used a small tract of land for houses for its workmen and has sold those houses on very liberal terms. The number of houses, however, that the company built was small compared to the demand.

About a year ago a careful study was made for the Committee on New Industrial Towns of the real estate situation in the town of Gary. In brief, that study showed that the value of the land in the town of Gary today is worth \$22,000,000 more than all it was worth at the time the company bought, including all that has been spent for public improvements. That excess value has been created by the large population attracted by these great manufacturing industries. Had the Steel Company bought all the land in the town of Gary and kept it, it might have conserved that value for itself or for the inhabitants of the town. That value has actually been scattered about; some have profited and some have lost, as many always do when they speculate in vacant land. The town has the reputation of being well managed, but its revenues are inadequate for the public services that would make such a town most attractive. If today it enjoyed the revenue represented by the rental

value of the land, it would have two and one-half times the revenue it actually spends. The town is ill-planned as is every town that grows without suitable public control.

A similar study was made of the city of Lackawanna, New York, a town created by the Lackawanna Steel Company. The conditions there are by no means as good as in the town of Gary. The results are similar. The skilled workmen dislike the place so much that most of them live in Buffalo. Many of the workers live in boarding houses annexed to saloons. The company has built some houses and rents them to its employees, but rents them at a loss. The excess land value in the case of Lackawanna city is about \$7,000,000.

#### *Great Britain versus United States*

In 1914 Great Britain was confronted with the same problem as to labor that confronts the United States today. The labor turnover was heavy and it was difficult to obtain a sufficient number of workers for the munition plants. For a time makeshifts were adopted, temporary barracks were built, and conditions did not improve materially. Then the problem was faced squarely. It was found that to build comfortable, permanent, and even beautiful houses cost but little more than to build temporary houses; that the permanent houses would be an asset after the war, and would be better for present uses.

Great Britain at national expense has built several large towns. They are planned by the best planning architects of Great Britain. The houses have been designed by the best architectural experts. The social needs of the people have been met by the erection of club houses, rest houses, theatres, and stores. No part of this property has been sold. It is managed as a unit for the benefit of the workmen. It is highly probable that that advantage of united management will never be lost because of what happened before the war in England.

Some time before the war several co-operative garden cities had been created in England. They had been in existence long enough to prove that the plan was practicable and socially advantageous, both to those who lived in these cities and to the nation. Under laws passed before the war it was made possible for municipalites to engage in housing schemes of similar character. Now it seems probable that these towns built for munition workers will be turned over after the war to the management of co-operative societies or to municipal governments.

Here in the United States, as I have said, we have the same problem that in all the government plants there is a heavy turnover. Before the war there had been a heavy labor turnover at private plants. That labor turnover was bad in itself. It was tremendously expensive. It increased the cost of goods. It was bad morally and socially for the workers themselves. From a civic point of view it destroyed community sentiment, without which there can be no satisfactory local government. Profiting by the experience of Great Britain, the United States has



appropriated \$110,000,000 as a beginning for the building of suitable homes for workers. Plans have so far been developed that it is reasonably certain that the Shipping Board and the Labor Department who control these properties will employ the best architectural skill in the planning of the towns and the planning of the houses.

Men who have lots for sale have very naturally urged upon the housing directors that their lots should be bought for the houses to be built. On the other hand, it is urged most strongly that it is essential that contiguous tracts of land should be acquired so that as nearly as possible independent communities may be created; that no lots should be sold; that for the period of the war there shall be a united control and a single management of the whole industrial community. It is only by this policy that we may hope to obtain a permanent working force of contented workers. They must be given a voice in the management. They must see that a reasonable part of the rent they pay is devoted to their own welfare.

If these plans are carried out successfully, there will be little danger of any failure to find a use for the factory buildings and workmen's houses when the war is over. The managers of great industries seek diligently to find a place where there is an adequate labor supply. We may, therefore, confidently expect that when munition making ceases, the plants will be sought by those who will use them to produce things needed for a peaceful population. This policy, therefore, will conserve the expenditure of the Government for war purposes in creating munition plants and houses for the people who work in them.

#### *Suggested Evolution for the War Industry Town*

When the war is over what shall the United States do with these towns? It will doubtless be urged that the United States shall sell individual houses to individual workmen. I am sure that should such a policy be adopted it will fail for one sufficient reason, if not for many; labor unions discourage the purchase of homes by workmen. They have learned by bitter experience that when men have invested their all in an equity in their homes they suffer greatly should a strike be called, and they fear to act collectively because of the danger to their investment. There can be no doubt but that the interest men have in their homes that they own is a very valuable interest. We need that interest and it should be intensified. Is it not possible to create in this country the same social sentiment toward a community-owned town that exists today toward the co-operative garden cities of England? I believe it is and that this community sentiment may be finer and stronger than the comparatively narrow and selfish interest that a man may have in his little ill-kept back yard. Individually owned plots of land can never be made as beautiful and attractive and useful as when there is unity of ownership and a common use of part of the land. One has only to look at the photographs of the English munition towns to realize the tre-

mendous difference between the policy pursued there and the appearance of the best towns we have in this country.

The organization of the English co-operative towns is rather complicated. It seems that we might achieve the same result by a simpler plan. When the war is over, let the United States first write off as part of the cost of the war the excess cost of its munition towns over what they would have cost in normal times. Let membership corporations be formed to take title to towns subject to a mortgage to the United States for the fair value of the property. The United States should receive interest on its loan at the same rate it pays on its bonds. It should be possible to pay installments of the loan at the rate of about two per cent a year. If that can be done, the United States will have its principal back in about twenty-seven years. The membership corporation, formed for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town, will then own the town free and clear. The United States will appoint the original trustees. As it received back its principal the town should elect a proportionate number of the trustees. In due time all of the trustees might be elected by the town. Such towns, when the United States was paid, would have a revenue several times as great as that enjoyed by any town in the United States. The best of that revenue would be that no one in the town would pay more than the fair rental value of the premises he occupied and would receive in such benefits as he voted for many times what the inhabitants of any towns have received in the past.

At first one might think that a town could not use so large a revenue, but a little reflection will show that the richest community in the United States today is spending far less than is demanded by those best informed and most deeply interested in the health, education, and social welfare of the people. The death rate is very largely a matter of money; education is largely a matter of money; even morals are largely a matter of money. Let a town spend enough for health, education, recreation, and it may have a healthy, happy, and useful body of citizens, a great asset to the whole United States and an example for the rest of the United States.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The presiding officer at this meeting was Frederic Almy, secretary of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society. Preceding the addresses of Mrs. Bacon and Mr. Purdy, Dr. M. Takenouchi of Tokio was introduced. His address is printed on pages 39-41.

1. To a question as to what progress had been made in Washington toward settling these questions, *Mr. Purdy* answered that he knew only in a general way that the ideas which he had expressed had been sympathetically listened to by Mr. Eidlitz and Mr. Flannery. So far, Congress had not gone further than to be grudgingly willing to build temporary barracks for workers. However, the Shipping Board and the Labor Department have put in the hands of competent architects the plans of cities. They will prevent congestion, the houses will be simple, though possibly not beautiful, and social amenities will be provided for. When the idea first started, the un-

derstanding was that local capital should provide the funds, the United States to lend only a proportion of the amount locally subscribed. When it developed that local capital was not to have a dividend of over 5%, it did not come forward in any great amounts. The present plans in at least one enterprise, is for the government to subscribe 95% and the local capital 5%. The use of this local capital is intended as a guarantee of local management. Also if the government held the title, the land would not be taxable, which might cause serious conditions in cities where large parts had been withdrawn for this use.

2. *Mrs. Ray Van Baalen* of Pittsburgh asked if it was up to industry to ask government for a part of the \$110,000,000 and what the chances were of getting it.

3. *Mr. Purdy* replied that certain restrictions had been imposed chief among them being that the necessity for houses should arise immediately from some industry engaged in war work. Localities are required to have done all they could first, including a thorough housing survey, covering among other things, resources and possibilities for improvement of the situation by remodeling existing buildings, or by increased transportation facilities to other towns or cities.

To a question as to how much the government had invested and where, *Mr. Purdy* replied that not a great deal had yet been spent. He understood that the Shipping Board had spent part of its \$50,000,000—not far from Baltimore. Great Britain has already spent several hundred millions—so our \$110,000,000 is only a starter.

4. *George J. Nelbach* of New York asked whether the bill carrying the appropriation gives the housing bureaus authority for safe-guarding amortization, to keep the projects from falling into the hands of speculators.

5. *Mr. Purdy* replied that he so understood the Shipping Board to have done, though the Labor Department had not yet done so.

6. Asked what could be done to support his proposals, *Mr. Purdy* replied that we could go out and make all possible public sentiment until the measures pass Congress; then try to get the money spent according to the plan outlined and not to sell to individual workers. Even if a few houses are sold, it upsets the scheme of unified control. The men in charge of spending the money will be glad to have support in the ideas of communal spending and managing.

7. *H. L. Eddy* of Des Moines asked if there was any possibility of getting some of the money for building houses needed in a cantonment city for housing soldiers' families. He asked also if the new law proposed for Iowa would apply to the whole state, or only to the larger cities.

8. *Mrs. Bacon* answered the second question to the effect that this was a point much debated. That they would better get just as comprehensive a law as they could, always be prepared for compromises but cover the entire state if possible.

9. *Mr. Purdy* said that he did not know whether it would be possible to get grants for a cantonment city, as it hardly fell within the scope of either the Shipping Board or the Department of Labor. He thought that possibly an appropriation might be secured through the Committee on Training Camp Activities.

10. *Mr. Nelbach* asked to what extent the Indiana law was enforced. Is it enforced in rural communities to the extent of tearing down houses?

11. *Mrs. Bacon* replied that the law was enforced by building inspectors where there were such, and elsewhere by the health officers, usually part time officials. The law was being tolerably well enforced, though not perfectly, and few houses in rural districts had been torn down. Such laws depending on public sentiment for enforcement and are not automatic anywhere.

12. *Carol Aronovici*, of St. Paul, asked whether it was advisable to place the entire responsibility for the financing of housing upon the federal government, and whether it would not be more advisable to the housing movement and to those affected by the improved housing to have the federal government subsidize local enterprises which would largely be financed by state and municipal governments. This he said, would not only increase the financial resources for such work, but would be a precedent for further development of local financial policies. The federalizing of the housing movement represents a serious danger to local initiative.

13. *Mr. Purdy* replied that after the war is over we shall probably have to depend on state and municipal money, since it is so hard to get speculative money if conditions are properly maintained, as the returns are not sure enough of being large.

14. *Bernard J. Newman* of Philadelphia asked why it was not legitimate to charge housing costs to the total cost of production. Should not the manufacturer who makes good profits provide good living conditions for his employees, and bear his part of the social responsibility for conditions under which things are made?

15. *Mr. Purdy* replied that the important question was whether the manufacturers were really going to make lots of money out of their government contracts. Probably not. A large part of the emergency plants will have to be scrapped, but we hope the houses will not. If suitable houses are built and the people remain in them after the war industry goes away, other industries will be attracted by the good labor supply. *Mr. Purdy* agreed that the employer should furnish adequate housing, but in this case he would charge the costs in with production, and the government would still be paying for the housing, and if that was to be done it would be better to have the government build them as well.

16. *Mr. Almy* called upon *Dr. Takenouchi* to close the discussion, which he did by again extending an invitation to all Americans to visit Japan and see how she is meeting the problems common to all nations.



**IV.**  
**PUBLIC AGENCIES AND**  
**INSTITUTIONS**

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

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### *Chairman*

Albert S. Johnstone,  
Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Columbia, S. C.

### *Vice Chairman*

George S. Wilson,  
Secretary, Board of Public Charities, Washington, D. C.

### *Acting Secretary*

John A. Brown,  
Indiana Board of State Charities, Indianapolis.

Francis Bardwell.....Boston  
Prof. F. W. Blackmar.....Lawrence, Kans.  
A. L. Bowen.....Springfield, Ill.  
Mrs. C. P. Bryant.....Los Angeles  
Margaret F. Byington.....New York  
J. Howard T. Falk.....Winnipeg  
Hastings H. Hart.....New York

A. P. Hering, M. D.....Baltimore  
Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger.....New Orleans  
S. W. Matthews.....Quebec  
Kenosha Sessions, M. D.....Indianapolis  
Charles E. Vasaly.....St. Paul  
J. L. Wagner.....Columbia, Mo.  
J. O. White.....Cincinnati

## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, one hundred twenty-four delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as appointed at the 1917 Conference at Pittsburgh, is shown on the opposite page. Six meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 11:00 a. m., "The People and Their Institutions" . .	237
May 18, 11:00 a. m., "The County as a Unit in Charity Administration" . . . . .	241
May 18, 8:15 p. m., General Session: "The War and the Newer Problems of Public Agencies and Institutions" . .	211
May 20, 9:15 a. m., "Standards of Administration of the County Jail . . . . .	254
May 20, 11:00 a. m., "Standards of Administration of the Almshouse" . . . . .	258
May 22, 9:15 a. m., "State Boards and War Relief" . . . . .	276

The session on May 18th was a joint meeting with the Division on the Family.

Division IV met at luncheon at the Coates House, Kansas City, May 16, 1918, Albert S. Johnstone, chairman, presiding.

Organization and program for 1919 Conference were discussed. A motion by Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, seconded by Mr. Leon C. Faulkner, that the chair appoint a committee of three to nominate the members of the committee and officers prevailed. The chairman appointed L. A. Halbert, H. H. Shirer and Miss Mary Vida Clark.

A motion by Mr. Robert W. Kelso, duly seconded, that the chair appoint a committee of five, of which the chairman should be one, to outline the policy in future programs, was carried. The chairman appointed Robert K. Kelso, J. O. White, A. W. Butler and George A. Warfield.

A motion by J. F. Bagley that the Division meet at dinner on May 17, 1918, at the Coates House to consider reports of these committees prevailed.

The report of the Committee on Nomination was adopted, naming as a Division Committee for terms indicated and as chairman those listed in Part B., Sec. 3, appendix of this volume.

The Division adopted the report of the Committee on Program, recommending future consideration of the following topics:

I. That there be a continuity in the committee's research over a span of years.

II. That sub-divisions or sub-committees be created for purpose of studying:

1. Institutional administration and functioning.
2. County and municipal charities and administration.
3. State regulation of private social welfare agencies.
4. Organization of social data.
5. State organization for public welfare.

(Signed) A. S. JOHNSTONE, Chairman.

J. A. BROWN, Secretary Pro Tem.



## RECENT TENDENCIES IN STATE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL; SOME EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR

*Division Report, Albert Sidney Johnstone, Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Columbia, South Carolina, Chairman*

Tax-supported agencies and institutions represent permanent investments of capital by the public. These investments are commensurate with the public's sense of responsibility for those underlying social conditions of whose existence these agencies and institutions are simply expressions. Moreover, these agencies and institutions are primarily concerned with human beings, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. And, in many cases, it would have been different with these fellows of ours but for the interplay of social forces that ought never to have been.

To realize these principles is to motivate our service with an ideal as high and as sacred as human personality itself, companion of the divine.

Kansas City and this general section of the United States have made a number of interesting contributions toward realizing these ideals. For instance, more than a dozen of our larger, and some of our smaller, cities have followed Kansas City in consolidating into a *board of public welfare* the administration of the municipality's charitable and correctional institutions, as well as of a number of its extra-institutional activities for social betterment. In the United States, Jackson county, Missouri, claims credit for first enacting into law the idea of widows' pensions that is now in the statutes of some thirty other states.

### I. Centralization and Supervision

A year ago Missouri placed all its penal and reformatory institutions under one board of control, and formulated a new children's code. Ten new laws were enacted, the most important being a state-wide juvenile court act<sup>1</sup>, an adoption law, and a state-wide mothers' pension act.

Kansas has recently placed under the control of one board all the state's educational, penal, correctional, reformatory, and charitable institutions, thus abolishing the state boards of administration, control, and corrections. This new board consists of the governor and three paid members appointed by the governor and subject to removal by him. The governor is chairman. This board may employ a secretary and a business manager for all the institutions they control. They also elect the chief of each institution, such as chancellor, president, superintendent and warden, respectively.

Minnesota has enacted what is probably the most comprehensive and progressive body of legislation in existence anywhere with reference

1. Previously only 6 out of 115 counties had juvenile courts.

to child welfare. At the legislative session of 1917 some thirty-five measures were made into law. This legislation covers broadly the field of child welfare and centralizes in the State Board of Control all of the duties of the state for the care and protection of dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children.

At the request of the University of Oklahoma, the National Child Labor Committee has just completed a state-wide study of child welfare in that state. Oklahoma is thus beginning with a knowledge of actual conditions, rather than with laws, and, proceeding from the point of view of the child's welfare, proposes to formulate a children's code that will embody the best of modern standards.

In recent years Arizona, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee have further centralized control over their state institutions, thus adopting a policy which has been followed for many years by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota and Nebraska, but which has found its fullest expression in Illinois, where "all the charitable and penal institutions, twenty-three in number, with a population of 25,000 inmates, and all the parole and pardon work of the state, have been consolidated into one compact department, known as the Department of Public Welfare, headed by a director, who will be the sole and the responsible authority in the charitable and penal work of that state."<sup>2</sup>

Though not a western state, of course, New Jersey's recent action should be noted in this connection. In New Jersey, a Department of Charities and Correction has been created, consisting of a State Board of Charities and Correction, of eight members, and the Commissioner of Charities and Correction, who is appointed by the board and who is its executive officer. The state board has complete and exclusive jurisdiction over all the state penal and eleemosynary institutions, and appoints a separate board of managers for each of these institutions. The department is organized into divisions of education, medicine and psychiatry, labor and agriculture, statistics, parole, food and dietetics. Power to parole is vested in the boards of managers of the several correctional institutions, under procedure and conditions prescribed by the state board. This board assigns to each institution the industries, occupations, vocation and labor to be performed by the inmates, establishes hours and days of labor, and determines wages and proportion to be sent to dependents of inmates.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that one answer being given by these states as to how to secure the best results in tax-supported institutions is, "Centralize your control." But the fact that Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, Tennessee, Arkansas, and other states continue their supervisory boards, while the North Carolina board, for instance, has been greatly strengthened, shows the fundamental need for supervision by some agency that will be the state's educational, co-ordinating, guiding force in this field of social service.

2. Bowen, *Proc. N. C. S. W.*, 1917, p. 337.

3. National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor: Letter, May 7, 1918.

## II. *War's Effects on Institutions*

So past experience seems to teach. Today, however, we face a wonderfully changing present. The World War is the great social fact of modern times. It forms the background of all our thinking; it is the center of all our life; upon its issue depends our future. It continues to produce profound effects upon our public agencies and institutions; new fields of service are opening before us, new achievements are becoming possible, old challenges are taking on new significance.

### *Increased Maintenance Costs*

The most generally felt effect of the war upon our institutions has been an increase in maintenance costs, far beyond expectations and legislative provision. Retrenchments, rigid economies, decrease in waste, employment of expert dietitians, reductions and changes in dietaries—these are some of the negative methods followed in meeting this problem. Positively, there has been an increased emphasis on the conservation of perishable foodstuffs through canning, preserving, and drying. Most significant, however, in meeting maintenance costs and in providing healthful employment for institution inmates, is the increase in agricultural operations, the raising of foodstuffs and meats. Uncultivated lands previously owned are being opened up, additional lands have been leased, others bought. Expressive of this growing interest is the roundtable discussion on *Institution Inmates and Agriculture*, arranged by this Division, and also the resolution of the American Prison Association that the institutions composing that organization have "no higher duty and can perform no more valuable service than to produce the maximum food supply" from the acreage and potential labor they control.<sup>4</sup>

### *Shortage of Labor*

A second effect, widely felt, has been "the losing of old employees and the difficulty of obtaining others to take their places." The draft, the revival of business, especially of manufacturing, the demands of the federal government, higher salaries and wages elsewhere together with the increasing cost of living have resulted in disrupting board and institution organizations that it had taken years to build up. A state board secretary writes: "We have lost trained field workers and trained clerks and stenographers in large numbers to the federal service." Dr. Fernald of Waverly says: "The work of our School has been seriously interfered with by the enlistment of fifteen of our best officers. It has been absolutely impossible to replace these men." Though some other institutions report better success in this regard, neither wage increases, concessions to employees, nor "doubling up," have been sufficient to meet the situation fully. The doctors and nurses needed have not been

4. Report, Executive Committee, A. P. A., July 2 and 3, 1917.

available at any price, and some of the larger institutions frankly admit their administration standards have been lowered.

The attorney-general of New York state has recently held that the law authorizing the state to make up the difference between the civil and military compensation of those physicians who have gone out of the state hospital service into the military service, particularly the Medical Reserve Corps, contemplates providing also for their families while they are in the military service. Consequently, "New York has settled upon a policy of providing maintenance for the families of these men while they are absent on military duty."<sup>8</sup>

#### *Building Postponed*

Shortage of labor, uncertainty of deliveries, and the great increase in the cost of materials have forced postponement of plans for institution expansion. In southern Wisconsin, writes Dr. Wilmarth, under date of February 7th, a second institution for the feeble-minded, with the first buildings nearly ready for occupancy, has not yet been completed because of the scarcity of labor. The last session of the Pennsylvania legislature provided for two new state insane hospitals, one state village for feeble-minded women of child-bearing age, and a new state penitentiary on a farm of 5,600 acres in the central part of the state; but to go forward with the construction of these new institutions has proven impossible.

#### *Institution Population*

Secretary Kelso of the Massachusetts Board of Charity notes two re-adjustments in industry: (1) widespread un-employment during the earlier part of the war; (2) later revival in industrial activity, followed by acute labor shortage. During the former period, there was an unexplained decrease in the number of juvenile delinquents committed to the state reform schools; but drunkenness, spurred on by idleness, filled their jails and houses of correction and their state institutions for inebriates and vagabonds. During the second stage, however, commitments of juvenile delinquents increased to such an extent that the advisability of establishing a third school for delinquent boys is now being considered; but the population of those institutions taking inebriates, short termers, vagabonds, and itinerant poor decreased notably, in some cases to as low as thirty per cent. of the normal number, while local outdoor relief, which in 1914 and 1915 reached 110,000 cases, dropped in 1916 to 97,000 cases, and appears to be still going down.

The reports received from state prisons are hardly conclusive. Warden Chilton of Kentucky says the war "has materially reduced the number of prisoners received." Acting Warden Fernsdorf of Michigan says: "Alluring wages being paid labor at munition plants and kindred industries attract the floating element to the big centers where corruption and crime are rampant, and the enforcement of law is in cheap and

<sup>8</sup>Nat. Com. for Mental Hygiene: Letter, April 4, 1918.



political hands. The fences and privileged thieves are given every protection, and the poor, weak hirelings are sent to our prisons in large flocks. Until the situation changes and those that are profiteering in crime are punished, I can see no relief." Warden Coddington of Kansas says: "The floating mechanic and artisan who during hard times gets into places like this is not now coming. The adventurous criminal and crook . . . is in the army instead of the prison." New York state reports "a decrease in the population of the penal institutions, both for young and old." Minnesota reports: "There has been a large decrease in the population of the prison and the reformatory, perhaps to some extent due to restrictive liquor legislation, and to a larger extent to industrial conditions."

Though from Illinois comes the report of an unexplained decrease in the rate of increase of the insane, in New York and the east generally the opposite situation prevails, of which the following report from the Manhattan State Hospital may be regarded, perhaps, as typical: "Manhattan . . . is now enormously overcrowded, due to the large admission rate, inadequate accommodation, the difficulty of obtaining attendants and nurses . . . the suspension of immigration which in normal times supplied the hospital's requirements of administrative help . . . the large number of alien patients whose repatriation has been suspended." The problem of caring for soldiers and sailors who become insane from causes not incident to the service has, apparently, not yet become acute.

#### *Juvenile Delinquency Increasing*

Philadelphia, Washington, Des Moines, Kansas City, and Denver report no notable increase in juvenile delinquency. But Buffalo reports increased infractions of the schools attendance and labor laws, an "alarming number" of arraignments for stealing coal, and "many children brought into court as ungovernable or disorderly, especially among those who are employed." New York city reports a "slight increase" due "to the mothers going out to work." In Judge Hoffman's court, Cincinnati, the delinquency cases between April 1 and November 1, 1917, were 21 per cent. more than for the same period in 1916, but a material decrease in the number of divorce cases is noted. In Columbus, Ohio, delinquency cases among boys increased in 1914, and in 1917 the number was nearly 54 per cent. more than the average for the three preceding years. Detroit reports an increase of about 50 per cent. in the number of delinquency cases being handled monthly during the winter as compared with the same period last year. Jacksonville, also, reports a considerable increase in juvenile delinquency. Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and California juvenile reform schools report increases—some "marked," "unprecedented"—in the number of requests for admission thereto.

*Social Hygiene*

Public agencies and institutions in those states in which soldiers and sailors are being trained are undergoing severe strain. Virginia, for example, with eight training camps, having a total population of 200,000 men, reports increased delinquency among women and girls, invasion by hordes of questionable characters from other states, the breakdown of the jail system due mainly to the inability of local authorities to deal adequately with the venereally diseased prisoners.

Federal legislation for the protection of these men in training is the most advanced of any of the allied nations. The President and the Secretaries of War and the Navy are empowered and directed during the war to do everything they deem necessary to prevent the sale of intoxicants to soldiers and sailors and to suppress and prevent prostitution. The commissions on training camp activities of these two departments are one result, and the constructive work they are doing is a splendid omen of progress in the field of social hygiene, civilian as well as military.

Municipal and state authorities have co-operated with the federal government in meeting this situation. Legalized segregated districts in cities near soldiers and sailors in training have been closed. City ordinances have been enacted incorporating the principles of the "Mann White Slave Act," requiring the licensing of lodging houses and registry by true name in hotels and similar places. Since April 1, 1917, Connecticut, Kentucky, Mississippi, and South Carolina have passed injunction and abatement laws to deal with the property owner who allows his property to be used for immoral purposes. Thirty-two states and the District of Columbia have such a law now, and "a bill on this subject will probably be introduced in the Louisiana legislature" this month.<sup>6</sup> South Carolina and Michigan have followed Massachusetts in requiring that certain venereally diseased persons shall be quarantined until cured. Minnesota has organized a department of its State Board of Health to which reports are made of venereal diseases and which is making a study of the whole problem with reference to proper and adequate treatment, prevention and constructive methods of control. In addition to Minnesota, Massachusetts and California have been especially active in efforts to control venereal disease, a movement that has taken on new life now that the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, and the Army and Navy Departments have declared that a life of continence is compatible with health.

To care for the prostitute and to protect the girls in those states in which soldiers and sailors are training has taxed the available facilities, especially in the South. But detention homes have been opened in camp cities, and South Carolina's legislature of 1918 established an industrial school for girls and an institution for the feeble-minded with

<sup>6</sup>Major Bascom Johnson: Letter, April 27, 1918.

<sup>7</sup>Fernald: *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 49.

appropriations of \$40,000 and \$60,000, respectively. The Committee on Protective Work for Girls, while under the chairmanship of Miss Maude E. Miner, secured \$250,000 of federal funds to be supplemented equally by state funds, and to be used in assisting such states in providing institutional facilities for dealing with wayward girls and women.

#### *Provision for Mental Defectives*

The fact that investigations made by the Division of Psychology of the United States Army, directed by Major Robert M. Yerkes, have shown that approximately two per cent. of the drafted and enlisted men that have been mobilized are so inferior mentally as to be unfit for the regular military service, together with the recognition of the wide prevalence of mental defect among confirmed prostitutes, those, therefore, most likely to be venereally diseased,—these facts are stimulating the nation-wide movement for provision for the feeble-minded. While state care for this group of unfortunates increased 753 per cent. in the twenty-six years ending January 1, 1916, still vastly more needs to be done.<sup>7</sup> Since that date, new institutions involving appropriations and gifts totaling \$550,000 have been created in Arkansas, California, Delaware, Louisiana (New Orleans), and South Carolina; New York appropriated over a million dollars last year for new buildings and additional equipment in existing institutions for the feeble-minded, and made provision for a permanent commission on the feeble-minded.

Kentucky has enacted legislation re-organizing its state institutions and appropriating \$50,000 for new construction; bills to create institutions are pending in Arizona, the District of Columbia, and Utah; while state commissions are at work in Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Montana, and Wisconsin.

Moreover, an increasing number of cities throughout the country are establishing special classes in public schools for mentally defective and backward children, and "Illinois is the first state in the Union to create by law the position of state criminologist."<sup>8</sup> Mental clinics in connection with courts, prisons, and reformatories have been established in seventeen states, including California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee, Utah, and Washington.<sup>9</sup> Minnesota has enacted a law providing for the commitment of the feeble-minded to the care and custody of the State Board of Control, whether the alleged feeble-minded person or his relatives desire such commitment or not. The measure is designed to protect the community and to provide wise and human care for those who are mentally deficient. It recognizes the right of the state to compel custodial care, where the circumstances make it necessary.

#### *Prison Labor.*

On December 4, 1917, Senator Smith of Georgia introduced in the United States Senate a bill providing for the employment of convict labor

<sup>7</sup>*Mental Hygiene*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 478.

<sup>8</sup>Nat. Com. Mental Hygiene: Letter, April 30, 1918.

in federal, naval, military, state, county, and municipal penal institutions, in the manufacture of war and other governmental supplies. A companion bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Booher. "The bill as introduced into the committee was drafted by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor with the approval of Secretary of Labor Wilson, and reshaped in conference by the representatives of these organizations, together with representatives duly appointed by the War Department, Navy Department, and the Labor Department."<sup>10</sup> The legislation proposed in this bill had been previously approved by President Wilson. The bill, as redrafted and reported out by the House Committee February 22, authorizes the purchasing agents of the federal government to place orders with the heads of such penal institutions as are "willing to undertake the manufacture, production, and delivery of such supplies." Purchase of such supplies from "any person, partnership, or corporation using in the manufacture of such supplies the labor of persons convicted of crime and incarcerated in a penal or correctional institution" is forbidden, though it is provided "that all goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined wholly or in part by prison labor, except paroled prisoners or in any prison or reformatory," when shipped in interstate commerce shall, upon arrival, except when sold to the federal government, be "subject to the operation and effect of the laws" of the state or territory to which shipped, just as though they had been manufactured therein.

The "Secretary of War is authorized and directed, in his discretion, to establish, equip, maintain, and operate in the United States Army Prison and Disciplinary Barracks, or its branches" factories to "manufacture equipment or supplies for the United States Government." The Secretary of the Navy is similarly authorized though not directed, to employ prisoners in the United States naval prisons. The use of army and navy prisoners in military road making is also authorized. The Attorney-General is "directed to establish, equip, maintain, and operate at the United States penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, a factory or factories for the manufacture of textiles, mail sacks, tenting, and other equipment for the use of the United States Government;" at Leavenworth, Kansas, a factory to make "furniture and office equipment;" and at McNeill Island, Washington, "a pulp and paper mill for the manufacture of print and other kinds of paper." Purchase of the articles just named "from any source other than Governmental for the United States Government or any department, bureau, or other agency thereof" is forbidden after July 1, 1919, "unless the Attorney-General or his authorized agent shall certify that the same cannot be furnished by such prison factory or factories, unless otherwise provided by law."

Compensation and hours of labor of these convicts are to "be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity" of the institution. The *pro rata* maintenance cost of each prisoner so employed

<sup>10</sup>Sixty-fifth Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 236, pp. 1, 2.



is to be deducted from his compensation, the balance to be paid him under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Attorney-General may effectively prescribe.

One effect of this measure, if passed, will be to repeal, at least, "when an emergency exists, or when war is imminent," an executive order issued by President Roosevelt in 1905, by which both the Army and Navy Departments were forbidden to use prison made goods. Another effect will be the adoption by the Federal Government of the "state use" plan of prison labor. Further, the movement to compensate prisoners for their labor may receive a great impetus, and the federal government's condemnation of the contract lease system should help to banish that plan from all our states.

### *III. Concluding Considerations.*

This survey of recent tendencies in state supervision and control, and of the effects of the war upon public agencies and institutions, suggests certain concluding considerations:

(1) A continuance of the present abnormal demands for trained social workers may be expected. The task presented to our social agencies is little less than the re-making of a world.

(2) Standards of institution administration must receive closer study to increase the efficiency of available employees, and to use the inmates more largely in employment that is at once healthful and vocational.

(3) Increased emphasis must be placed upon the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the furtherance of child welfare.

(4) Social construction must go forward at home. War has absorbed our interest, our thought, and our energy; unless a balance of effort and attention be maintained proportionate to the needs of the situation, our domestic social problems may be seriously affected. There is a second line of defense at home.

(5) The inelasticity of legal agencies and the need for greater accountability of non-legal agencies is being emphasized today. State boards, for example, because of limited funds and detailed laws are handicapped in capitalizing their experience and knowledge, through expansion, to play their part in training workers, and in meeting other emergency situations. The various social agencies operating within the bounds of a state should be co-ordinated around a state board or some other organization of state-wide scope. The home service work of the American Red Cross—becoming more and more decentralized, reaching into remote rural communities, setting new standards, emphasizing scientific case work as essential in any worth while relief work—is full of suggestion for the future. It is very significant that in this Conference at least four divisions are holding discussions as to what should be the unit in social administration.

(6) With the problem of administration assuming larger proportions, some plan ought to be evolved by which these various units will

work together to the greatest social benefit. Therefore your committee suggests that a special, very representative committee be appointed from this body to work out with the federal government, the American Red Cross, and such other national organizations as may seem wise, plans by which the public agencies and institutions of the various cities, counties, and states may best co-operate with these national agencies in administering the common problems aggravated by the war, as well as the new social undertakings of the government—such as the care of the alien, military and naval insane; relief to soldiers' families, rehabilitation, etc. Such a committee should be able to evolve needed legislation, both federal and state, that would result in a nation-wide mobilization of the social forces along well-considered lines of constructive effort.

(7) The war will not end victoriously unless a social victory follows the defeat of Prussian autocracy by the forces of America and her allies. Great as have already been the problems of re-adjustment, the task before the social forces of America, lest the victories of war become the spoils of peace, is more difficult still. Thousands of men will return from the excitement of the trenches to the pursuits of peace; their mental and nervous reactions can hardly be predicted. Disease, injury, family disruption must not result in that hopelessness out of which develops the pauperistic attitude. Recouping of personal fortunes, regaining footholds on the social ladder must not issue in self-centered living. The noble patriotism of our soldiers, the high ideals for which they fight, must not become the platitudes of the political demagogue. The militarism we fight today must not saddle America tomorrow. There is still a good deal of human nature in men. If the world is really to be made safe for democracy, if human nature is to be purified, if those social snakes whose poison is abroad in the world today are to be prevented from propagating their kind, then the best social, moral, and religious leadership of our time must lead during the years of re-adjustment after the war.

The social forces of America have today the greatest opportunity in their history. Yes, God helping us, we will meet the challenge.

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#### BOARDS OF PUBLIC WELFARE; A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT SOCIAL WORK

*L. A. Halbert, General Superintendent, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri*

In December, 1908, an ordinance was passed by the common council of Kansas City which established a Board of Pardons and Paroles of three members appointed by the mayor, which had the power to parole prisoners from the city workhouse. In July, 1909, this same board was given the authority to administer the workhouse and in March, 1910, this body was enlarged to five members and given broad powers to devise and execute plans to fulfill the duties of the city

toward all the poor, the delinquent, the unemployed, the deserted and unfortunate classes in the community, and to supervise the private agencies which solicited money from the public for these purposes. In August, 1914, the board was again reduced to three members by ordinance.

#### *Early Activities of Kansas City Board*

Under its broad powers, the board moved the city workhouse to the country and developed a municipal farm on which the prisoners have built buildings and roads and established extensive vegetable gardens, a cannery, a bakery, a sorghum mill, a shoe shop, a blacksmith shop, a hog ranch, a modern dairy, etc. Funds have been spent at various times as the appropriations permitted to pay persons extra wages to help rehabilitate them or to support their families. A merit system with good time for industry and good behavior was secured by an additional ordinance. The institution has full facilities for medical treatment, for educational classes and for social case work with the inmates.

A careful system of endorsement of private charities was set up and for some time a confidential exchange or clearing house was operated in which all the leading charities registered their cases and a staff of investigators to do case work for the various private charities, but more especially for the Provident Association, was employed at the expense of the board. The problem of non-support and desertion of families was taken up and has been vigorously dealt with. In the highest year, over \$15,000 was collected in weekly installments from negligent husbands and paid over to the families. The board has several times spent as high as \$200 to bring deserters back as far away as Seattle, Wash., or Norfolk, Va.

Provision for the homeless and unemployed was made by arranging for meals and lodgings at the City's expense at the Helping Hand Institute and, in 1914, the maximum of over \$17,000 worth of such relief was given. An employment bureau was established and for several years secured an average of about 30,000 jobs per year. During the winter, a municipal quarry has usually been operated at which any able-bodied man could work for meals and lodgings or for coal or groceries for his family. During the first year of the board's history, it established a free legal aid bureau which has continually handled about 5,000 cases per year at an average expense of less than \$1.00 per case.

Seeing the great evils wrought by the loan sharks, the first president of the board furnished the capital himself and opened a remedial loan agency under the supervision of the board and has continued to finance it till the present time, and, for some time past, it has had loans outstanding to some 1,500 customers, amounting to about \$117,000.00.

During the first year of the board, an ordinance was passed requiring all dance halls to have a permit signed by the president of the

Board of Public Welfare before they could operate and, under this general supervision, the board established a thorough system of inspection and supervision over all public dances. Soon followed an ordinance extending this supervision to skating rinks. A couple of years later, the censorship of all motion picture films exhibited in the city was established and the same superintendent employed by the board to supervise dances and skating rinks was chosen censor and now every film exhibited in Kansas City is run in the board's projection room before it is shown in Kansas City. Only a few months ago, an ordinance was passed requiring all pool halls to have a permit from the board before they can operate and prohibiting them all gambling and forbidding the halls to permit minors to frequent them and the supervision of these is under the same department. Under this ordinance, over 115 pool halls have been closed for gambling or other violations of the law and these constitute more than half of all the pool halls in the city. All this supervision of the commercial amusements is to raise their moral tone.

#### *Research and Education*

The original ordinance establishing the Board of Public Welfare gave it general power to investigate the condition of living among the people and, under this power, a bureau of sociological research was established. This bureau first surveyed the charities of the city, in which work it was assisted by Mr. Francis H. McLean. During the same year, it made an extensive study of the social evil in Kansas City, filling out individual schedules on 554 inmates of the 121 recognized bawdy houses which then existed in Kansas City. A study of unemployment was also made the first year. These three studies were published in the second annual report.

In October, 1911, the board promoted a child welfare exhibit in Convention Hall, which displayed the best ideas and activities along these lines of both Kansas City and elsewhere. The attendance for the week was approximately 100,000.

During the next year, a housing survey of Kansas City was completed in which schedules were made on about 6,000 houses, covering all the older part of the city. During the progress of this survey, over \$60,000 worth of improvements were caused to be made on the houses inspected.

An extensive survey of recreation in Kansas City was made by Rowland Haynes, of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, under the direction of this board.

After that, an extensive study of the conditions of working women in Kansas City was conducted in which personal schedules were made on over 2,000 working women.

A report of the social effects of one hundred industrial accidents in Kansas City was compiled.

A comprehensive outline of all the social agencies and forces of the



city was published under the title of *The Social Prospectus of Kansas City*.

Subsequent studies have been made in regard to desertion and non-support, the cost of workingmen's houses, the handicapped, child labor, crippled children, drug addicts, etc. A brief study of the problem of delinquent women in Kansas City was made in 1914 by Miss Maude Miner of New York.

Missouri is backward as a state in her factory inspection law and she still has it on a fee basis and poorly supported. Therefore, city factory inspection was established as a function of the Board of Public Welfare and yearly hundreds of safety devices have been installed and recently many safety committees instituted.

In the foregoing, I have given you a bare outline of the scope and achievements of the first Board of Public Welfare established in the country. Not all the activities here enumerated are now being operated, chiefly because of a shortage of funds, but none of the authority under which these things were done has ever been repealed or abrogated and indeed, greater scope is likely to be added from time to time as has been done almost yearly since the board was established.

The work of the Kansas City Board soon received wide public notice and it has been followed by the establishment of boards and departments of public welfare in other large cities as follows:

Chicago,	St. Joseph, Missouri,
Cincinnati,	St. Louis,
Cleveland,	Dallas,
Columbus, Ohio,	Toronto,
Dayton, Ohio,	Edmonton, Alberta,
Grand Rapids, Michigan,	Omaha, Nebraska.

#### *National Public Welfare League*

In connection with the extension of this Board of Public Welfare plan and name, I should mention the work of the National Public Welfare League.

In 1910, Rev. Theodore Hanson, who was greatly interested in the problem of the social evil, gave considerable volunteer service to the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare in making its survey of the social evil. He came in contact with the general plan of the board's work and began telling of it as he went from place to place, lecturing in the interests of social purity, and found such an interest in it that he gathered about himself a group of men who decided to organize a league to extend the idea. His field of work lay at first in Kansas and a board was formed in 1911 and J. K. Coddington, warden of the Kansas Penitentiary, was chosen president of the board. Soon the policy of going to a town or city and definitely proposing an ordinance to establish a board of public welfare and making a thorough campaign

to get it passed, was adopted. This league was incorporated in Missouri in 1916 and headquarters established in Kansas City and the first president and the general superintendent of the Kansas City board were elected to its board of directors. About fifty boards have been promoted by the National Public Welfare League in Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado and Nebraska.

#### *State and County Boards of Public Welfare*

In the spring of 1912, the general superintendent of the Kansas City board outlined a plan for county boards of public welfare for Kansas, which were all to be coordinated under a State Board of Public Welfare. The plan calls for the consolidation of all the social work to be done by the county into one department with a skilled superintendent and a staff as needed. The contemplated activities include outdoor relief, parole and probation work for adults and juveniles of the county—whether released from the local courts or from state institutions—after-care of the insane, employment finding, child-placing, truancy work, censorship of commercial recreation, public health work, etc. In counties with no great cities, these things are usually either neglected or made incidental duties of officers whose main interests lie in other directions. They can never be skillfully done so long as they are organized in that way.

This plan unifies and systematizes the social betterment work of each county and concentrates it under one board. It provides a local agency that comes in close personal touch with the unfortunate and their problems in a way formerly only reached by a state agency at a great distance.

Combining all the various kinds of social work makes it possible to have at least one skilled social worker in every county, whereas it is not practical to have in every county a juvenile probation officer, an adult probation officer, a poor commissioner to administer outdoor relief, an agent of the free employment bureaus, an agent for placing dependent children in foster homes, an inspector of commercial amusements, etc. But it is practical to combine all these functions in one good, high-class, all-around social worker, even in small counties, and in larger counties it is possible to have the force of workers adapted exactly to the needs of the county.

In January, 1913, St. Joseph, Missouri, succeeded in having a combination city and county board of public welfare established for their city by the state legislature. It has broad scope and has been operated on a scientific basis from the beginning. About that time, Cook county, Illinois, established a public welfare department and put it on a high professional plane, with Miss Amelia Sears in charge; but its scope was limited to the handling of relief cases.

Los Angeles county, California, under the liberal state laws which give counties a large degree of self-government, established a county

public welfare department in 1914, which includes among its functions the administration of outdoor relief on a scientific basis, administration of the almshouse, a children's home, special and general hospitals and other public health work, and supervision of private charities. They have put their work on an efficient professional basis. Good, popular educational work has been carried on throughout the various towns of the county. January 1, 1918, Fresno county, California, established a comprehensive county board of public welfare.

North Carolina, in January, 1917, adopted the first comprehensive law providing for a State Board of Public Welfare and authorizing county boards of public welfare in every county of the state. The work of organizing the department and applying the law is only in its infancy but it presents the first opportunity to apply this plan to rural counties, where I believe it is most needed and where the benefits of consolidation would be the greatest.

In Pennsylvania, New York, Minnesota and California, county boards, for the care of children or with other limited duties, exist, but in scope they do not fully exemplify the board of public welfare idea.

In Illinois, July 1, 1917, a law establishing a great state department of public welfare, which had been adopted earlier in the year, went into effect.

#### *National Department of Public Welfare*

The board of public welfare idea is not yet ten years old, yet, as this review shows, it has applied to town and city, county and state governments in widely scattered parts of the United States and Canada. It is equally adaptable to our national government. Inded, there are already assembled in the Department of the Interior many of the functions that would tend to justify calling it a National Public Welfare Department. It deals with Indian affairs, with national parks and forest reserves, with soldiers' pensions, with the great reclamation service and with education.

In my judgment, it would be best to segregate the social work or the national government in this department by giving to it the Children's Bureau, the bureaus of Immigration, Public Health and the Census; and as the social work of the national government develops, I think it should be the policy of social workers to try to put it in the Department of the Interior and make this the National Department of Public Welfare in fact, if not in name.

All the social welfare work done by towns, cities and counties, or even by private agencies in any given state, should be at least loosely correlated, and co-operation and exchange of service and information should be brought about by the state government through its public welfare department; and the work of states should in like manner be correlated and co-operation and exchange of information should be provided under the leadership of a national department. This would truly constitute a system of government social work.

*Board of Public Welfare Ideals*

The board of public welfare movement has behind it the dynamic of a great ideal which in a measure explains its history. The movement proclaims a practical Utopia to be realized by doing scientific social work on a large scale. This program is based on the idea that social science and social invention can revolutionize society. It accepts no misery as inevitable and no wrong as irremediable. It aims at a new social order.

Since 1900, there has been a greater development along these lines than existed in the previous one hundred years. Miss Eva M. Marquis, superintendent of the research bureau of the Kansas City board, made a study of all the national organizations devoted to social betterment propaganda and social reform which she could find. She listed ninety, in all, and found that three-fourths of them had been organized since 1900. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the proportion of governmental activities for social welfare that have originated since 1900 would be almost the same.

First, what has been accomplished in the way of preventing sickness and prolonging life? The average length of life in civilized countries is from 40 to 50 years. In the United States it is about 45, in Sweden it has reached a maximum of 56, while in India and even in Japan, it has only recently been as low as 20 or 25 years; and this difference is due to better measures for the promotion of the health of the people. Or, if you wish to, you can compare the average length of life in modern European countries fifty years ago with what it is today and you will find that it has increased from about 30 to 45. And, if you want a still more recent example, you can compare modern cities and find that they vary in the death-rate for infants under one year of age from 135 to 250 per 1,000; and you will find that where infant welfare stations and careful instructions have been introduced, the death-rate for infants has been cut in two within a year's time. This record of achievement in the prevention of sickness and death ought to convince anybody that the measures are practical and the program is not merely a dream.

Let us see how we have progressed in the matter of the prevention of vice and crime. It is interesting to read from the *Anti-Saloon League Year Book* that in the states where prohibition has prevailed for ten years or more, there are only 84.4 prisoners in state prisons per 100,000 population, and in so-called near-prohibition states, where over 50 per cent of the people live in dry territory, there are 115.8 prisoners per 100,000 population; and in partially licensed states, where only 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the people are in dry territory, the number of prisoners per 100,000 population is 118; and in license states, there are 130.3 prisoners per 100,000 people. The publication of the report of the Chicago Vice Commission in 1911 marked an epoch in the handling of the social evil by cities. If time permitted, I could show that great



progress had been made in the reduction of this evil. Prof. E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University has said the Chief of Police of Cleveland told him that he had been able to reduce the number of prostitutes by about 90 per cent by taking away from them music, lights and liquor. A committee on crime, of the Chicago common council, headed by Prof. Charles E. Merriam, showed that the business of thievery was organized and exploited by dealers in stolen goods and gave data which would justify the conclusion, that if these exploiters were suppressed, thievery would be reduced to a minimum.

These few brief hints tend to justify the conclusion that it is an entirely practical program to stop the exploitation of vice and crime and to practically wipe it out so far as normal people are concerned. When we supply complete custodial care of the defective classes, as we will in the future and as we are now doing increasingly, the problem of the elimination of crime will be practically solved. It is entirely practical to achieve a sort of society where arrests for crime will be very exceptional and where many units of government will not have any arrests within a year; in fact, there are many such towns and counties in Kansas and other states already.

Our progress in attacking the problem of poverty has been somewhat less marked, perhaps, than the progress we have made in attacking sickness and crime. Poverty may be said to arise from three causes,—misfortune, inefficiency and exploitation. There is no form of misfortune but what can be covered by social insurance. Inefficiency is being met by vocational education and guidance and by scientific management, in so far as details are concerned; and by conservation work, agricultural bureaus and business consolidation in a wholesale way. Exploitation is being curbed and offset by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Industrial Trade Commission, the National Reserve Bank Commission, the Income Tax, the Inheritance Tax and other forms of government regulation.

Whenever we can secure even moderately intelligent people to manage industry for the direct purpose of providing for the comforts and luxuries of the people, abolishing poverty presents no insuperable obstacles. It is not unreasonable to hope that the nation, whose mechanical inventors have given us the steam engine, the gasoline engine, the electric light, the telephone and the aeroplane, will have social inventors equal in skill, and many of the dreams of the centuries may be realized in this generation.

#### *Government Efficiency in Social Work*

The achievements which I have just been describing have been largely dependent for their execution upon the government as an agency. We are moving in the direction of government ownership of social work. Many of the new social welfare activities of the various government units have been established only after a thorough study

has been made by a commission appointed for the purpose and after a survey of the facts and conditions has been made by trained social investigators.

What is the meaning of this, except that there is an attempt to establish social action on a scientific basis? But this vast extension of research work is not the only evidence that the government is trying to establish these activities on a scientific basis. The municipal research bureaus, established and paid for by the municipalities, and the commissions on economy and efficiency, which have been established in various places throughout the nation, show the same tendency to put not only the social work but all the work of the government on a scientific basis. The civil service merit system has been extended by leaps and bounds. Classes and schools for training the employees already in government service have been established in many city departments and the work of training people for the government service has been taken up by the municipal universities of Cincinnati, Akron and other places; and it will not be ten years before training courses for public service will be thoroughly established in our system of public education, and entrance into the public service will be increasingly made through that avenue. There are thus many evidences that the society of tomorrow is to be scientifically organized.

Apropos of this statement, I would like to comment on the general reputation for inefficiency and graft which the government has as an agency for doing things. There are two different agencies that promote this slander with great vigor. One is the partisan political organization which belittles the achievements of its opponents in order to have its own representatives elected; the other is the great array of public utilities, such as street car systems, water works, electric light companies, railroads, etc., which are trying to stem the rising tide of public ownership. They have a motive in representing that the government's work is inefficient and inferior to their own. While the government has plenty of faults and deficiencies, I would be perfectly willing to place it side by side with the general run of private enterprises, and challenge anybody to show that there was either more graft or more inefficiency in the government than there was in the private enterprise. Mr. F. C. Croxton, formerly connected with the national Department of Labor, has told me that various clerks connected with his department gave several weeks of their time to the government for nothing as a mere matter of patriotism in order to get out a certain government report when the appropriation for that purpose was about exhausted. The employees of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City voluntarily proposed and accepted a cut of 25 per cent in their salaries for three months near the end of the fiscal year in 1913 in order to prevent the crippling of its activities.

*Democratization of Social Work*

While it may be true that the government needs some infusion of unselfishness and scientific precision from social work, it is not unlikely that some gains may be made by bringing the democracy of the government into some of the realms of social work that have been exclusive in management and limited in scope and condescending in spirit. It is quite likely that, in some directions, it would result in a regulation and standardization of social work that would improve it. What would it mean to thoroughly democratize social work? Abraham Lincoln's formula for political democracy was "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

"Of the people" implies that the government is inclusive and universal in its scope. This phrase has to do with the extent of the authority of the government. If we should apply this to our field, it would mean that social work would keep within its purview the whole population. Our objective must be the welfare of *the people*, not merely of selected cases that come to our attention. The democratization of social work means the enormous extension of social work.

The second phrase of Lincoln's formula is "by the people." This has to do with defining where the authority to control and administer the government is to be lodged. What does it mean to have social work administered "by the people?" In the first place, it means that it is henceforth to be supported by taxes, and that everybody must contribute to build up a fund against the day of misfortune; it means that each man has a right to the benefits of it when misfortune overtakes him. It means that what was charity has practically been transformed into social justice. It means that many little ill-advised and conflicting societies will be wiped out and the duties of others will be assumed by the government, and the cost of a good deal of administrative machinery and much of the expense of money raising will be saved. It means that there are sufficient available funds so that relief can be adequate when it is necessary. Social work by the people means social work by the government, the only agency in which all the people have an opportunity for equal representation.

The third phrase of Lincoln's formula is "for the people" and this is used to define the object and central purpose of the government. It is to be for the benefit of the people. Social work has always exemplified this principle of democracy in a high degree. It should be the ambition of social workers to place the imprint of this standard upon government and industry and every human institution. For, why is the obligation to serve any more binding on one than on another?

Let us undertake to apply Lincoln's formula of democracy to the field of social work by establishing such a system of government social work as I have outlined here.

## THE NEGRO IN RELATION TO OUR PUBLIC AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

*J. L. Kesler, Dean, Baylor University, Waco, Texas*

The Negro problem, public or private, industrial or institutional, is a human problem. Until we face the issue as human in its human relations; until we think of all citizens as human beings with human rights, human interests and human possibilities; until we insist upon equality of opportunity—economic, industrial, educational,—equality before the law, equal sanitary provision, equal protection of person and property; until we become conscious of a common brotherhood and cease to exploit the weak and to treat them as chattels and property; until we play fair and put justice into our program for less fortunate individuals and races; until we put democracy into our own life as we speed its splendid hope to the world, we are not even in sight of a solution, and futility faces our tasks of reform.

It is not simply a Negro problem. It is also a Caucasian problem. It is not simply the "white man's burden." It is also the black man's burden. It is a problem of both races. It is mutual. Its solution means mutual understandings and readjustments. It means mutually a more generous sympathy and respect, without which there can be no common standing ground. Hate, distrust, suspicion are grounds of alienation and war, but not of agreement, co-operation, concord, peace. Love, confidence, respect alone can build a loyalty and stability for racial, national, or international solidarity and strength. It means, therefore, not only new insights and ideals but new attitudes, both personal and public, and a more delicate regard and consideration of racial courtesies. That race which fails to respond to fine courtesy is already insolvent and bankrupt of pre-eminence. This new attitude must not only be intellectually allowed by the white people, it must be consciously felt and communicated, so that a new atmosphere of dignity and freedom and possibility shall meet and strengthen the aspiration of the Negro race and superinduce a conscious self-respect and hope. By some such means alone may the perils of two segregated races living in the same territory, with mutual interrelations, be reduced to a minimum.

The greatest prejudice, with its incurable blindness, is found in the lowest types of both races. The finer types of both races are thinking in larger terms. More generous sympathies and more practical and constructive programs emerge for the healing of past years in proportion to enlightenment and vision. What we need everywhere and among all races is a more general intelligence. With the disappearance of ignorance and its paralyzing antagonisms our problems will be greatly simplified. But ignorance goes a thousand fathoms deeper than illiteracy and it will take the highest type of culture to eradicate it and save us from its peril and doom.

Of the 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States, about 9,000,000



live in the South. They constitute about one-tenth of the population of the United States and about one-third of the population of the South. We have not always in all sections thought together about this part of our population. For one part of the country to think of them in one way and another part to think of them in another way, while perfectly natural, is most unfortunate for both sections and both races. Every divisive factor tends to weaken the nation's program of good will to all of its citizens. While, therefore, on account of their numbers in the South, they may be thought of as creating a problem peculiarly Southern, yet on account of the oneness of the nation and the oneness of humanity the sectional feeling and division of sentiment must be merged into a national unanimity. There is no other solution. For what is of interest to one part of the country is of interest to other parts of the country. We are one people, however many nationalities or races we represent. We are one nation, however widely separated by color or climate or craft. No part suffers but every part suffers. No part limps but every part shambles and halts in its progress. In the deepest sense, therefore, it is a national problem.

There is no hope of unanimity, however, except on grounds that are fair and just and generous. No partisan bitterness, no sectional bias, no racial prejudice, no selfish insolence may enter into this larger hope. A general friendliness is to take the place of racial antipathies. All citizens are to be given the privilege of rising to their full height as human beings. Intelligence is to dominate public sentiment and a kindlier religion is to move in the minds of men.

There is no hope for the South if one-third of its population is to remain undeveloped and inefficient. If the submerged third is to remain ignorant, the South will not only fail of one-third of its potential, but the other two-thirds will descend in the scale. This is already apparent in all quarters. If unsanitary conditions and disease are allowed to plague one-third of the population, the other two-thirds cannot escape the contagion. This the local death rate of both races proves to be true. No community is safe while there is one neglected spot within it. No race is safe from every wretchedness so long as it allows a wretch of alien race beside its door to remain uncared for and unprotected. This is true economically, industrially, socially, morally. Every injustice to the Negro from public agency or private is an injury to the white man and imperils the best interest of the national life.

If the Negro is to be a citizen, if he is to live among us (and we of the South like him, would not know how to do without him, and count ourselves his best friends), then we must give him a chance, and an equal chance with all others—not by handing things down to him but by helping him to get up, not by working *for* him but *with* him, not by tips and charity but by a fair wage and just treatment and proper recognition of his worth. He asks no more, he deserves no less.

There are two kinds of white people in the South and two kinds of black people. The better class of white people have generous sympathies

for the black people and give them a fair deal. The other class make up the mobs, are ignorant, often vicious, many of them guilty of or capable of the crimes of the brutes they lynch. Among black people, too, there are good and bad. All "coons" do not look alike, except to the color blind. Some are criminal and degenerate, just as some white people are. Some are intelligent and clean and moral and progressive and splendid. The criminal Negro is not to be taken as the representative of the race any more than the criminal white man. Taking them all in all, they have made a worthy record in this first half century out of slavery. They began with 90 per cent illiteracy and have reduced it to 30 per cent. Starting with nothing they own 20,000,000 acres of farm lands and farm property worth \$500,000,000. They cultivate as farmers and tenants 41,000,000 acres and as laborers 60,000,000 more. Numerically one-third of the population, they till two-thirds of the land in the South. Their total property is valued at \$700,000,000. Fifty thousand of them are engaged in professional work, as lawyers, dentists, physicians, teachers. About twenty-five thousand of them are in government positions. They print over 400 newspapers and periodicals, have over 100 insurance companies, their 64 banks do a \$20,000,000 business.

The Negro is here to stay. He touches at every angle every public enterprise—business, industry, politics, education, religion, courts of justice, public welfare organizations, social work. Living together, we have innumerable contacts which must be mediated through public agencies and institutions. It is necessary that these shall not only be fair and just, but co-operative and efficient. It is a mistake to suppose that just anything will do for the Negro, that he does not understand, does not see. He does see and he does not forget. Nature does not forget either. She fixes the penalty on the spot of the crime. "The moral law, the nature of things," as Emerson says, "keeps its eyes wide open."

### 1. *Educational Policy Fundamental*

Our educational policy is fundamental. We have been accustomed to consider all moneys spent on Negro education as a gift, and to congratulate ourselves on our generosity, since in the last fifty years his taxes were but a small part of his educational apportionment. This attitude is changing. Education is an investment according to needs and not according to tax receipts. As a citizen he deserves, and necessity requires, that he should have equal educational opportunity with white citizens.

In the last fifty years the South has but meagerly provided for any of her schools. Even now the scholastic per capita of California is \$36.30, while that of North Carolina is only \$4.16, that of New York \$25.40 and that of South Carolina only \$4.92.

Still this does not relieve us entirely from censure for the too great discrimination between the races. The average educational per capita between the ages of six and fourteen in the South for white children is \$10.32, for the black children \$2.89. The greatest discrepancy is in Louisiana, where it is \$13.73 for every white child and only \$1.31 for

every black child. Here, too, illiteracy is highest for both races, 14.4 per cent for the white and 48.4 for the black. South Carolina comes next with \$10.00 to \$1.44 per capita and an illiteracy of 10.3 per cent to 38.7 per cent. South Carolina is the second most illiterate state in the Union. Everywhere there is the greatest discrimination coincident with the highest illiteracy and the greatest density of Negro population. No wonder that the Negro is crying out for better protection, better education, better economic and living conditions! No wonder that he has been migrating to the North half million strong to better his chances and the chances of his children!

Money has been contributed generously, largely by men of the North, to private and denominational schools. These have in property and permanent funds over \$28,000,000 with an income of \$3,000,000. But only 4 per cent of Negro children attend these schools and only 7 per cent of the children who are in school attend schools thus provided. What does this mean? It means that if Negro children are ever to be educated, they will have to be educated in public schools provided by public taxes, and made effective by compulsory attendance. This is the heaviest responsibility and obligation of the educational forces of the South—providing adequate school houses, equipment, money, teachers, and keeping the standards high not alone to eliminate illiteracy, but to overcome ignorance and to provide training for appreciation, character, efficiency; to develop good citizenship in the Negro not simply for safety and suppression of crime, but for race realization in sanitary, moral, and industrial progress—making crime impossible by eradicating or leaving behind the criminal instincts and the roots of crime.

## 2. *Social Equality an Ignis Fatuus*

Those who want to keep the Negro down need to get up themselves. Those whose social position is unquestioned need not be concerned about "social equality." Those whose social elevation is uncertain need culture and social enrichment, fine qualities and noble natures,—not barriers set up between them and other races. Not position, but possession, counts in the struggle for pre-eminence. Not fighting back and pushing down, but reaching up and climbing higher distance all competitors on rival roads in worthy emulation toward splendid life. General social equality is an *ignis fatuus*. There isn't any such thing anywhere in any race. In all races there are *higher* and *lower* according to merit, and social intermingling is attracted by compatability, congeniality and genuine community of interest, or it is pure social camouflage and sham. In the South neither the Negroes nor the white people want to intermingle socially. Racial integrity and social separateness are desired by both. To raise the question, therefore, of racial equality, or social equality between the races, to say the least, is an incongruity and an impertinence. It is irrelevant, childish, and unbecoming in noble natures. Here comparisons are odious. They suppress noble and generous impulses and get nowhere. This social separateness by general agreement presents no im-

plication of either racial valuation or indignity. The whole question may be relegated to the low politician and the junk heap.

### 3. *Equality of Opportunity and of Conveniences*

What the Negro does want and what the best white people of the South want for him is an equal chance for personal and social development, equal protection and security under the law, equal opportunity, economic, industrial, educational, equal courtesies, equal conveniences and comforts in street cars, railway coaches, Pullman and dining cars. And this he has never had. When he pays the same fare he wants the same service. He ought to have it. He likes a separate coach among his own people, just as we do, but he does not want an inferior coach, and he does not want the implication of inferiority. Nobody does. What he loathes and detests is the constant reminder that he is inferior; that anything is good enough for a "nigger"; that sanitation and sewerage and police protection and paved streets and parks are not necessary for him; that moral leprosy and segregated vice may preempt territory in his community and be immune to civic interest and disturbance—nobody cares; that he is discriminated against not on account of merit but on account of color; that his wife and daughter, if they are attractive—and some of them are—are not safe from insult on account of the lack of racial respect and honor.

### 4. *Interracial Respect Necessary*

Respect! Here is the solution—interracial respect. For lack of it both races are in peril. We had a colored girl in our home. She had college aspirations. We encouraged her and she went to college. While she was with us, I made a discovery. She was afraid to be out on the street after nightfall. She was afraid of white college boys. It was a sad comment on the situation. The boys were supposed to take for granted a Negro's easy virtue. Besides, between their social world and hers a great gulf was fixed, so that there was no restraining modesty. Moral safety demands a deep and abiding respect for personality, interracial, and among all intergraded social levels, if we are to escape the moral backwash between races and classes. Here we need a wider and deeper democracy. We may be separate as races or classes or craftsmen, but one as human beings and citizens. But in all cases mutual respect is the center and citadel of our safety and life—this conscious democracy of the rights of mankind, as human beings, is fundamental and final.

### 5. *Better Times Coming*

A large number of the Negroes are accumulating property, are living in good homes, clean, sanitary, with the comforts and some of the luxuries of life. They love music, they appreciate art, they are educating their children, they want a clean, moral, and wholesome community in which to rear their children and enjoy the safety and comforts of home life. They expect this and as citizens they have a right to expect it. It



is coming. Every drop of the best blood of the South stands pledged to it. As they prove themselves capable of laying hold of and improving opportunities there is a company of white men and women, daily growing larger, who are demanding these opportunities for them. More than that, they are helping them to become capable and to take advantage of these opportunities for the benefit of the whole community and the whole nation. These are the men and women who have social sympathies and social interests and who take part in and support all agencies and institutions working for the welfare of the community life. It is true that we have not yet gone far in co-operative social work. The juvenile Negro criminal and delinquent girl are not sufficiently provided for by either private or public institutions; nor is there sufficient provision for the juvenile offender of the white race. But the old way of making confirmed criminals out of this raw material is to yield to educational and preventive measures. It is true also that sanitariums, fresh air funds, day nurseries, sanitary prison reforms, settlement work, and public welfare enterprises generally have too largely left the Negro out of count. Co-operative welfare agencies have made hopeful beginnings, however, in Louisville, Ky., Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., Richmond, Va., Columbia, S. C., and a few other places. We are beginning to wake up. We are moving toward a better day. We are beginning to see that the Negro is our asset or peril as we help him to rise or let him alone; that he is to be an intelligent and efficient citizen or the Nemesis of our neglect.

#### 6. *The Negro and Labor Organizations*

The Negro has been discriminated against in industry, but the clouds are lifting. Labor unions in the South have refused him admittance and mobbed him as a scab. But the American Federation of Labor at its last session (November 22, 1917) voted unanimously to recognize existing Negro railroad unions in the South and to send a Negro organizer among the thousands of Negro laborers. Southern white men were among the first to endorse this new departure. As he becomes skilled and efficient and feels the new breath and apostolate of freedom, he cannot be industrially neglected, discredited or disregarded. Men who build homes, live right, and are industrially independent *will* be respected, no matter what their color. This new industrialism is to be reckoned with. It is not to be opposed but educated and directed. If the South is to make the most of its industrial opportunity and democracy, it must conserve its working force. Intelligence and self-interest require it and humanity requires it. Even here in this competitive strife, where life calls for co-operative friendliness, the "human way" makes its divine appeal. As Principal Motion of Tuskegee has said, "No laborer can give skillful, efficient, conscientious service when he is surrounded day and night by all that tends to lower his health, to distort his mind, to weaken his morals, to embitter his spirit, to shake his faith in his fellow man." The "human way" is the way out.

### 7. *Discrimination Before the Law and Mob Violence*

We must acknowledge that there has been discrimination against the Negro in legislation; but the law has not been so crooked as the execution of the law. Even in politics he has been cheated out of his vote more shamefully than if prevented from voting by crooked legislation. This crooked politics has reacted on the integrity of the ballot against the very people who forgot to do right. While justifying shady practices on the ground of the necessity of securing a "white man's government," they were bringing in a blacker regime by their own duplicity than black ballots could have ever delivered. They forgot that the moral law never sleeps, and never forgets. This phase of our politics is passing.

But the most outstanding crime is lynching. There have been, from 1885 to 1916, thirty-two years, about 4,000 lynchings in the United States, three-fourths of them in the South. In the first sixteen years of this time there were never less than 100 a year, and, twice, the number rose above 200, the average being 150. In the second sixteen years the number reached 100 only twice, the average being 70, less than half. This looks hopeful. True, we *hear* more about it in recent years. The tragedies *seem* to thicken. The fact is, we are simply waking up. Our consciences are quickened. It is the hour before sunrise. The sentiment is rising and organizing against this hideous savagery and orgy of beastliness. The battle is joined.

Still the fight is not over. There is a respectable number of people who do not belong to the underworld, and who, if they do not openly advocate lynch law, excuse it. They will not bring an offender to justice. They are not moved with moral passion and indignation against it. If they do not start the mob, they follow it, and enjoy as high sport this American diversion. Such men are not peculiar to the South, though the South has suffered most from their atrocities. Nor is the Negro the only victim, though he has been the chief sufferer.

In condemning mob violence the criminal is not excused from the villainy of his crime whether Negro or alien. But law must be made supreme, justice more than a word on our tongues, and life made sacred and safe under all circumstances of excitement and of emotional stress and storm.

### 8. *The Negro as Soldier and Patriot*

The Negro as a soldier in the present war will be more than an episode in relation to his future history. He is by nature gregarious. He loves a crowd. He fits into mass movements. He is the synonym of loyalty. He is a typical patriot. He makes a good soldier. He is furnishing his quota of the American army. What effect will this war experience have on his public and institutional relations? Already the atmosphere is changing. I dare not guess what breath will blow upon us when the war is over. But this I know, the man who gives all a man

can give for his country, his life, cannot be forgotten by the people; the race that fits into the world program of democracy and liberty will find a place and an appreciation, whatever its color or previous condition.

## WHAT METHODS OF EDUCATING THE PUBLIC HAVE PROVEN THE MOST EFFECTIVE?

*Kenosha Sessions, M. D., Superintendent, Indiana Girls' School,  
Indianapolis*

The methods of educating the public regarding their institutions may be considered under two headings, past methods and prospective methods. The past methods may be again classified under two heads, malicious and benign.

### *Bad Education*

Under the malicious methods of educating the public regarding their institutions will fall all those rumors, false ideas and vague, terrible imaginings which originate in and travel through the air and find lodgment in the minds of that portion of the population who are absolutely innocent of any knowledge whatsoever of a public institution. For some reason, that portion of the public which has never visited an institution and, therefore, knows nothing about it, is always ready to believe the most impossible things, if they are bad, about an institution and are very slow to believe anything good they may hear.

Such articles as *Children of the Shadow* do incalculable harm because they tell only half the truth and because, while the writer has likely one institution in mind and is trying to make public and, by that means, correct the wrong there existing, yet the article is so indefinitely written that it seems to apply to all institutions, and this same uninformed public jumps to the conclusion that all institutions are alike badly managed and grossly wrong. If wrongs exist and persist in an institution, by all means they should be made public; proclaim them from the housetop if necessary to get them righted,—but let this public proclamation make clear just what the wrong is and where it exists so that all institutions do not lie under suspicion and shall not be thereby hampered and suffer in their aims and purposes because of such suspicion.

It is unfortunately the habit of some newspapers to head-line on the front page some alleged gross mismanagement of some institution and when the investigation is finished and the management exonerated such exoneration is printed in small type in an obscure place on the twelfth page.

The false slogan, "The poorest home is a better place for a child than the best institution," has traveled far and has done much harm. No one has a keener appreciation of the home than the institution worker. No one holds more sacred that divine institution, because the institution worker has seen the finished product of the lack of home. But no one

knows better the falsity of the above slogan than the institution worker. The average county jail, bad as it is, is a better place for a child than some of the homes known to those of us who deal with the children who follow in the trail of "the great army of the defeated."

These are a few of the methods by which the public has been educated, effectively and harmfully regarding their institution.

#### *Good Influences*

The benign educational influences have come through the public press, not in fulsome flattery of the management, but in articles that state plainly and conservatively and truthfully the work done at an institution, the routine of the day, the method of keeping the inmates employed or entertained, the constructive work attempted along educational and vocational lines, and the methods of discipline. Every phase of the daily life, if presented as it really occurs, would give to the average layman a new conception of his institution,—for the average layman has a vision of the inmate being delivered at the institution, closed in for a period of months or years and then sent out, and all between the entrance and exit is a dead air space.

Visitors to institutions should be welcomed and encouraged. They should see for themselves. The more the public knows about an institution the better for the institution. The details of the methods of dealing with the state wards should have a place on the program of the state conference of charities and also the county conference. Classes in sociology and psychology from the state universities and colleges should be made welcome. Public school teachers should be an avenue through which the public might learn truthfully about these wards and their care. Grand juries, before their adjournment, do and should visit the institutions within easy reach of the place of their sitting. The judges, by all means, should have personal knowledge of at least the institutions to which they commit charges.

A bill was introduced in a recent legislature in Indiana which made it mandatory that the judges visit those institutions to which they committed wards. This bill, unfortunately, failed to pass. There are in Indiana ninety-three counties. From ninety-two of these counties girls have been committed to the Indiana Girls' School. One could count on the fingers of one hand the judges who have done this committing who have visited the school. Judges of other states may make a better showing. It could hardly be worse.

It would seem highly important that the judge, who is steering into some harbor that priceless thing, youth, should have some personal knowledge of this harbor, to guide him in his decision, to instruct this youth as to the aim and plan and purpose of such places and to reassure, by such explanation, the parents to the end that the institution, the child, the judge and the parents may understand each other and all co-operate and work harmoniously for this child's future good.

And here let it be said and emphasized for the education of the pub-



lic and especially that very important part of the public, the children, that the juvenile court should be dignified. What impression does the juvenile delinquent get of the majesty of the law, the certainty of justice, the dignity of government, when he for the first time is brought face to face with this most vital and majestic element of our national life and finds it enthroned in an obscure, dark, dirty room of the court house basement? This court is dealing with life at its beginning. All the child's future depends upon the next turn. Is it not more important to impress this youth, this one on the threshold of life, of citizenship, with the dignity of the surrounding of the Goddess of Justice, than to try to impress those up-stairs whose lives are far spent, and who are suing for divorce perhaps for the second time, or trying to evade just debts, or up as plain drunks? Is it surprising that the juvenile offender often acquires a contempt for the law and becomes a *recidivist*? The juvenile court should be inferior to no court in ability, dignity or majesty. So established and exalted, its influence would be an effectual means of educating the public.

#### Summary

To summarize: The public should be made acquainted with the most intimate details of its institutions through every legitimate channel. The daily dealings, and unusual occurrences relative to the inmates, should become a permanent record. There should be no secrets about an institution—a secretive atmosphere breeds suspicion.

Public officials should be required by law to visit all institutions which connect up in any way with their offices.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Leon C. Faulkner*, superintendent of the Maryland Training School for Boys, Loch Raven, said that his institution at one time published a paper which portrayed the life of the school. This paper at the present time is not in circulation, owing to the lack of a printer. The boy's band has been loaned to local committees to head parades in the campaign for war funds and early in the season the boys were allowed to go out to work in groups to help farmers on nearby farms, with the understanding that they would receive to their credit one-third of the actual amount they made, the balance or two-thirds, to go into the general fund to be used for the entertainment and amusement of all boys, thereby not in any way exploiting boy labor, the results of which were very satisfactory and materially helped in the discipline as only high grade boys and those who were entitled to it as a privilege were permitted to go.

2. *H. H. Shirer*, secretary of the Board of State Charities, Columbus, Ohio: The public, which contributes more or less of the funds for the maintenance of public and private institutions and agencies, has a right to know the quality of work done. The public should also know whether the institution is serving the needs of the community. This information can best be obtained by an agency without administrative duties, preferably a board of state charities or similar body, and transmitted by means of bulletins giving statistics and other facts. Institutions are often subjected to unwarranted attacks, and they need the protection of such official agencies which can make investigations and

bring reports to the public, stating facts as they exist. It is not necessary to relate all the petty items of gossip but rather stick to fundamental and essential matters.

3. *Margaret F. Byington*, assistant to the director general, American Red Cross, Washington: Public social agencies need to develop the interest of the citizens as a whole, since on them they must rely for support through taxation. It is somewhat difficult for a public department to create general interest and understanding of its work. Private agencies, which are groups of representative, socially minded citizens, can help to spread abroad an understanding of what the program of the public department is and why it should be supported. Public departments may well make further efforts to secure this kind of publicity through private agencies. There should be the closest relation between public and private agencies in the same field, in order that they may develop common standards and a logical division of responsibility within their fields. The two should not be rivals, but should jointly work out their program. For example, in a recent survey of the public and private charities in Rochester, N. Y., a division was carefully worked out as to the types of family problems which should be dealt with by each group of agencies, instead of having both of them working with the same families, thus wasting energy and lessening efficiency.

4. *George L. Warren*, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Bridgeport, Conn.: Bridgeport has been unique in the interplay between public and private agencies because there, contrary to the general trend from private to public endeavor, the interest in constructive work with families expressed itself first in a reorganization of the Department of Public Charities instead of in the creation of a family helping agency under private auspices such as a Charity Organization Society. In this reorganization a trained social worker was made superintendent of the department. He soon found that it was impossible to establish recognized standards of family care without the aid of a private agency. His recommendation that a charity organization society be formed met with an immediate response from the community and then public department and private society joined hands in expressing the community's desire for higher standards by the application of known case work methods to the bread line that had been in existence for years, under the old public department regime.

Naturally there were false starts and missteps. A change in administration endangered the development in the public department, but the Charity Organization Society was able to help out sufficiently in arousing public sentiment to bring a continuation of the direction of a trained superintendent. Later the Charity Organization Society, led astray on the sidepath of the problem of industrial housing, had so weakened its family case work program that the community was rapidly losing confidence in its effectiveness. The public department returned the compliment, stepped in and helped to bring about a reorganization in the Charity Organization Society that resulted in further progress and development.

Later again the Charity Organization Society helped the public department over a second change in administration that threatened its development.

Public and private agencies are now working hand in hand in an attempt to discover for the community its causes of poverty, bring them to light and eliminate them by sympathetic, cooperative action. The development in both agencies has been extremely healthy during the past four years. The Charity Organization Society is concentrating on

certain special problems such as tuberculosis, the deserter and widowhood, and is quick to turn the responsibility for their general care over to the Department of Public Charities as soon as the public, through its common council, makes adequate provision for their care. In bringing about this development the weekly case conference at the Charity Organization Society has been an effective tool in raising and maintaining standards. Through newspaper publicity and continuous speaking in churches and before civic bodies the interest of the public in its tools, both public and private, has never been allowed to wane. Advantage has been taken of every community accident such as an epidemic of streptococci infection and an epidemic of infantile paralysis to keep the public interested in its community problems and to encourage it to take the next definite logical step.

5. *Prof. Demarchus C. Brown*, member, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, questioned a statement in Dr. Sessions' paper. He asked if she intended to convey the idea that the public should know everything that goes on in the institution. He believed that there were some things that the newspapers should not have because they were made to sell and not to give facts. The welfare of the institutions could often be best served by a supervising board assisting in correcting many things without publicity.

6. *Dr. Sessions* replied that she agreed with this statement, and meant to convey the idea that a complete record should be kept and should be available for legitimate purposes.

7. *E. S. Hinckley*, superintendent, State Industrial School, Ogden, said that last year three hundred college students visited his institution, including students from the State Agricultural College interested in the observation of farm operations. Juvenile court officers of the state hold a conference at the institution annually.

8. *Mrs. Frances F. Morse*, superintendent of the Minnesota School for Girls, Sauk Center, spoke of institutional exhibits at the State Conference of Charities in her state, as affording a splendid means of publicity.

9. *Benjamin F. Merrick*, president of the Social Welfare Association, Grand Rapids, Michigan, described the unification of public and private philanthropic effort in that city through the establishment of a special department under the new city charter, saying that the success of the scheme depends ultimately upon education of the public, from whom must come the necessary revenue.

10. Others participating in the informal discussion were: Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Homer W. Borst, Jacksonville, Fla.; J. Bruce Byall, Philadelphia; Rev. John R. Maguire, Bourbonnais, Ill.

## THE COUNTY AS A UNIT IN CHARITY ADMINISTRATION; ACTUAL EXPERIENCE

*H. Ida Curry, Superintendent of Children's Agencies, State Charities Aid Association, New York*

As the laws, and the even more binding traditions of New York state have fixed the county as the unit of poor law administration, we perforce have had to use this unit when formulating programs to improve public charity administration throughout the state. Our State Board of Charities has held itself, under the present law, to be a supervisory

body and not an administrative one, so that we have seen no such development in public charitable administration as has been so notable in many other states.

*Plan of State Charities Aid Association*

The private association which I represent, the State Charities Aid Association, has been pushing a county work for children which has obtained results that have been most gratifying in the 20 counties in which it has been adopted, and which has pointed the way to a more complete county program for child care. Briefly, the county plan is this: A group of public spirited citizens of the county are organized as a county committee of the S. C. A. A. This county committee enters into a formal agreement with the county board of supervisors and the county superintendent of the poor under which, in return for an appropriation toward the expenses of the work, the committee becomes an assistant to the superintendent of the poor. The committee then employs one or more trained social agents who assist the superintendent of the poor in caring for children in need of public support or protection. These agents investigate the family circumstances of children before they are accepted as public charges, planning for their temporary and for their future care,—sometimes in their own homes, sometimes in boarding homes, sometimes in free foster homes, or in hospitals, state institutions, or elsewhere.

As the state is as small a unit as seems practicable for the best placing out work, the children who have no prospect of finding suitable home care with relatives are referred for placement in foster homes to the placing out department of the S. C. A. A., to the Children's Aid Society, or to the recently organized Catholic S. C. A. A. in Albany.

The agent is most frequently the only trained social worker in the county, so she soon becomes a general social handy man—or handy woman—in the community, and we find her acting as probation officer, as prosecutor in a neglect case, as investigator for the board of child welfare, which grants pensions to widows, or of the home service section of the Red Cross. She is asked by the district attorney to interview the women prisoners, especially those whose difficulties are of a domestic nature. She detects and sends to institutions large numbers of mental defectives, and presses the prosecution of men and of women who are a social menace to the community.

Generally, before the employment of such an agent the poor law official accepted as public charges as few children as possible, frequently leaving them in most distressing circumstances, rather than add to the expenses of the county, the amount of their support in an institution. The accepting of a child as a public charge meant, usually, that the county must pay from \$200 to \$400 a year for a long term of years.

The institution to which the child was committed was usually in a distant county, and the good people in charge had no way of determining the home circumstances of the child in order to know when it should be



released to relatives; nor could they tell when the home circumstances were so intolerable that the child should never be returned thereto. And so children in large numbers have been supported in institutions for longer or shorter periods, and have then been returned to most unwholesome and immoral surroundings. With an agent, the future as well as the present need of each county child who is in an institution is kept in mind, and an effort is made to work out some plan for its permanent good.

### *New Plans*

The county agencies, effective as they are, do not, however, present a complete program for child care.

Following the suggestions of Mr. Carstens' historic paper on *A Community Program for Child Care*, given at the Baltimore Conference, we are gradually trying out a modification of his plan, using the county as the unit of administration. Early in 1917 we secured the passage of a special law creating a Dutchess County Board of Child Welfare, which was organized and began its work on March 1, 1917. This board consists of 10 members—four county officials,—the superintendent of the poor, the chairman and two other members of the board of supervisors, and six citizens to be appointed by the county judge. To this County Board of Child Welfare was turned over all the powers and duties of the poor law officers as they relate to children, and also the powers and duties of the county board which administered pensions to widows. In addition, it was given responsibilities not hitherto placed on any public official or board. In fact, it became responsible for the care of all destitute, neglected, delinquent, and physically and mentally defective children. All money that had been appropriated for the care of children during that year was also made immediately available for its use. The board retained the agents that had been employed by the Dutchess county committee of the S. C. A. A., and it has been keen to maintain the high standard of child care set by that committee during the seven years it had directed the work.

To complete the county program, we need a county juvenile court, but for local political reasons it is impossible to secure this immediately. We have, however, just secured the passage of a county juvenile court bill for Chautauqua county, where a county agency has been active for seven years, and we are now organizing an active campaign to introduce the Dutchess County Board of Child Welfare plan into that county next year. We hope thus to have at least one county in which there will be a public child welfare program that will approach completeness.

Westchester county has developed a different form of organization. By special law, the superintendent of the poor has become the county commissioner of charities and corrections. As such, he administers all of the county institutions,—the almshouse, the hospitals and the peni-

tentiary. His child welfare department is an exceedingly efficient organization with a director, assistant director, and some 30 investigators and office assistants. A psychopathic department has also been organized. The child welfare department makes the investigation of all children who are public dependents or for whom public support is asked, and also administers relief to needy mothers with children. The investigation of neglect cases is handled by a County Humane Society, so that the program for child care in Westchester county is not as inclusive as is that which has been developed in Dutchess county under the public Board of Child Welfare. A county children's committee, composed of very representative citizens, assists with the work and its interests extend beyond the children officially coming to the commissioner of charities for care.

#### *Personality in Administration*

The administration of a complete program of child care by a public board seems entirely practicable, but its success will always depend on the character and fitness of the field agents, as does the success of any social endeavor.

In New York we have helped the State Civil Service Commission work out a type of examination which tends to insure only competent agents being certified for appointment. The most recent examination was open to women between the ages of 21 and 35. They must have resided in the state for three months, and must have an education equivalent to a four years high school course, and in addition at least one year's training in a school of philanthropy, or its equivalent, or one year of practical field work.

A written examination was given which carries a relative weight of three points. Experience and personal qualifications each ranked as two points. Questions for the written examination were suggested by someone familiar with the work to be done, and were sufficiently technical to exclude those unfamiliar with child problems. As a person having some knowledge of social work in New York State, I was asked to make the papers, to assist in rating the education and experience, and in conducting the oral examination which is to be given to determine the personality of the applicants, and their general fitness for the work. This examination has not been completed, but from the written papers it seems probable that about 10 out of the 28 candidates will prove to be entirely qualified to fill the position.

Some of the *newer* states in the West are fortunately in position to build up new programs for social betterment along whatever lines seem *best*. We in the older states of the East must spend much time and energy, in undoing long established methods, and we can but put forward the program that is *practicable*. In New York state, however, we can at least report progress.

## THE COUNTY AS A UNIT IN SOCIAL WORK

*Homer W. Borst, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Jacksonville, Florida*

The usefulness of an excellent survey may be greatly impaired through neglecting to carry out its provisions. Our organization, the Associated Charities of Jacksonville, is trying to compensate for the shortcomings of a rapid and, in many respects, incomplete survey which we made of the relief work of the Duval County Commissioners last summer, through staying by until its findings are worked out in the complete co-ordination and unification of all the outdoor relief of the county, both public and private.

*Survey of Duval County, Florida*

Duval County, Florida, is approximately forty miles long and thirty miles wide. Its population may be estimated at 115,000. Of these 75,000 are within the city proper; 25,000 additional are within the metropolitan area outside of the city, and 15,000 more in the remainder of the county. Fishing, truck gardening, working in saw mills and turpentine camps, and general farming are the chief occupations outside of the city.

When we undertook the survey the county commissioners were granting assistance to approximately 150 families throughout the city and county. We looked into the condition of 100 of these.

Three very bold facts stood out immediately upon the completion of our rapid study. *First*, the county officials were giving money to many families which did not need relief. *Second*, they were giving inadequate relief to many which did need assistance, and utterly failing to supply the case-work assistance which should have been available. *Third*, the county lacked institutional as well as case-work facilities, notably a county infirmary, and a county tuberculosis sanitarium.

Of course all these facts had been known by the social work group, but the survey gave the facts a very demonstrable basis.

We divided our families into two very natural groups, the white and the colored. There were 72 white and 28 colored, and that I believe represents a very fair statement of the proportion existing between our colored and white dependents in a population which is half white and half colored. The white families proportionately far exceed the colored as charity problems. On this point we find that deserted women and children, widows, orphans, families handicapped by illness, and many other types of family defeat as they are known among the white clients of our office, are fairly well swallowed up in the life of the colored community on the basis of blood and neighborhood relationships. The aged colored come to us, partially because of the infidelity of children and partially because of the extreme and uncompromising

desire of many to remain in their own little homes and accept only such aid as can be given them there.

We next marked carefully the distribution of our families throughout the county. Over three-fifths of the county relief funds we found being used within the metropolitan area of Jacksonville. This relief represented almost one-third of the entire relief budget being expended in that territory and was absolutely uncoordinated with the other two-thirds which came from the Associated Charities and the Board of Charities of Jacksonville. For this estimate we made use of all of the families receiving county aid, and not only those intensively investigated.

Turning again to our classification of white and colored, we broke each of these groups into three sub-groups. *First* came those which we meant to have dropped from the county aid and accorded no further attention. *Second*, we placed a group of families which needed constructive aid, of both a financial and service nature; and *third*, came a group of aged and infirm individuals and couples which we called *institutional* to indicate that if there had been an infirmary available for them we should have asked them to enter it.

#### *Modifications of Treatment Recommended*

Of our 28 colored families we recommended that 5 become closed cases on the basis of care by relatives, property, or other natural resources. These were all old people. We recommended that 12 additional families, aged or physically handicapped couples and individuals, be considered case work problems. Of these nine owned their little homes. Because of contagious disease or other infirmities we pronounced the remaining 11 of the 28 colored families subjects for institutional care in an infirmary—which does not yet exist. Those who are still alive when our projected institution is available will be offered a home there.

Of the 72 white families, 20 were recommended for closing immediately, 34 were excellent case-work problems, and the remaining 18 we recommended for institutional care, and for out-door relief under supervision until our suggestion could be carried out.

In the 34 white case work families there were 17 widows, 4 deserted mothers, 26 individuals needing medical attention, 2 feeble-minded people, 9 instances of relatives able to assist but not doing so, 9 instances of unemployment, 1 alcoholic, and in three of the families were open cases of tuberculosis receiving no adequate oversight.

You will have foreseen the recommendations which we were able to make to the county officials. First we asked that the 26 families which did not need assistance be cut off. This we said would release 25 per cent of the funds. An additional 25 per cent we prophesied could soon be released by providing case work on the 44 white and colored case work families. Our second proposition was therefore that the county commissioners take advantage of the case work service of the Associated Charities in connection with these families. Our third was that they



complete the county infirmary without delay. None of our suggestions were carried out.

### *City and County Employ Trained Workers*

A new attack was suggested by our experience in organizing the City Board of Charities, the social service department of the city. We had begun in that field by offering our services to the city relief committee of the council. When through charter changes this committee was relieved of power and their functions turned over to a quasi-political board of seven citizens, our plan went rapidly forward. We began again by giving this board the services of a trained social worker, and shortly thereafter she was taken over on the city pay-roll. Our experience with her taught us the value of a friend at court, of the advantage of working from the inside.

One day we appeared before the county commissioners and offered them the services of a social worker, free of cost, to be their very own. "Beware the Greeks though bearing gifts." Our plan went through.

Now, social work in our county is very difficult work. I think that when we first began to speculate about it we were like the people who dream of the back-to-the-farm movement for the city poor. We talked of farm loans and fertilizer. Acting on some such notion a northern family recently brought a feeble-minded son to our state and set him up in agriculture in the midst of a five-acre patch of sand. Climate will not do everything, and neither will agriculture.

### *Characterization of Cases*

We have all the usual and some unusual types in our country work. The widows are there, and their children tend to be more neglected, more overworked and underschooled than they would be in town. The immoral are out there, and those infected with tuberculosis. Pellagra, and hook-worm trouble us, but more significant, in many respects than the type of family distress is the nature of the typical family stock, the *cracker*. The cracker is the native Floridian. The decadent examples which come to us in our county work are the shy, stubborn, soft-voiced, simple-minded natives of the creeks and the back-woods. Many of them live in almost inaccessible corners of the landscape, and are to be found only after the most careful search and inquiry. As many as seven of such related families have been found to be receiving county assistance, and to have a very definite connection to the political situation.

The isolation of county families makes case work arduous. The families are hard to reach. Even a Ford gets tired. They are far away from the dispensary and the hospital. For them the facilities are hard to reach. They are comparatively individualistic and unamenable to influence and suggestion. They are not subjected to the close scrutiny of their kind and are not held up to certain social standards through close social contact.

*Reasons for County Social Service*

In spite of the difficulty of the work, however, I want to present the following brief arguments in its behalf and in favor of the county as a unit in charity administration.

First, county families are just as human as city families and are entitled to as much consideration in respect to their social needs as are the families of Clinton district, New York City, for example. Unfortunately, I suspect it is better in many respects to be poor in Clinton district than in the fringes of Duval county, Florida.

Second, if one is thorough in his ambitions, the thought of neglected social work fence corners is unbearable. The county represents a geographical unit which is at all points contiguous to another unit of the same sort, or to a natural barrier against habitation; for example, the sea. The problem of bringing social service to all the people is very simple, geographically. The only requisite from that angle is to organize all the counties.

Third, so long as there are social weed patches in the country, the results will make themselves known in the city. Every small town worker knows that her worst problems are in the suburbs. If the work of the associated charities stops at the city limits, its workers can never hope to reach in the early and hopeful stages of their misfortune the families which will later drift across the line and become chief among the troublesome problems. However, once the city limits are crossed, there is no natural stopping place, in at least many instances, short of the county line. That was the case with us, and once we had stepped over we went the limit. The county health officer is a recognition of this principle in public health, and the zone health officer sent by the United States Public Health Service to every army cantonment to clean up the territory surrounding the camp, for the sake of the men inside. Of course, a more admirable argument is my first one. For the sake of the direct social service the county job is well worth doing regardless of the reaction upon the urban population involved; but it is well to remember while we are analyzing the problem that the urban population *is* involved.

As a fourth point, let me suggest that the county unit presents mechanical advantages in the delicate matter of the coordination of facilities. You may be surprised to be reminded that the county commissioners have already been doing social work throughout the whole of their counties, long before a case work program may be projected. With us their work includes the city as well as the country districts, as I have said. Unless such county commissioners as we possess are assisted by a force of case workers you will easily agree they are producing poverty faster than a battery of independent case workers can cure it. Outdoor relief is not the only one of the public facilities that needs to be coordinated with the community scheme. The county infirmary, the county hospital, the county tuberculosis sanitarium, must be brought into harmony, and related to the family case work basis of social work. Arbitrary

rules regarding residence, property, color, or what not, give way before the revolutionizing force of case work discrimination.

As a matter of fact, making county officials see that the administration of charity is a problem, and not a routine, is good for the county commissioners and good for the government which they represent. The charity funds of the county have frequently been known to constitute a real source of demoralization, especially at election time. Harmful as careless giving is to the recipient, it may be still more blessed to receive such than to give. Now I do not wish to be understood as assuming that politics can be made safe for case work through any easy process. I am merely stating my conviction that it is a very important element in the success of the political order that it set about realizing the direct and indirect benefits of a case work program of its own.

Finally, there is this to be said for the county unit. The city we will grant is not sufficiently inclusive for our purpose.

The choice then lies, if we neglect specially laid out geographical units, between the county, a group of counties, and the state. Some social facilities need state-wide organization of course; for example, the state board of health, or the state board of charities. For others, a group of counties may form a convenient unit. Possibly in a program of constructing tuberculosis hospitals this may be the case.

When case work is concerned, many considerations indicate the desirability of not too large a unit. One is the desirability of rendering good and uniform service. Another is the necessity for the support of an informed and active public opinion. A final one is the loyalty to public causes which is possible only on the basis of a strong sense of group self-interest, pride and responsibility.

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## THE COUNTY AS A UNIT OF CHARITY ADMINISTRATION

*William H. Davenport, Secretary, Prisoners' Aid Association, Baltimore*

The county is the most logical unit for charity administration in the rural districts, for several reasons. It is almost everywhere the judicial unit. A very large part of social work in the counties must center around the courts, particularly the juvenile court, and in most states the county is the limit of the jurisdiction of such courts. The county is, in many states, also the unit for medical organizations, and people are accustomed to thinking of it as an administrative unit in medical matters. It is also almost everywhere a unit for certain kinds of taxation. All of these would seem to make it a logical unit for work.

However, the most important reason for regarding the county as a unit is the nature of social case work in rural communities. The percentage of cases needing material relief in rural communities is considerably smaller than that in cities. Out of a year's work in one of the rural counties in Maryland, one hundred and one cases were definitely worked

out, fourteen of these being out-pension cases turned over by the supervisors of outdoor relief for the county. When these were worked out it was found that only five of the fourteen cases which had been on the out-pension lists were really in need of public relief; and of eighty-seven cases reported in other directions only three were found to be cases in which relief was either necessary or expedient. \*

The country community is much more closely knit than is the city community, and the demarcation along economic lines is very much less marked. Cases of relief are dealt with by the neighbors—they are almost always known to them. What is needed is service in various lines,—and a social case worker has far more to do in the way of service than in the way of administration of material relief. The population and size of the county would seem, in most of our states, to indicate that it formed a natural unit both in size and in population for the purposes of a worker.

What I want to emphasize is that the great need in rural communities is not for material relief, as given by supervisors of the poor, or other agents, but is for a trained, capable social worker who can give service. It makes very little difference under what auspices this worker is employed, and whether she approaches her work from the medical side, as a public health nurse, or from the legal side, as a probation officer of either the juvenile or criminal court, or as a case worker for a charity organization. What is really best is a combination of all three.

The average rural community, at least in the South, is unable to employ the large number of workers necessary for any such division as to kinds of work as we have in the city. We must develop for rural work a type of worker who is not a specialist,—one who is capable of handling any kind of social problem which comes to her, with the understanding that wherever necessary additional and more expert help can be called in.

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#### THE COUNTY AS A UNIT IN CHARITY ADMINISTRATION: OUTDOOR RELIEF \*

*George A. Warfield, Professor of Sociology and Dean of the School of Commerce, Denver University; Author of "Outdoor Relief in Missouri"*

Investigation has revealed the most blundering unreason in the treatment of the rural poor. Great progress has been made in recent years in charity organization work in our cities, but rural relief still continues for the most part to be administered under old traditional and unscientific methods.

##### *Abuses Disclosed by Missouri Study*

Just what are the evils of unorganized rural poor relief? The following are some of the most important:

1. The utter lack of adequate or intelligible records. Little does

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\*Extracts from complete paper.



are given to all whose claims are strongly enough put by people of influence, but adequate relief is given to none.

2. Neglect of the most needy and important cases.\*

3. The third evil is unnecessary, demoralizing aid to the more persistent and brazen beggars. Without investigation, case work, friendly visiting and permanent records it is inevitable that this sort of evil will accumulate.

4. Wrong treatment. Without investigation or helpful human touch, action is taken in utter and reckless disregard for actual conditions or consequences. This all charity workers will understand.

5. Local politicians are encouraged to play petty politics and secure help for local supporters. This leads to much graft.

6. Overseers when appointed are left to handle the cases according to their own judgment or lack of judgment and numerous cases occur where no responsibility was assumed at all, and also other cases where the guardians made a positive profit from their positions as trustees for numerous clients, who sometimes trade out their allowances at the guardian's store.

7. Such unscientific relief actually promotes and propagates certain kinds of degeneracy, such as feeble-minded families and immoral or even criminal groups. The number of vicious parasites found as hangers-on, living upon the proceeds of money appropriated for deserving and unfortunate people, was surprising.

8. Names once on the list of pensioners remained indefinitely. As no further investigations were made, pensions were continued to people for ten or a dozen years after all need for assistance had passed.

9. For lack of responsible care and investigation, defective girls, young children, blind boys and others most susceptible to evil influences were found to be placed under the most dangerous environments, including immoral houses.

10. The worst evil of all was the renting of poor unfortunates to the lowest bidder with no investigation ever made, and no questions asked as to how the poor people were cared for or treated.

11. Passing on of transients from one community to another simply to get rid of the responsibility was found to be another practice in practically every county investigated.

#### *The Way of Reform*

*Why cannot charity organization methods be introduced into rural poor relief also?* The social organizations already exist, the methods are known, the means of communication and of education of the public to

\*For description of cases and a fuller statement of principles discussed in this address, the reader is referred to the author's work, *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

the need of charity organization already exists. The rural case work should be done in the same way as it has so long been successfully carried on in the city. Complete case records, and a confidential exchange with the history of every client should be kept. In the rural districts it is easier to get this information than in the slums of the crowded city. Each home should be visited by a trained social worker and exact information secured as to the causes of poverty and the special needs of each individual case ascertained. Relief can then be given suited to each, and constructive helpful methods can be developed. The social life of each community can be organized around its school or community church, and local problems can be studied under the leadership of trained workers from the town or village. Already the experiment has been tried of combining the charity work of the town or city and the surrounding county, carrying into the rural work the same scientific methods so successfully used in our city work. This work has been authorized by law in North Carolina, and started in Michigan and in Los Angeles, California, and at half a dozen points in Iowa.

Perhaps the most interesting experiment is that at Grinnell, Iowa, which has been in operation since 1912 and which has been mentioned in this and former meetings of the National Conference. The Iowa plan is simply this, to secure the appointment of a trained charity organization secretary for the organization of the charity work of the city or town; then to have this same person appointed overseer of the poor of the county. Local charity societies may be organized in the larger towns of the county and can carry on their work with the advice and help of the charity organization secretary. Thus it may be possible to visit each of the few homes where relief is actually needed throughout the rural districts, records can be kept, facts can be found out, and relief given of the exact kind and character needed in each particular case. The trained charity worker can also establish many other social agencies in the county.\*

With the gratifying results already obtained at Grinnell, Ottumwa and other places named, it would seem that no reason exists and no excuse for the continuance of the clumsy, vicious methods of the past, which are still found in practically all of the rural districts.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Others who participated in this discussion were: Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Amy C. Steinhart, Sacramento; Edward F. Lynde, Grand Rapids, Mich.; James O. White, Cincinnati; Elizabeth Dutcher, Beloit, Wis.; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis.

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\*See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, pp. 645-7.

## REFORM OF JAIL ADMINISTRATION IN VERMONT

*Frank H. Tracy, Sheriff of Washington County, Montpelier, Vermont*

No question confronts the American people of more importance than that of treatment of the delinquent. Some have committed crimes which are appalling, but the large majority of offenses are of minor character. The world has, and always will have, some who, on account of the seriousness of their crimes, will have to be kept in confinement. This the public demands and has a right to expect. But there still remains that much larger class who should not be subject to the same rules, and should not be compelled to associate with those who commit crimes of a more serious nature. For this class, men who have had the care of them, and who have had both the welfare of society and that of the prisoner at heart, have in the last few years found a better way.

I have seen a boy whose only offense was a second one of intoxication, handcuffed to a man with a record, transported across the state in this manner and compelled to spend his time during his confinement in his company. Through the efforts of a very few men this has largely been changed. Those who are entitled to this credit are such men as Governor West of Oregon, Warden Gilmour of Ontario, Tom Tynan of Colorado and William Homer of Great Meadow Prison, New York. When these men started this reform almost everybody felt that prisoners could not be trusted, and the work had to be done against public opinion. It is easy now, and why? Because people have come to learn that criminals are human beings; that it is better to lift one up than to push him down. They have seen that want, privation,—almost starvation, have come to the families of these men, and that the disgrace for the family was as great as for the men. The old Mosaic law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," has been discarded. Officers of the law are responsible, as to whether the men committed leave their care better or worse than when committed. Many a man is serving sentence today who, had someone stood his friend, put his hand on his shoulder and said, "Come on, old man," might have been saved.

Among the institutions that have been criticized the most is the county jail, and for this I am to attempt to speak. The jailor has no motive or incentive to work along the lines adopted in the larger institutions. He is paid for the board of those committed and nothing more. For the last eighteen years I have had the care of a county jail carrying from thirty to seventy prisoners. Eight years we were under an old law, under which the men were not allowed to work. Their time was spent in idleness. They went from their terms of imprisonment worse mentally and physically than when committed.

In the year 1906 the legislature of Vermont passed the prison labor law, as follows:

SECTION 1. "A male prisoner imprisoned in a county jail for being found intoxicated, for a breach of the peace, or for being a tramp may be required to

perform not more than ten hours of manual labor within or without the walls of said county jail each day except Sundays, or legal holidays.

SEC. 2. "The labor to be performed shall be classified and fixed from time to time by the prison board hereinafter created in and for each county and to be constituted as hereinafter provided and shall be subject to such rules and regulations as are adopted by said board to secure humane treatment of said prisoners and provide employment within or without the walls of such county jail.

SEC. 3. "The Assistant Judges of the County Court, the Sheriff, and County Supervisor of highways shall compose said prison board.

SEC. 4. "Said board within its respective counties and subject to the rules and regulations to be established under the provisions of section two of this act and under such control and management as shall be therein and thereafter provided shall have authority to require and compel said prisoners to work on the public highways within their respective counties.

SEC. 5. "Said board is hereby authorized to expend such sum out of the public money in the treasury of its county as is required for the purchase of material and tools adapted to the work hereinafter provided.

SEC. 6. "Said board shall have authority to employ such deputies or other officers as shall be required for the supervision, safe keeping and good conduct of said prisoners while employed within or without the walls of said county jail and the compensation of such officers or deputies shall be fixed by said board not to exceed two dollars per day for said services." (And I might add that we have never paid out one dollar for such supervision, although at times I have had as many as twenty-five men working at least fifteen different places.)

SEC. 7. "If a prisoner while employed as aforesaid without the walls of a county jail makes his escape, such prisoner shall be deemed guilty of committing a prison breach and shall be subject to like penalties as are now provided by law for prison breach.

SEC. 8. "Imprisonments for a breach of the peace for a period of not exceeding three months and all imprisonments for being found intoxicated or for being a tramp shall be in the county where the offense was committed, the proceeds of such labor, if any, shall be applied in payment of materials and tools furnished as aforesaid and the balance, if any, shall be turned over to the State Treasurer."

This law took effect January 1st, 1907. The legislature of 1908 passed the following law:

"Whenever a person is convicted of a crime not a felony which may be punished by imprisonment and a sentence of imprisonment either primary or alternative is imposed if the minimum term of imprisonment shall not exceed one year the sentence shall be that the respondent be confined at hard labor for the term of the sentence in the county jail where the offense was committed."

From that time conditions have changed. We have employed outside without guards over thirty-five hundred men, scattered over an area ten miles wide, going and coming like common workmen, wearing ordinary clothes; and during these years we have lost but two men. We have paid men and their families over twelve thousand dollars, paid to the state about ten thousand dollars, and have bought with state money hundreds of dollars worth of clothing.

This has been done simply on the honor system; the men lock and unlock themselves more frequently than does the jailor, himself. Two little cards have been used to which we attribute some of our success, one of which reads like this:

MY FRIEND—For a little while you and I are compelled to live under the same roof, and, in a way, to be in each other's company. You came without an invitation from me. Probably you had no intention that we should meet in this way. During your stay your treatment will largely depend on your behavior. Probably you have made a mistake, perhaps done wrong. I have done both, most all have. Let us both, the little while we are together, try and do as we would be done by. Should we both do this, I am sure we can part with respect for each other. My earnest wish is that I may be a better man for having known you and that you may be none the worse for having met me.



The other is a pledge card:

MONTPELIER, VT.,.....191...  
 I hereby freely and voluntarily promise and agree that, while I am a prisoner confined in the Washington County Jail, or employed as a prisoner outside the walls, I will abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors of every kind and character; that I will not play cards for money or for any article of value; that I will break none of the laws of the State; that I will not violate any of the rules of the jail; and that I will at all times conduct myself as a gentleman.

Of these we have over one thousand signed that we know have never been broken.

Books might be filled with the experiences of men who are trying the honor system. I have had my share of them, some of them too sacred to be put in print. The prisons and jails of this country have tried for a century the idea of *man-breaking*; now let us try the new principle of *man-making*.

Some day we shall all stand before the court where no mistakes are made. Shall it be said of us: "I was in prison and ye visited me not?"

"Just stand aside and watch yourself go by:  
 Think of yourself as 'he' instead of 'I,'  
 Not closely as in other men you note,  
 The bag-kneed trousers and the seedy coat:  
 Pick flaws; find fault; forget the man is you,  
 And strive to make your estimate ring true,  
 Comfort yourself and look you in the eye,  
 Just stand aside and watch yourself go by."

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Dr. Hastings H. Hart*, director, department of child helping, of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, in presiding said substantially: Jail conditions are complicated because of twofold use. It is a place of detention of persons waiting trial, held as witnesses, or detained pending grand jury inquiry. It is used also for imprisonment of misdemeanants. There is frequently a lack of classification of prisoners. The supervision is often by a jailor who secures his appointment because he is a political ward heeler. There is only one satisfactory basis for classification and that is that each prisoner be in a class by himself. This is not only humane, but wise. The jail ought to be the best reformatory institution in the community.

2. The exhibit prepared for the discussions of this section by *Dr. Hart* was then made the subject of examination and criticism by delegates present. Jail construction, principles of administration, reformatory methods, the indeterminate sentence and other features were discussed informally.

3. Afterward the address by Sheriff Tracy of Vermont, which is reproduced on the preceding pages, was given.

4. *James F. Bagley*, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Maine, reported that two sheriffs of his state were doing work similar to that of Sheriff Tracy: Charles E. Dunn, Houlton, sheriff

of Aroostook county; and John H. Weymouth Dover, deputy sheriff, Piscataquis county.

5. *Alice Adams Fulton*, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Colorado, Denver, said: We have had an exactly similar experience in Colorado in connection with our State Reformatory. Our present warden, Mr. M. P. Capp, was certified and appointed from the civil service eligible list in 1914, and one of the very first reforms he instituted was allowing boys to go outside the walls of the reformatory on parole without any supervision whatever, excepting that of their employers, to work for wages on the neighboring farms. These wages all went to the boys themselves, sometimes going to the support of their mothers or wives and babies, as many of these boys are married, and sometimes the money is kept until the boy leaves the institution and is given to him then for his own personal use.

In the Fall of 1914 the party that came into power in Colorado was of the opposite political faith of Mr. Capp and the attempt was made to oust him, along with a number of other institution heads, to make room for "patronage." One of the charges brought against Mr. Capp before the civil service commission was that he had violated the laws of the state in permitting the boys to go outside the walls of the institution without supervision. Whether he violated the law or not, the system worked so admirably that he was sustained in every instance and is still warden of the State Reformatory.

During three years of this system not one boy ever escaped or attempted to escape while working on his own honor away from the institution. Last year the boys earned \$7,500 for themselves while employed on other people's farms and also produced about \$30,000 worth of farm products on the lands owned or leased by the institution. Altogether the boys have earned \$15,000—or more—which has gone to support their families or themselves after leaving the institution, and at the same time saved the state the expense of their maintenance.

Farm labor in this time of war is of great value to our country. This year already over 80 per cent of the boys are at work outside the walls of the institution, either as trustees, wholly unguarded, or semi-trustees, being accompanied by an overseer,—although there is no law permitting it.

6. *J. M. Hanson*, general secretary, Community Service Society, Youngstown, Ohio, explained how the municipal lodging house conducted by his organization with the cooperation of city officials was dealing successfully with vagrants and other misdemeanants, including men convicted on charges of non-support. Under the parole laws of the state they choose to work for the railways trucking freight, under guard, at regular wages in lieu of a jail or workhouse sentence for a longer period. One dollar a day is deducted for maintenance and the balance is paid to the men upon their release. In case the man has a family dependent upon him, his wages are paid to the family through the municipal court. This scheme is fully self-sustaining and much labor is supplied to the community from this class of men, who are ordinarily an expense and a burden to the community.

7. *Amos W. Butler*, secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, emphasized that jails in small communities should be of simple construction and easiest of administration. He explained how the Indiana State Farm at Putnamville came about and the results. These showed how the farm helped the prisoners and how it had contributed to a decided lessening in the jail population.

8. Others who participated in the informal discussion were: H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Ohio; F. E. Broyles, Columbia, S. C.; Charles R. Johnson, Worcester, Mass.; William J. Ahern, Concord, N. H.; Calvin Derrick, New York; Prof. Franklin Johnson, Toronto; J. L. Wagner, Jefferson City, Mo.

### STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE ALMSHOUSE

*Clyde R. McKinniss, M. D., Superintendent, Pittsburgh City Home and Hospitals*

The social reconstruction through which the greater part of the world is passing today is presenting many problems for solution. In glancing over the program of the forty-fifth conference of this organization, and listening to the addresses we have heard and the discussion they bring forth, we are profoundly impressed with the magnitude of the work the members of this Conference will be called upon to do within the next few years.

The world today seems much smaller than it did a short four years ago, when distance seemed to separate us from the other large nations, but rapidity of travel and communication have almost eliminated distance, and the common principles of the rights of others, for which we have always stood, have drawn us closer to those nations who are sacrificing all, that those same principles may endure. While this great conflict is going on and after the sacrifices have been rewarded, we shall all be called upon to exert our utmost efforts to improve and preserve our social fabric. The different public agencies represented here have already commenced to feel the tugging of increasing needs, and this will continue to increase for some time to come.

Daily we are told to give, to save and to produce. To give our time, money, energy and the lives of our men and women. To save foods, clothing and daylight. To produce everything we can that will assist us in attaining success in the present struggle. Our whole life, industrial and social, has been speeded up so much to meet present conditions that changes in methods and standards of efficiency have taken place in many lines. Those of us interested in charitable work are daily facing greater demands for assistance with a full realization of limited resources, and to keep our standard of almshouse administration at the proper level we must make these resources meet the demands.

The giving of alms, or almshouse care, has long been looked upon as a rather unpleasant, though necessary, duty of society to the needy. When this duty has been perfunctorily discharged, we are prone to lose interest as to the standard of care, but the broad views on the many phases of race betterment, as expressed at this Conference, indicate that men and women are awake to the great need at this time of a nation-wide movement to insure the continued progress of our country. Every one of us has our part to play and the degree of efficiency with which we play our part will measure the value of the work.

The administration of the almshouse has no little part in charitable efforts of a community and the standards should be as high as it is possible for each community to maintain. Will Carleton's graphic word picture of the neglect and poverty of old age in *Over the Hills to the Poor House* could not be possible in the present decade. I feel confident his dear "old woman of seventy" would never have "trudged over the hill to the poor house." Instead, our modern investigator or social worker would have interviewed Charley, Susan, Thomas and Rebecca and the family would have been rehabilitated. The well qualified investigator is one of the most beneficial adjuncts to almshouse administration especially in thickly populated poor districts where a floating population requires more than casual observation of those asking aid. Every application should, in justice to the taxpayer, be carefully investigated as to legal residence, worthiness of applicant and the ability of relatives to assume the responsibility of his care; but when this investigation is completed and the inmate accepted, the responsibility of his care rests upon the institution, which is accountable to the community which it represents. The institution should have a co-operating organization unhampered by the undesirable type of local politics. It is only occasionally that almshouses are called upon to care for any number of able bodied persons, as was seen in the Pittsburgh district during the winter of 1914-15, due to the great industrial depression, but the majority of almshouse inmates must be classed with those who are not able, alone, to meet the complex problems of life. Their inability may be due to many causes, but a close study will show that more applications for admissions are the result of medical needs than of poverty. These conditions, we believe, will be found generally uniform over the country but, for example, let me quote a few statistics from the admissions to the Pittsburgh City Home and Hospitals for the first three months of this year, four hundred and twenty-four men and seventy-eight women, a total of five hundred and two, were admitted during January, February and March of this year. The conditions which caused the admissions were as follows:

123	No home, deserted, crippled or paralyzed.
148	Pulmonary disorders (tuberculosis 85, pneumonia, etc.)
15	Cardio-vascular diseases.
95	Infectious (including venereal, skin and gland infections).
63	Nervous and mental conditions, including alcoholism, morphinism, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy.
58	Other medical disorders.
502	Total.

A blood examination was made in 146 inmates of those admitted and positive (Wasserman) findings for luetic infection were found in fifty-five and negative in ninety-one. We have frequently had come to us those unable to pay for treatment for venereal disease, asking relief, as they were unable to receive this treatment elsewhere.

#### *The Almshouse and the Community*

A recent study of *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh* by Abraham Epstein shows that the Negro race alone has increased the population in



the Pittsburgh district of Allegheny county, Pa., by over 18,500 in less than three years. This has been due to the great need for common labor and as the European labor markets are closed the Negro was called upon to fill the demand. With this great influx of a people accustomed to a mild climate and open air life of the South, into the somewhat rigid winter and cramped housing conditions of our city, there necessarily came to the almshouse and hospital the responsibility of caring for the newcomers who needed care and treatment.

These conditions have been cited to sustain a firm belief, which has been reached after considerable effort to solve the almshouse problem of administration. The present conception of the poorhouse or almshouse is inadequate to meet the pressing needs of those whom fortune has forced to seek its shelter. We should take a broader view of our responsibility in the matter, so that the efforts in a community need not mean simply a home in which to sleep and food to eat but a *hospital-home*,—a center from which may radiate the efforts for improvement of the poor for the district in which it is located, and carrying with it no more stigma than the dispensing of free milk and ice to babies.

The splendid opportunity in a community is often grasped, of making the almshouse farm, grounds or stock a standard from which the neighbors may learn and copy with satisfaction and profit to themselves and the whole community, a show place to exhibit the activities of which they are justly proud, a place where the farm agent can get together the farmers and give practical demonstrations of the various problems of farming and stock husbandry. Then why not do as much for the inmate for whose care and treatment the whole organization is planned?

Why not make the house-keeping a model of cleanliness and economic management from which the most exacting housewife may copy? The arrangement of the dietary is of great importance at this time when foods are almost the balancing power in the world war, so that it is highly necessary that the institution farm should be made to produce as much as possible those things of high food value, and it has been our observation that the food producer is meeting this responsibility in the proper spirit. In the institution which I have the privilege to represent here, our farmer was able to increase the farm output from \$38,068.14 in 1916 to \$67,641.56 in 1917. Some of this increase can be accounted by the increase in market prices and some by a good season generally for farming, but the principal reason is a well worked out plan of farm management to produce definite ends.

#### *The Food Question*

Our efforts must not end here, but these foods must be collected without waste and reach the table well prepared and in the proper quantities. This necessitates the working out of a dietary, giving due consideration to the class of people to be fed and the food values of the portions furnished. To illustrate this, our menu for the week \* of April 29th. 1918, is offered, which shows the foods furnished at each meal, the quan-

\*Three days, only, selected for publication.

tity to each inmate in the home dining-room, the caloric value of the food and the cost per capita. There is also shown in ounces the amount of waste per capita, which represents the unusable food returned from the table as scraps. A little careful management has enabled us to materially reduce the item of waste.

## FEMALE HOME—APRIL 29, 1918—POPULATION 99

MENU—	Ounces Per Capita	Calories Per Capita	Waste Per Capita	Cost Per Capita
Bread .....	8.4484	620.1125	.3232	\$0.02296
Roll'd Oats .....	1.315	148.069	.....	.00434
Barley .....	.6961	69.5749	.1731	.00244
Corn Beef .....	4.039	341.2955	.....	.03453
Parasnips .....	14.045	258.428	3.511	.00877
Potatoes .....	4.309	81.871	1.077	.00473
Prunes .....	2.1542	156.395	.....	.01884
Coffee .....	.....	.....	.....	.00172
Total .....		1675.7459		\$0.09993

## MALE HOME—APRIL 29, 1918—POPULATION 216

MENU—	Ounces Per Capita	Calories Per Capita	Waste Per Capita	Cost Per Capita
Bread .....	14.15	1038.61	.592	\$0.03830
Roll'd Oats .....	.918	103.36	.....	.00292
Barley .....	.697	70.118	.112	.00246
Corn Beef .....	4.048	342.056	.....	.03461
Parasnips .....	13.242	194.65	3.21	.00927
Potatoes .....	4.043	76.91	.93	.00545
Prunes .....	1.822	95.97	.....	.00115
Coffee .....	.....	.....	.....	.00149
Total .....		1921.697		\$0.10607

## FEMALE HOME—MAY 3, 1918—POPULATION 97

MENU—	Ounces Per Capita	Calories Per Capita	Waste Per Capita	Cost Per Capita
Bread .....	8.577	629.511	.495	\$0.02331
Roll'd Oats .....	1.342	151.109	.....	.00112
Fish .....	5.108	205.341	.....	.08590
Figs .....	1.546	138.830	.....	.01088
Peaches .....	.386	36.959	.....	.00300
Coffee .....	.....	.....	.....	.00172
Total .....		1161.750		\$0.07593

## MALE HOME—MAY 3, 1918—POPULATION 216

MENU—	Per Capita Ounces	Per Capita Calories	Per Capita Waste	Per Capita Cost
Bread .....	14.481	1052.905	2.05	\$0.03935
Roll'd Oats .....	.964	103.546	...	.00318
Fish .....	3.441	138.328	...	.02419
Figs .....	.925	83.145	...	.00622
Peaches .....	.231	22.084	...	.00180
Coffee .....	.....	.....	...	.00149
Total .....		1405.008		\$0.07623

## FEMALE HOME—MAY 4, 1918—POPULATION 96

MENU—	Ounces Per Capita	Calories Per Capita	Waste Per Capita	Cost Per Capita
Bread .....	8.66	635.644	.833	\$0.02255
Oatmeal .....	1.889	156.457	.....	.00459
Beef .....	4.861	426.309	.....	.05918
Hominy .....	2.380	239.25	.....	.00772
Potatoes .....	4.861	92.359	.....	.00645
Peaches .....	2.00	191.2	.....	.01563
Coffee .....	.....	.....	.....	.00170
Total .....		1771.219		\$0.11886

## MALE HOME—MAY 4, 1918—POPULATION 216

MENU—	Ounces Per Capita	Calories Per Capita	Waste Per Capita	Cost Per Capita
Bread .....	14.15	1088.61	1.48	\$0.02820
Oatmeal .....	.918	103.866	...	.00298
Beef .....	4.048	855.01	...	.04280
Hominy .....	3.169	217.98	...	.00705
Potatoes .....	4.048	76.91	...	.00545
Peaches .....	1.803	115.078	...	.00940
Coffee .....	.....	.....	...	.00149
Total.....		1906.949		\$0.11855

The time has not arrived when we are placed on a definite food allowance and we sincerely hope it will not be necessary for such order to be issued, but we must realize that this matter rests to a great extent with ourselves and depends upon our voluntary efforts of food conservation. We have found the making of a yearly budget covering all supplies to be of great help, especially in the matter of foods, and each month to check up the budget estimate with the foods furnished at the current prices. This furnishes us daily the per capita food cost, as well as to keep us in close touch with the institution finances.

Some criticism has been made of the budget system as being based only on guess work or approximate estimates and, while this is true to some extent, the estimates are based on a fairly definite consumption and staple articles can be contracted for in sufficient quantities to cover a period of several months. The very unsatisfactory shipping conditions of the past winter will convince us all the more of the necessity of making provision during the summer for the coming winter, when the shipping facilities will again be overtaxed.

### Conclusion

The almshouse management should co-operate as much as possible with other agencies in charitable work, and by the intelligent co-ordination of local efforts along this line many things may be accomplished that would otherwise be impossible.

If we should try to sum up in a few words what we have taken some time to say regarding standards of almshouse administration, it would be to urge an efficient business management, as would be required in any successful enterprise with a similar capital invested, and with that an effort to solve the problem the inmate brings to us, by caring for his immediate wants as to food, clothing, housing and medical care, and, what seems even more important, to get at the known causes which make the almshouse necessary, such as feeble-mindedness, alcoholism and venereal infection, and attempt to decrease, if not to stop, the "trudging over the hill to the poorhouse."

## STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION OF ALMSHOUSES OR HOSPITAL HOMES

*D. L. Edson, Agent, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Jefferson  
City, Missouri*

Less than two years ago it was my privilege to visit more than 90 per cent of Missouri's almshouses. By comparing conditions as I found them in this state, with those as outlined in the reports from other states, I conclude that Missouri ranks neither first nor last in her almshouse standards.

We are like most states in that the county is the unit to which the poverty stricken must go for care, unless such county contains a large city; in such cases the municipalities bear a part in the administration of poor relief.

### *County System Defective*

In this state of 115 counties we have 97 county almshouses accommodating—or otherwise—a few more than three thousand paupers. During the many weary drives and tiresome waits while inspecting these institutions, time for reflecting has many times brought the question, "Is this the way to deal with the problem of poverty?" And the answer ever came quickly and emphatically, "No." There are several reasons that may be pointed out to show that we are not approaching a solution of poverty in counties which are principally rural. In the first place, there is a striking lack of uniformity of these 97 almshouses. It is possible for 97 different policies to be employed, because the county court in each case is the directing and administering agent. In other words, 300 different men burdened with the detailed cares of the counties' many activities, are called upon to pause in the midst of discussion of roads, public buildings, and "taking care of the boys," to decide how best to meet this problem of pauperism. While it is possible to have many different policies, one seems to be a favorite, namely, to wait until the pauper is down and out, demanding immediate aid and then to do the easiest thing.

The prevailing policy seems to show always a lack of any effort to decrease pauperism by the application of any scientific principles. There is one easy thing to do: Give food varying in all degrees of quality and quantity, clothe them extremely well or in as few old rags as their conscience will permit, bed them on excellent hospital beds or on nothing but piles of straw, house them in institutions elaborate and expensive, imposing and beautiful, or lodge them in old shacks, log built, chinked and dobed with mud, reeking with vile filth and alive with vermin. This is the wide range of conditions that prevail.

Sanitation by this county system is a variable quantity. Some institutions are so located that they may avail themselves of city light and water and sewage disposal; others located in the country sometimes have their own modern heating, light and water facilities. But equipment



alone does not make sanitation. I have found more sanitary conditions in almshouses built of logs, floored with rough boards, using straw beds, than I have found in some of the expensive institutions with every convenience for sanitation.

Another glaring lack in this county system is any intelligent effort to segregate or classify the inmates. In many instances negroes of both sexes mingle with white men and women and children sandwiched in. One classification should be by sexes. In a few instances I have seen the awful results from this unrestricted, unsupervised mingling of the sexes in the almshouses. Mentality should be another consideration in classifying the inmates; while for the most part the almshouse is the junk heap of society, yet we find often worthy poor of good mentality who have to seek protection in the almshouse. Again, classifications should be along the lines of health. Those of you familiar with almshouse conditions have seen the tubercular and cancerous placed in the same ward, many times in the same bed, with one of sound body.

Do not think that these conditions are typical. Far from it. But these conditions do exist all too frequently, and because it is possible for them to exist we should consider some way to make them impossible, and to advance toward an ultimate goal where we can feel that we are solving the problem of poverty-care.

#### *Centralization Advocated*

Some states are attempting to set up standards through supervising agencies, and some claim to have made considerable progress. But I believe they will acknowledge that it has been a long, hard fight to attain even a little progress, and that they will also acknowledge that they are dissatisfied with the progress made, and hopeless of achieving a standardization equaling in any way their ideal.

Two years ago one would have been the object of derision had he dared suggest the proposition that the county almshouse should be dispensed with. But this has pointed the way for efficiency and given us a mental attitude whereby we are not only willing to tolerate centralization, but we are demanding it in the conduct of all agencies and forces, where efficiency is expected. With pauperism the same principle holds. While the public mind is willing to accept centralization, I believe we should avail ourselves of the opportunity in the field of pauper care.

To begin with, let us, as far as possible, dispense with the present day almshouse in name and in practice. In its stead, build a hospital-home, to accommodate the poverty stricken ones from a group of counties, the county grouping to be made with the ideas of accessibility to counties included in the district and of having a large enough number of paupers to warrant the employment of sufficient force to care for and direct the institution. Instead of making the place a retreat, let us make it a home. For Missouri, having more than 3,000 paupers, I believe that four institutions, properly distributed might care for our paupers at less expense and with far greater efficiency than is done at the present time. In the

first place, the institution should be under a board or commission whose main consideration is to see to the proper management of these institutions. These large institutions should be better located, planned and constructed to meet the conditions which they are supposed to fulfill. They should be supported by state funds or by some such plan as that by which the insane are now cared for. Multiplication of institutions in all counties is not only expensive, but extravagant and inefficient.

#### *Economy and Opportunity*

In this state as much as \$60,000 is expended for superintendents' salaries annually, when \$20,000 would employ four superintendents, who should be specialists. Under this plan the main consideration would be proper care of paupers, and not how to make the most money operating the county farm. Attendants should be employed for a specific purpose, one for which they are qualified, and not because of a political pull.

This larger institution would admit of a careful classification of inmates; of a grouping of those of similar personalities and inclination; of a segregation of those a menace to the peace of mind and health of body of others. We can even conceive of an institution of this kind employing a dietitian to prepare food more palatable and no less expensive than white salt bacon and other equally difficult foods to digest, which are a common item on almshouse tables.

Another feature embodied in this larger institution should be employment, planned, graded, and adapted to those able to work. Instead of having the idle, dissatisfied, fussing and scolding inmates we now have, a large number might be employed for their own benefit and for the interest of society. Many pauper women can knit, sew, weave, and do many other things, but seldom is it done where the superintendent's wife must be cook, dietitian, housekeeper, and frequently superintendent as well. Employment could be found in this new institution for many of the men. Recreation should come in for more consideration. Play and entertainment graded to the minds and interests of the inmates should be provided, for after all, many of these old children are in need of entertainment, as much so as any six year old child.

The nearest approach I have seen to this plan is the Polk county institution at Des Moines, Iowa. This county cares for the incurable insane at its poorhouse, segregating them from the other inmates. The paupers are classified fairly well.

On the same grounds there is a small hospital for tubercular patients. This little institution was under the supervision of a trained nurse and the county's poor tuberculosis patients are given up-to-date treatment. There is a hospital—an old residence converted into a place where the poor of the county can receive medical attention. An operating room has been fitted up, and needed operations are performed for the poor.

These state institutions, as outlined above, for the care of paupers might also administer to the public health of that district. Because peo-

ple have not the funds with which to buy necessary medical attention, minor ailments should not be neglected, with the prospect of becoming chronic diseases. Public health should be accepted as an essential, as much so as public education, and unless we can carry the idea of prevention to the extent of establishing community clinics—preventive agencies—so that we might erase diseases, let us at least make medical treatment available to all, not only available but mandatory, and until the visiting nurse becomes as familiar an object as the monthly bill collector, and clinical treatment as free as education and mail service, let us offer to everyone hospital service. When this has been done, instead of much of today's permanent poverty we will have only temporary dependency, and the almshouse, with its stigma, with its random policy and its slipshod methods, will give way to the hospital-home where the poor will receive care embodying the principles of modern science, efficiency, prevention and economy.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALMSHOUSES \*

*S. I. Meseraull, Superintendent, Wyandotte County Home, Kansas City, Kansas*

There are two things necessary in caring for the poor to comply with the wishes of the people: one is comfortable housing; the other, clean and palatable food.

As a general rule the first item—the housing—is a misfit or a lucky happening, as far as convenience is concerned. If a modern building is to replace an old one the matter is left in the hands of an architect. The architect has studied plans, designs, etc., but he has never managed an almshouse, consequently his planning, be it ever so nice, may not fit the needs at all. If the keeper is not experienced in the work he can only make suggestions, with the result that a certain element of guesswork and experimenting enters into the plans.

The average almshouse is not the most inviting place to keep help and everything should be planned to make every convenience do double duty. Every corner should be cut, every footstep saved, every modern convenience should be installed because a great deal of the work about an almshouse is pure drudgery; the more drudgery the less efficiency from the help—and efficiency in help is a very large factor in the success of the administration of every public institution.

Formerly it was quite the style to have large kitchens. Now the modern kitchen is compact. Convenience is built-in, and every unnecessary footstep eliminated.

The wards should be built so sunshine can enter every room a part of the day. Large porches, wide and comfortable, should be built to allow the inmates an airing and furnish the comforts of outdoor life without danger to the feeble. Unless a very large institution, it should not be over two stories high.

\*An abstract.

Dining rooms should be accessible to all wards. Avoid too much stair-climbing by inmates. Every ward should be large enough to furnish a small parlor or lounging room for the inmates.

The first thing in respect to food is a good cook. Do not depend on your cook to make up the bill of fare. He does not do the buying and has no particular information about what you have in sight from the supply market. Relieve him from these worries. Study your supplies and feed accordingly. Know your food values.

The art of close buying is not the ability of buying the cheapest. An inferior article of food at a low price is often the dearest. A roundtable talk with the cook is the most profitable hour of the day. A man may be a good cook and still not fill the bill until he gets acquainted with your ideas.

Don't buy too far ahead. Seasons change. Prepare your bill of fare a week ahead. Don't hand it in a day at a time. Give the cook a chance. Serve a good breakfast and dinner and a light supper. The inmates will sleep better and require less medicine.

A certain institution formerly spent as much for meat in one month as is spent now for groceries, meat, and bread, for the same number of inmates. And the inmates are actually looking healthier without the meat and are better fed. Old people—and 95 per cent of our inmates are old people—are living in the rheumatic zone of life. Heavy meats every day increase their sufferings.

Keep a book account of your farm products and expense. Sometimes leaks go on that eat up the profits. Have hours for the workers and see that they keep those hours. Labor saving devices often encourage inmates to do a small part. Frequently an inmate is able to do something worth while and yet unable to make a living in the competitive world.

I was told, when visiting a children's home, that old people could not be trained like children. In some things this is so, but in others they will obey more readily than children. Study your conditions and make rules to fit. A superintendent is the same as a judge in the matter of rules and government of the inmates. It is their only court and patience must be used as well as common sense and judgment.

If you are in doubt about certain things, find out. Visit other institutions. See what the rest of the world is doing. Plan your course in conducting the almshouse just the same as you would plan a business venture or a vacation.

Modern arrangements are as much for the poor as for the rest of the world. It all depends how they are handled whether the poor get their portion. Make them feel that these things are for them and see that they get their portion in some equitable way.

If your building is not modern, do the best you can. The methods can be brought up to date and intelligent planning will often make an old institution take on new ways. After all, the building is only a place to live in and it remains for the management to stamp it with the good influences of the day. If you show a spirit of aggressiveness and plan



things along that line the inmates will often fall in line and do things differently. The management sets the pace.

Make the almshouse home-like. Surround it with flowers, clean yards and walks. Take away the sting by changing poor house methods into modern home methods. Invite your neighbors in and let them see how their money is spent.

Some aggravations are bound to occur, but after all the inmates are a lot of children, grown out of the noontime of life, calmly waiting for the golden sunset. Rule them, but kindly. Their words of praise for the kindness of the home is sweet music to hear, and pays for all the trials of the average almshouse.

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### THE DISTRICT ALMSHOUSE FOR ILLINOIS

*Annie Hinrichsen, Executive Secretary, State Welfare Commission,  
Springfield, Illinois*

We all, I believe, agree upon the general standards of almshouse construction and administration. I shall speak only, therefore, of the legislation which has definitely affected the almshouse situation in Illinois.

The Illinois almshouses are operated under the state pauper law passed in 1874. This law has not been materially changed until the last session of the legislature. But in the last ten years new laws of our state, designed for the benefit of several classes of dependents and defectives, have radically changed the almshouse situation.

#### *The Insane*

Nine years ago a law was enacted forbidding the holding of the insane in the almshouses. This law has made sweeping changes in our institutions. It has eliminated what in Illinois was the most vexing problem of the almshouse. The conditions of the insane in the almshouses were unspeakably vile. It was utterly impossible to care intelligently for this class of inmates in county institutions. Consequently, our almshouses were dens of horror. The law of 1909 compelled the removal of all insane persons to state hospitals. In the first two or three years after the law went into effect several hundred persons were removed from the almshouses. The result was an improvement of every county home in the state.

It was several years before this law was thoroughly understood by the county officials. When in 1915 I made my first inspection of the almshouses I found more than 100 persons in these homes manifestly insane. No less than a dozen county judges informed me that they could not send them to the state hospitals and quoted our old law as the reason for holding the insane in county homes. With this law nine years on our statutes we are still compelled to demand sanity hearings and transfer inmates to state institutions. The law is, however, fairly well understood now. It has been the duty of the state almshouse inspector to

insist upon the enforcement of this law. It is not within the province of the layman to determine the sanity of any person, but the rule has been that every person held in restraint or who is noisy and seriously troublesome shall be given a sanity hearing. There has not yet been an instance in which a sanity hearing was asked by the inspector which has not resulted in a commitment.

#### *Children and Other Classes*

We have had for fifty years a law authorizing but not demanding the commitment of the almshouse children to the state orphanage. This orphanage was established for soldiers' orphans with the proviso that when the soldiers' orphans were taken care of other dependent children should be admitted, preference being given to the almshouse child. We have now only a small number of soldiers' orphans and we take the almshouse children. It has not been the policy of our state to take care of a normal dependent child. We have no facilities for his care except at the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. We have therefore been compelled to ask the counties to take care of their own dependent children through home finding societies and private orphanages. But there are counties which have absolutely refused to place their children under the care of the various volunteer agencies and have sent them to the almshouse. When a county refuses to take proper care of its children and ships them to the almshouse we remove them to the state orphanage. We strongly suspect that there are several counties which collect their dependent children and place them in the almshouse about the time they think the almshouse inspector will come. We will not leave children in the almshouses and we permit the counties to impose their burdens upon us rather than let the children suffer.

In 1915 we secured our really excellent law for the commitment of the feeble-minded to the state institutions. Previous to 1915 the feeble-minded were admitted to the Lincoln school instead of being committed. For two years the commitment law has been in force. We may under this law demand the removal of the feeble-minded in the almshouses to the state colony. The new law resulted in the overcrowding of the institution. On account of the overcrowded condition we have not asked the removal of all feeble-minded persons. We are asking, however, and securing the commitment of the feeble-minded women of child bearing age. Under this law we are able to eradicate two of the great evils of the almshouse—the feeble-minded, unmoral woman and the illegitimate almshouse child.

The old soldier, his wife, widow, mother or daughter cannot be sent to an almshouse without the consent of the nearest post commander of the G. A. R. The soldiers and their families must be cared for in their own homes by county funds or sent to the state institutions. We find few violations of this law, for the old soldiers see to it that their comrades receive the benefits of the laws.

*The Blind; Tuberculosis*

A law which is definitely affecting the almshouse population in our state is the one authorizing pensions to the indigent blind. Until 1915 this law was optional. For two years it has been mandatory. In 1915 there were 800 persons cared for in their homes under this law and in 1917 there were 2,000. The blind constitute a large per cent of our almshouse population and the law requiring their care under pensions in their own homes is decreasing the number of blind inmates of the institutions.

The blind pension law has had a result which we had not expected. It has roused the counties to the necessity for preventing blindness. There are communities which can be socially roused only when evil results are expressed in dollars and cents. The mandatory blind pension law has stated in dollars and cents the cost of this affliction and the counties, since they cannot avoid paying the pensions, are trying to avoid blindness. The Department of Public Welfare has repeatedly attempted to show certain counties in Illinois, known as the "trachoma tract," the necessity for combating this disease. We made little progress until the counties in the "trachoma tract" were compelled to expend the greater part of their appropriations in pensions for persons made blind through trachoma. One-fifth of all expenditures for blind pensions in Illinois are made by counties in the "trachoma tract," representing only one-seventeenth of the population of the state. Trachoma and methods of preventing it have suddenly become of great popular interest in certain counties and this interest will be a powerful factor in preventing future dependency. This law has affected the almshouse situation in two ways—the reduction of the present population and the prevention of the cause which has contributed a high per cent of our population.

We are beginning this year to remove the epileptics from the almshouses. May first we opened the state colony for epileptics and we are asking the removal of every epileptic from the almshouses. We shall be able by this means to reduce the almshouse population in nearly every county in the state.

For three years we have had a law authorizing the counties to erect and maintain tuberculosis hospitals. The law provides that these hospitals shall not be located on the almshouse grounds and that no almshouse officials shall be employed in any capacity in the tuberculosis hospitals. The counties are rapidly establishing these hospitals. They are practically controlled by the social workers and the most public spirited and philanthropic persons in the counties. Consequently the hospitals are fulfilling a double purpose, giving institutional care to dependents and studying, with a view to prevention, the causes of tuberculosis. There is a large number of tuberculous persons in the almshouses. This number is decreasing and as the number of institutions increases and the intelligent study of causes and methods of prevention is extended another group of almshouse inmates is removed.

*District Almshouses*

The almshouses of Illinois have been operated under both the salary and the contract system. The last general assembly abolished the contract system. Twenty-three of our 101 almshouses were operated under this vicious method. Because it was to the advantage of the superintendent to have a full boarding house, the laws requiring special provision for special groups were ignored, and insane, children, epileptics, feeble-minded, tuberculars, blind and soldiers' families were held in the almshouses. It is not necessary to dwell upon the disgraceful conditions which exist in institutions operated under this system.

The last assembly also passed a bill authorizing two or more counties to unite in building and maintaining a district almshouse. There are approximately 7,000 persons in the almshouses of Illinois. The populations of the institutions vary from 3,500, in Cook county, to two or three, in the smallest counties. Two-thirds of our almshouses have a maximum of forty persons. In these homes separation of different classes is prohibitively expensive and so also is trained service. But two or more counties by establishing the district almshouse can maintain without additional cost to the individual counties an institution conducted along scientific lines. No county has yet taken advantage of this law but if the interest shown by the boards of supervisors is indicative of future action it is probable that the district almshouses will be established.

The Illinois pauper law places special emphasis upon the almshouse as the primary method of caring for the poor. The sentiment of the officials and social workers is in favor of outdoor relief as the primary method and the almshouse as the last resort. A bill has been drafted for presentation to the next assembly which will reverse the positions of almshouse and outdoor relief methods as they are now on our statute. By this measure we hope to care for an increasing number of persons in their own homes and to send to the almshouse only those persons who have no relatives or friends who by public aid can take care of them and are too aged and infirm even with the aid of public funds, to do anything for themselves.

The laws for special classes and the extension of outdoor relief will reduce our almshouse population to the aged, helpless, infirm, friendless persons, a distinct group of dependents. For these persons we can maintain, not county almshouses, but comfortable and happy homes in various districts of the state; and without greater expenditure than is now made these district homes can be conducted according to the highest standards of enlightened and practical humanity.

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INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. The discussion centered about the problem of county as opposed to district or state care of poverty of the institutional type. The sentiment seemed to prevail that each community or state would need to settle the matter independently.
2. Those who participated in the informal discussion were: Annie



Hinrichsen, Springfield, Ill.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Irene M. Fallis, Hutchinson, Kansas; William J. Ahern, Concord, N. H.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; H. H. Shirer, Columbus; F. E. Broyles, Columbia, S. C.; Herbert A. Brown, New York.

## PRISON REFORM AT THE UNITED STATES DISCIPLINARY BARRACKS

*Col. Sedgwick Rice, Superintendent, Leavenworth, Kansas*

In 1913 there was established at the United States Military Prison an organization known as the Disciplinary Battalion. It was to be composed of men selected by the commandant from the purely military offenders sentenced to the institution and was to serve as a medium for restoring the men of that class to an honorable duty status. This was the first step taken in the reclamation of military delinquents by the United States Army. Before that soldiers were tried and sentenced to the institution without a chance of being returned to their military duties and with almost nothing to look forward to but the date of their discharge.

A few months after the establishment of this organization a board of medical officers was appointed to assist the commandant in selecting the men thought to be suitable for further military service. This board was to examine each man mentally and physically, investigate his past and compile a history in each case. It was designated the Board of Medical Examiners. In the following year the name of the institution was changed from the United States Military Prison to the United States Disciplinary Barracks, because the institution had become a place of training rather than one for detention only. Preparations were made for starting a large farm colony, a complete system of vocational training was instituted. The present parole system was also organized in that year. The organization of each one of these new departments marked a step toward the reformation of the prison, and in the past few years the tendency has been to reclaim men convicted of military offences rather than to segregate them. Thus far, I have attempted to outline the various steps in the evolution of prison reform at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, and now I shall endeavor briefly to describe each department in detail.

### *The Disciplinary Battalion*

At the time this organization was created provisions were made for selecting officers as well as a non-commissioned personnel especially adapted to the work. They were to train the men selected by the commandant, and later to report to him on their fitness from a military standpoint. The men assigned to the battalion are given intensive military training for one-half day, the other one-half being devoted to vocational training. They wear a uniform similar to the one now in use in the United States Army while at drill, and fatigue clothes when at work.

They are required to render and entitled to receive military courtesies and are quartered in dormitories similar to the ordinary barracks building used at military posts. Unlike the ordinary prisoner, the battalion men do not have their prison numbers on any part of their clothing. While in the battalion these men drill and do their work practically without guards. Despite this fact, they show no tendency to escape, and it is only very occasionally that a man attempts to walk away. They are required to conform to certain disciplinary rules, and any infractions of these rules may cause a man's dismissal from the battalion at any time.

After they have become proficient in their military training and are eligible for restoration, they are recommended for this privilege by their company commander. At this time they are carefully considered as to military fitness by a board of officers and the battalion commander, as to mental, moral and physical fitness by the department of psychiatry and sociology, and recommendations from both sources reach the commandant, who carefully considers both the man and the information at hand and makes a recommendation to the Secretary of War for his approval.

After a man is restored to duty he is assigned to the restored detachment, an organization maintained at the barracks for the purpose of keeping the reclaimed men under observation for a short time. All the men in this organization have been completely rehabilitated and are soldiers in the United States Army. They receive further military training during this period. After two or three months they are transferred to either an organization of their own selection or a recruiting depot. In this manner 1,540 have been returned to the army by the Disciplinary Barracks, and its branches at Alcatraz and Fort Jay. Of this number only 160 have failed, less than ten per cent, as shown by reports received from the War Department. Many of them have become non-commissioned officers and are showing exceptional interest and zeal. It is believed that this method of procedure has been very successful and that many men have been reformed, and in this time of need for every atom of man-power available for military service such an organization is thoroughly practicable. At the present time only those convicted of military offences and misdemeanors (not petty larceny) are eligible for restoration. It is hoped, however, that in the near future the commandant will be given authority to select from all men, regardless of the offences they have committed, as it is thought that under the present regulations many good men are being lost for the service.

#### *The Department of Psychiatry and Sociology*

This department was established late in the year 1914 and was then known as the Board of Medical Examiners. The object was to examine all the men admitted to the institution, both mentally and physically, and to conduct a sociological investigation in each case, to assist the commandant in selecting men fitted for further service, bar-

racks, paroles, etc. The department has grown very rapidly, and in addition to examining and classifying the men they carefully consider them for vocational training, release on parole to their previous communities, parole privileges on the reservation, open cells, etc. Recommendations are made to the Judge Advocate in all cases sent to the institution for trial. If these men are found to be physically or mentally unfit they are recommended to be discharged without trial. Those found fit and later tried are carefully considered after their trial as to their fitness for further service, and a recommendation is also made to the Judge Advocate, which indicates whether or not they shall receive a suspended sentence. This provision enables a man to be returned to the service without receiving a dishonorable discharge. By a *suspended sentence* I mean that that portion of his sentence stipulating that he shall be dishonorably discharged from the United States Army is suspended until his release from confinement. If he is restored to duty and does not complete his term of confinement, the dishonorable discharge does not materialize.

All men classified as eligible for the disciplinary battalion because of having been convicted of purely military offences or misdemeanors are carefully examined in order that all not morally, mentally and physically fit for that privilege are discarded, as it is found that these men serve only as an obstacle for those who are fit. Mental defectives, psychopaths, habitual offenders, inebriates and all those physically unfit for military duty are not recommended for assignment. Men not wishing to be restored are not placed in the battalion. This latter type is very rare as there are only a very few men, indeed, who do not want to be restored and to escape almost entirely the onus of prison life. An attempt is made to teach every man who is not eligible for the battalion a trade. They are selected for the various vocations both from a physical and mental standpoint. An endeavor is made to place those physically weak in positions favoring health. In this we have been successful, and chronic diseases are almost unknown in the institution.

The department has examined more than five thousand cases. All the records of these cases are on file, and statistics taken from them often show us where the mistakes have been made. It is thought that in time, with careful study of those who have been investigated, that those who are yet to come will be handled more scientifically.

#### *The Parole Department*

This department was established in 1915. Men who have a sentence of more than one year become eligible for release on parole after serving one-half of their sentence. At that time their cases are carefully investigated, and if found to be a suitable risk they are paroled and complete their sentences under the care of a *first friend and adviser*, a responsible person selected for that position, who agrees to obtain work for the prisoner and to report any infractions of the parole regulations.

### *The Farm Colony*

The reservation at Ft. Leavenworth is a large one, approximately seven thousand acres. Much of this is rich farming land, consequently in the past few years agriculture has become one of the leading industries at the Barracks. A modern dairy, poultry farm and piggery have been erected and stocked with the finest breeds. All the work on the farm is done by prisoners, under the supervision of foremen. Most of these prisoners enjoy parole privileges and live in dormitories near their work. Men who have had experience and those who are interested in that particular vocation are selected. They are instructed both in practice and theory by their respective foremen. A herd of more than 150 Holstein cows is cared for by these men. They feed them, milk them, groom them and deliver the milk. They make butter and do all the other work to be found around a creamery. In a like manner over 25,000 chickens have been raised this season, also a large number of hogs. More than 1,200 acres of land is under cultivation, and a large greenhouse is producing its first crop. The products of the farm are used at the prison mess or sold to the other large messes on the Post, as well as to the officers, married soldiers and civil employes stationed there. Recently a large refrigerating and ice plant has been erected and is now in operation. This furnishes all the ice needed on the entire Post.

This department has made very rapid progress in the past two years and the intention is to enlarge it until the earnings will support the institution. It is believed this can be accomplished within the next few years.

These various departments offer a chance for advancement to nearly every man in the institution. Only those who are determined not to make good lose these advantages. The result has been that the attitude of the prisoners has been changed and they are now trying to cooperate and learn. Under the old regime they did their work unwillingly and under protest. None of them were interested for there was nothing to strive for. Now, every man can look forward to restoration or parole, and if not successful in either of these, he can perfect himself in a chosen vocation. Under this system very few are not benefited in any way, and it is thought that the larger per cent, when released, become an asset to the community.

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### INSPECTION OF LEAVENWORTH INSTITUTIONS

The foregoing address was given to delegates representing Divisions II and IV—on Delinquents and Correction, and Public Agencies and Institutions, respectively—at a complimentary luncheon given by Superintendent Rice. Afterward the delegates were shown the Disciplinary Barracks, and farm industries, and the Federal Prison.



## WAR TIME ACTIVITIES OF A STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES

*Charles H. Johnson, Secretary, State Board of Charities, Albany, New York*

Present-day conditions require by every organization a revaluation of its resources and responsibilities. The world is asking of every group of individuals to justify its existence by actions that meet the present needs. The necessity of adapting the organization to the emergencies of the present hour is placed not only upon private organizations but upon official bodies as well.

In attempting to meet the needs of the community, an official or private organization can no longer hide behind its corporate or constitutional restrictions. Instead of this it is the duty of every organization to reach out and to stretch itself to the utmost to render thereby, if possible, some assistance to the civic or political group of which it is a part.

The State Board of Charities has some very satisfactory constitutional and statutory hedges behind which it might safely hide. Its powers and duties are prescribed by these enactments and it could confine its activities within those limitations. Such an attitude, however, would be contrary to the spirit which might be expected in a group of individuals carefully selected by the governor for membership on the State Board of Charities. Therefore, the Board has since the beginning of the war sought to extend its influence and go outside of the constitutional hedges and barriers if it might by constructive effort assist in bringing its very large group of the wards of the State into line with their fellows.

How large an opportunity this is may be understood when it is known that under the supervision of the State Board of Charities there are over 900 societies and institutions. The total number of persons cared for by these organizations is more than 600,000 and there is annually expended for the maintenance of these groups about \$35,000,000. It is a rare opportunity for a state body to bring to the attention of such a large group of individuals and those who are caring for them the various appeals made by the government, the educational material, and the pleas for assistance which the present national emergency creates.

### *Survey of War Time Situation*

Immediately on the outbreak of the war a communication was sent to all the institutions, irrespective of their particular work, asking what they could contribute to assist the government should necessity arise. The responses were prompt and generous. Hospitals offered their beds, nurses and grounds; children's institutions offered the services of their pupils for Red Cross and other endeavors; almshouses offered the use of farms and laundry equipment, and in fact every institution tried to

place its resources, human or material, at the service of the nation. The Board then brought to the attention of the institutions the service that seemed most pressing and in which all could engage, viz: To inculcate patriotism in their pupils or wards, to eliminate disloyalty from their staff, to display the national colors in prominent places and to utilize every available piece of ground for the production of food. This was followed by an attempt to ascertain to what extent the institutions, and especially those caring for children, have been obliged to modify their dietary by reason of the large increase in the cost of food. This inquiry revealed the fact that the child-caring institutions were suffering from lack of funds and that the situation was a serious financial one. Thereupon the Board arranged for a series of conferences throughout the state calling together the superintendents of these institutions in adjacent cities.

At these round table discussions the question of finance was considered in an informal way and as a result these communities arranged to appeal to their local county or city officials for an increased allowance for their wards. In some cases a representative of the State Board appeared with the institution people when they made their plea to the boards of supervisors. As a result of this combined effort, in every case an increased allowance was granted to the institutions and in most cases it was an increase of \$1.00 a week per child.

At the same time the Board decided to ascertain the conditions throughout the state pertaining to juvenile delinquency. Having under its supervision the reform schools of the state, it seemed a part of its duty to ascertain if the new conditions created by the war were producing larger numbers of juvenile delinquents. Conferences and interviews were arranged in every city with the police officials, probation and parole officers, and others interested in this particular problem. At these gatherings, informal as they were, the general question of causes of delinquency was the subject of conversation. It was gratifying to learn that there was no unusual increase in delinquency among the young, but the necessity of not lowering the social barriers which have been built up around the children of the community was very apparent. These efforts were supplemented by the Board by sending to all institutions from time to time material which the national government had prepared regarding food substitutes, wartime recipes, garden information and similar instructions. It was evident that many of the institutions which had to depend in large measure upon the voluntary subscriptions of citizens were likely to suffer financial loss because of the diverting of large amounts of charitable gifts to the many new war funds which had sprung into existence. The Board therefore sent a letter to all newspapers in the state asking them to call attention to the need of the local charities for support at this particular time. This effort was later followed by a communication sent to the mayor of each city asking him to bring to the attention of the citizens of his com-

munity the needs of the local charities, such as relief-giving societies and institutional organizations.

#### *Patriotic Work of Institutions*

While making these various inquiries, the Board felt that it might be of encouragement to the community to know what contribution the institutions were making in man power to the armed forces of the government. It therefore asked for information regarding the number of boys who had entered the war from the children's institutions and organizations. From the very incomplete data which the institutions could furnish, owing to the fact that so many of their former pupils are lost to sight within a short time, it appeared that more than 5,000 boys, who were formerly pupils in the child-caring institutions or organizations of the state were now connected with some branch of the national service. From these figures it is very safe to assume that from eight to ten thousand boys who were once wards of the community are now repaying their debt by offering to give, if necessary, the last great measure of devotion.

The fuel crisis during the winter offered an opportunity for the Board to serve the institutions and a communication was sent to every institution under its supervision asking for information regarding fuel needs and that it be notified should a fuel crisis arise. It was reassuring to learn that most of the institutions were being well provided for by the fuel administrators, but there were a few who found themselves in actual need and for them the Board, with the assistance of the state fuel administrator, was able to secure immediate deliveries.

With the approach of another spring and the increasing necessity of care in the production and conservation of food supplies, the Board arranged another series of conferences with institution superintendents throughout the state. At these meetings, which were held in the principal cities of the state from New York to Buffalo, the subjects considered were the production and conservation of food and the use of substitutes. At each meeting a dietitian was present to explain what substitutes could be safely used and how they could be utilized. A representative of the state department of agriculture was also present and indicated the possibilities of usefulness in garden and agricultural effort. Fuel and food administrators of the locality were invited in to explain to the group the situation regarding both these necessities. Information concerning dehydration and evaporation of food was given and samples of the results of such efforts were shown to the visiting superintendents.

#### *Opportunity Ahead*

There is no likelihood that the need of continued activity by the State Board of Charities will disappear. There is much that must yet be done and it is an opportunity for this state body to make itself a source of comfort, encouragement and assistance to the hundreds of

institutions which desire and need such help. The State Board of Charities must in times like these be a leader and also a shepherd. It must seek to conserve the interests of the institutions which it is required to inspect and not only point out to them such defects as may need correction but bring to their assistance every available bit of advice and material aid which it can secure.

Arrangements are now being made for the sending out of much more material, such as the bakers' formula for bread, copies of which have been secured from the National Bakers' Association, and the food fairy tale for the children's institutions. The preparation of a book of food recipes suitable for the present emergency is also contemplated.

Briefly, the duties and opportunities of a state board of charities in war time are numerous, imperative and important. Traditional conservatism and dignified officialism may safely be laid aside and in their stead be displayed an enthusiastic readiness to serve and inspire. This may make our charitable group a large but contented, efficient and patriotic family.



V.  
THE FAMILY

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-18

### *Chairman*

Gertrude Vaile,

Director of Civilian Relief, Mountain Division, American Red Cross, Denver.

### *Vice Chairman*

Francis H. McLean,

General Secretary, American Association for Organizing Charity, New York.

Sara A. Brown.....	Ottumwa, Ia.	Helen Kempton.....	New Bedford, Mass.
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Ida M. Cannon.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Rev. John McGinn.....	Notre Dame, Ind.
Joanna C. Colcord.....	New York	William H. Matthews.....	New York
J. Byron Deacon.....	Philadelphia	Frances Taussig.....	Chicago
Robert C. Dexter.....	Montreal	George L. Warren.....	Bridgeport, Conn.
	Helen Glenn Tyson.....		Harrisburg

## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, two hundred eighty-seven delegates registered as members of the Division. Eight meetings for discussional purposes were held, as follows:

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May 16, 9:15 a. m., "Industrial Legislation from the Case Workers' Standpoint" .....	303
May 16, 11:00 a. m., "The Social Service Exchange".....	319
May 16, 3:30 p. m., "Social Case Work as Applied Psy- chology" .....	329
May 17, 9:15 a. m., "Home Service Problems".....	340
May 17, 12:45 p. m., "Rural Home Service" (Luncheon) ..	348
May 18, 9:15 a. m., "Problems in the Administration of Mothers' Aid".....	349
May 21, 9:15 a. m., "Family Treatment and War Time Community Programs" .....	368
May 21, 8:15 p. m., "The War and Family Treatment" (General Session).....	383

On May 16th, at 12:45, the Division met at luncheon. At 2:00 a business session was held, the chairman being Miss Gertrude Vaile of Denver and the secretary, Mr. Francis H. McLean of New York.

On motion of Mr. McLean it was voted that the Committee should consist of fifteen, two-thirds of whom should be from the present membership of the committee, and that a nominating committee be appointed by the chair, with final authority to recommend to the Conference and Division Committee for the ensuing year. The chair appointed as such committee: James F. Jackson, Cleveland, chairman; Sara A. Brown, Lansing, Mich.; E. D. B. Lynde, Grand Rapids, Mich.

The Nominating Committee reported directly to the Conference Executive Committee, nominating for terms specified those listed in Part B, sec. 3, appendix of this volume.

(Signed) GERTRUDE VAILE, chairman.

FRANCIS H. McLEAN, Secretary.



## THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CASE WORK TO DEMOCRACY

*Gertrude Vaile, Director of Civilian Relief, Mountain Division, American Red Cross, Denver*

There is one word that rings through all we think and all we say in these days—that is the word *democracy*. For democracy we are striving. For the hope of democracy we are pledging all we have and all that we can do. It is, therefore, pertinent that as social case workers we should examine our aims and achievements, to consider whether we have anything substantial to contribute at this time to the cause of democracy.

Our fathers declared that "All men are created equal," and for that ideal they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, and fought to establish this nation a democracy. But now it is constantly pointed out that all men are created unequal. What, then, did our fathers mean? Certainly they meant at least that all men by virtue of their equal humanity were equal in their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that therefore government must assure to all men equal opportunity to enjoy those inalienable human rights. And so they devoted themselves to clearing away the artificial restraints of class and rank and special privileges, that all persons should be equal before the law. To a wonderful degree they established an even-handed justice, rules of the game that applied to all alike, with hearty recognition of the winner for his own merits, whoever he might be.

As the experience of democracy ripened, however, it was realized more and more keenly that all men were not equally capable of taking advantage of equal opportunities. Educational methods, equal for all children, might not be equally educative to all children. Laws which, scrupulously and equally for all people, tried to fit the punishment to the crime might not equally fit the criminal. Plato says, "Now, the essence of equality is to treat unequal things unequally." And so, in the progress of democratic administration we find the modern effort to attain that "essence of equality" by fitting the opportunities to the individual and helping the individual to attain his own highest possibilities.

### *Specialized Treatment of Conditions of Inequality*

No longer is the school system rigidly the same for all children, but in advanced communities the bright child may be pushed ahead, and special teachers help the backward child and adjust the curriculum to his especial need. The law is no longer content to mete out justice equal to all for equal crime, but in many places now sets probation officers and mental and physical doctors to study the criminal to bring him into harmony with the law or find what law may best apply to him. Alert health departments are no longer content merely to insist on sani-

tary conditions, wholesome for all alike. They establish child welfare clinics to teach the individual mother who is ignorant how to care for her children, tuberculosis clinics to show the careless patient how to care for himself and protect his neighbor. And now the government, in cooperation with counties, is sending home demonstrators into all kinds of homes on invitation to teach the housewife the principles of household management and the proper care of her family, how to use to the best advantage such facilities as she herself may have, however rich or meager they may be, in order that the largest possible measure of thrift and well-being may come to the individual home.

Thus is a nation, committed to the spirit of democracy, learning that freedom and equality are not fully attained by breaking down the outward limitations that bind whole groups of men, but that it is necessary to go further and set the individual free from inner limitations, if real liberty is to come to the people. Thus the struggle for the rights of man in general must be supplemented by the struggle to help the individual to enter into his rights, and the social case worker is finally needed to complete democracy.

Among social case workers, I believe that those who deal with the family are peculiarly in a position to make valuable contributions to democracy. It is in the normal family life that the essential elements of democracy are most fully worked out. There affection and common interest seek to give to each individual the best possible opportunities. All members share equally in the good things possessed by the group. Special privileges are ordinarily granted only to special needs. The children vigorously discipline each other to mutual respect for one another's equal rights, and the fundamental sense of social responsibility is developed. The social case worker dealing with families in any kind of trouble has the task of helping individual members of the family up to their best, and of doing it in a way that shall bring the best to the life of the family group.

#### *The Principle Applied*

I have heard recently a story of Red Cross Home Service to the family of a soldier. It was, if I remember correctly, an Italian family. The man, stirred by patriotic devotion to the cause of his native and his adopted country, had enlisted, although he had a large family of small children. The Home Service Section got acquainted with the family during the long wait before the allotment and government allowance began to come. The wife could speak no English. She knew little of American ideals of education and standards of living. She was just a poor, ignorant immigrant, with an ill-kept home.

But the man was quite a capable fellow. Before a great while he was made a sergeant. The Home Service Section considered the possibilities ahead. The man would have great opportunities of education, advancement, association with fine people, meeting with new ideas.

Already a sergeant, if he lived he would probably come back a commissioned officer. And what kind of a home was this for an American army officer to come back to? So the Home Service workers decided that they must help the family to keep pace with the man. A visitor, enthusiastic for the task, agreed to teach the woman English. They got her interested in the schooling of the children, and the children interested to write often to their father and proud to show him their progress. They moved the family to better quarters where better associations and better housekeeping ideas would be possible, and showed the woman how to do many things.

The family were proud of the man, and eagerly responded to the idea of making him proud of them. The story is still only in its beginnings, but without the Home Service worker the family would in all probability have actually deteriorated, lacking the stimulus of the man's presence; with such help their horizon is widening, latent powers are being released to finer possibilities than they have known before.

#### *Faith and Skill Required*

If social case workers are to make in any large measure this contribution to democracy, of helping individuals to the largest possible freedom and self-expression, there are two things which they must have: first, faith in the possibilities of human nature; and, second, skill in workmanship.

As to the faith in human nature—let us come back and re-examine for a moment that watchword of our fathers, that all men are created equal. Did they mean only that all men are equal in their elemental human rights? Or did they, after all, mean something more than that, as we used to imagine in our unsophisticated childhood? I was talking of this the other day to a sociology professor, who replied that for his part he had small patience with the modern desire to unsay that famous sentence. It seemed to him the expression of a great ideal, as unattainable indeed as Christ's admonition, "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," but like that a lofty aim to keep before us. And so it seems to me not only a declaration of rights but a confession of faith in the limitless possibilities of human nature. Who shall venture to say how nearly equal one may be to another, though endlessly different, or how nearly equal at least he might have been if he had had the right chance?

We are told that Thomas Edison was regarded by his teachers as a dunce for whom they had not time. But his mother taught him with infinite patience, and, behold, a genius. The story of Helen Keller should be an inspiration to all case workers forever. When bondage like hers can be broken by patient, skillful work, what may not be accomplished?

But it takes patient, skillful effort if social case workers are to bear any real part in this struggle for the freedom of mankind and for true

democracy. We must have standards of workmanship worthy of our claim to the recognition of our work as a profession. In the present emergency, when so many inexperienced, untrained people must be called to help and are doing it so generously, it is worth while constantly to point out that there really are standards of workmanship attained only by infinite pains and long and careful study. How such skill may be acquired and what are its elements I may not here discuss, but I would mention two fundamental principles.

#### *Good Workmanship in Case Treatment*

First, the social case worker must at every step work heartily *with* the family or individual concerned. It is a truism that nothing can ever really be done *for* anyone save only *with* him—but a truism that the social case worker must never forget. In the case just cited it is only as the worker can have the co-operation of the family at every step that the things she sees and they are just beginning to see can be worked out.

The other fundamental principle is that all sound action must be based on very broad and deep and accurate knowledge of facts. Without such knowledge of the personality and the circumstances of the individual concerned the best laid plans and most indefatigable labor may but defeat their own ends.

I remember the case of a fifteen-year-old son of a certain widow. She had been receiving a "mother's pension." When the boy finished the eighth grade he was of full legal working age and it was expected that he would go to work and the allowance be reduced. But the mother was ambitious for her son—he was such a bright boy; she so greatly wanted him to have a business education. The worker, who had long been interested in the family, was very sympathetic with that idea. She talked with the boy's teacher, who declared that he was a bright and capable lad and she hoped he could be kept in school. She talked with the boy in company with his proud mother. He was quiet and not exceedingly enthusiastic, but declared he would greatly appreciate such opportunity. So the worker went to great trouble to raise a special fund from generous people interested in the education of bright children, to make up for the family needs what the boy would have earned, and the boy started off to business college.

But after a few weeks he was reported irregular in attendance, and then suddenly he just ran away and vanished from the family knowledge. It was very disappointing to the kind people who had financed his education and very humiliating to the worker. Some months later the boy returned and then the worker tried to find out what was the matter. She made careful inquiry to discover what had been his habits and his chief interests outside of school. Then she talked to the boy alone. Finally it was clear. He was a bright, nice boy. He always did well in school and he wanted to do his mother's bidding. But he never cared



about books—he had a passion for machinery. As he saw himself settling into the fate of office work he just could not stand it—so he left.

Work with machinery was soon found for him. When I last knew him he was running a big auto truck and felt as if he owned it. To keep it in perfect condition was his joy. Had the worker gathered her facts with more skill and thoroughness in the beginning, disappointments and dangers would have been avoided. In this instance, however, there was still time to find the place in which that boy fitted, work through which he may find his own freedom and power.

#### *Fundamental in World War*

But of what use will be all our faith in the boundless possibilities of human life, and all our acquired skill in helping individuals to achieve those possibilities, if we lose the right even to try? A good American of German parentage has been making patriotic speeches in the West this spring. He has quoted his father who had come from Germany years before and had established himself in business in America in which he had prospered well; he had sent his four sons through college and provided well for his daughters. Speaking to his son about Germany he said that had he remained in Germany he must have remained a blacksmith, and he could not even have become a wheelwright without official permission.

Germany believes that man was made for the state and would force that theory upon the world. Democracy believes that the state was made for man and exists to facilitate just and helpful relations among men, and to make it possible for each to find his fullest development. For that faith we are at war. Our brothers at the front must defend with their lives our right to that faith, and we at home must work out its fulfillment. And we social case workers have our contribution to make to that ultimate attainment of democracy which must be wrought out, not in uniformity but in diversity, not only in the right of man to individual freedom, but in his ability to enter into that right.

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#### WAR AND FAMILY SOLIDARITY

*Mary E. Richmond, Director, Charity Organization Department,  
Russell Sage Foundation, New York*

The topic assigned to me has such wide significance and so many aspects that it is only fair to explain at the very outset within what narrow limits my own share in this discussion will have to be confined. We social workers could learn from history the fateful relations of war to family life if only we were wise enough to adapt her lessons to a world situation which is altogether unprecedented. Statistics could furnish us with valid social data, too, if we were able to thread our way with safety through the maze of variables in which any comparison of statistical data immediately involves the student.

I found myself in such a maze recently over the simple discovery that marriages decreased 29 per cent in New York city during the first year of the Civil War—in 1861, that is, as compared with 1860—and that they *increased* 8 per cent in the same city during 1917, as compared with 1916. How is this marked difference to be accounted for? Obviously here is food for thought, but the more I look at these figures the less sure I am of their meaning. War was declared in April in both years, but here the resemblance ceases. We do happen to know that nothing so promptly depresses the marriage rate as an industrial crisis. There was a panic in 1857 and another smaller one in 1915. Marriages are postponed at such times, so that when prosperity returns there is a marked advance in the marriage rate. The drop in the hard times of 1915 was slight, however—less than 4 per cent—and many other factors may have to be reckoned with in trying to account for the rise of 1916 over 1915 and of 1917 over both, especially when we realize that the vital statistics of 1861 show a sharper curve in the opposite direction. As between the two periods, a few of the factors that must be taken into account, over and above the prosperity one, are (1) the draft of 1917 (there was no draft in the first year of the Civil War), (2) the promise by our government of family allowances (liberal allowances, too, when we compare them with Civil War policies), and (3) the effect of the present European conflict upon migration to this country. Just how far each of these enters in it is too early to say, and it is too early to extend this comparison of vital statistics in the two periods to the country as a whole, for in many states the statistics for 1917 are not yet available. The comparison would have to be limited to certain states in any case, for the reason that many states had no trustworthy vital statistics in the '60's.

I mention this one instance to show how futile it would be at this stage of the war to attempt either summary or forecast. The time for comprehensive summaries is not yet. Of prophecies concerning what war will do to the family we already have a large crop, but then the besetting sin of prophets is to be sure that the thing which they wish to see happen is going to happen.

Why not wait, therefore, and discuss subjects that we know more about? The reason that we do not is obvious enough. Crude as our thinking has to be, we consider war in its relation to family life without delay because we are deeply concerned at the present moment with the welfare of families in which war has wrought changes. I refer, of course, to the families of our men now in service in camp, in the danger zone, and at the front.

We are in no position to dogmatize, but some sort of a day-to-day working theory we have to have, because we are acting daily. There is more than a possibility that this war will influence family life in America profoundly, and we are anxious that all our acts down to the very smallest of them may weigh on the side of family welfare. Indeed, as I inter-

pret the spirit of Red Cross Home Service, in which so many of you are interested, it implies, does it not, a desire—not to explain when too late, but to shape and control, while yet there is time, the forces of this fateful hour in their relation to the American home.

What is happening, and how may we observe and report in order that we may plan and serve? In the earlier experimental stages of the attack upon any new human problem, I know no better witnesses than the social case workers. They have the interest that must precede observation, they have the habit of observing, and they are by no means credulous. Accordingly, following a plan that I have tried before and never without grateful appreciation of the patience of my correspondents, I have sought, in preparation for my share in this meeting, the aid of a number of experienced social workers, selecting by preference those now actively engaged in the work of the Home Service sections of the Red Cross. Their evidence, together with that of a few Canadian workers, must be violently foreshortened in this brief presentation, but I shall try to sum it up under the six heads of (1) the unstable husband and father, (2) the unstable wife and mother, (3) the recently married, (4) the unmarried soldier or sailor, (5) the stable and responsible head of a family, (6) what we can do about it.

I am deliberately avoiding the observations and suggestions already recorded in Home Service publications, and I warn you that you will find this attempt to supplement them all too fragmentary. We have only a brief experience to record, but even so I must try to avoid speculation and prophecy by keeping within that experience.

### *I. The Unstable Husband and Father*

Upon this first sub-topic, the conclusions of my correspondents in the United States and of those in Canada do not agree. Our own social workers are almost unanimous in the opinion that war is doing the unstable head of a family who has enlisted nothing but good. Take, in illustration, such instances as these, of which a good many more have been reported to me:

a. Wife and two children practically deserted two years before the husband joined the army. Now his attitude is entirely changed. He writes regularly, feels financially responsible for their care, is making plans for his family's future welfare, and seems to have an entirely new conception of the meaning and value of a home.

b. A case of estrangement that had gone so far as to lead to a decree of divorce on the ground of abuse and non-support. The soldier now takes a new interest in his three children; the divorced wife evinces marked pride in her former husband.

It should be added, however, that a number of the American reports received dwell upon the improved conditions now assured to families formerly neglected by the head of the house, but that these reports fail to

mention any corresponding improvement in the absent man's attitude toward his home. My Canadian informants are of the opinion that the unsatisfactory family man will, after the war is over, be more unsatisfactory than ever, and their experience of war conditions and influences covers a longer period than ours. Reasons for our hopeful attitude toward this group of what we used to call *married vagabonds* are found in the disciplined and wholesome life of camp, which has so obviously given many men a new self-control and a new physical vigor; the subtler influences of group psychology have also played their part, for the prevailing sentiment of an American regiment, whether in training or in active service, is overwhelmingly a home sentiment. Added to this is the softened feeling of home folks for men who have unexpectedly risen to the occasion. On the other hand, these strengthening influences are going to be offset, probably, by the nerve-racking effects of life under fire and by the effects of prolonged absence. In this latter regard our men are at a great disadvantage, as compared with those of any of our allies except the colonials; they will be unable to see their families every few months when "on leave."

But, either way, should not Home Service take note of the changed conditions in this particular group of families and, in so far as the change is at all favorable—either for the wife and children, the absent man, or for all of them—accept the challenge and make advantageous use of each new opportunity? Our experience is brief, but not so brief but that we have found the new conditions, to an extent at least, controllable. Then why not strive to control them, why not give each handicapped family a new chance of health, of self-discipline, of self-expression, while the army or the navy is giving the absent head of the house his new chance too?

## II. *The Unstable Wife and Mother*

We all know, of course, that the danger of family disintegration is much greater when the mother, rather than the father, is the weak member. Where both have shown marked weaknesses there is always a chance that the wife will be able to do better away from her husband than with him. There are instances now of women whose husbands are away, who are better able to keep sober and better able to do their duty by their children than was the case before the war. My informants report, however, a number of families in which the direct opposite has been true—in which the wife and mother was able to carry her responsibilities with credit when her husband was at home, but went to pieces morally with great suddenness after his departure. These sudden breakdowns do not necessarily imply any deep-seated abnormality. People equal to a certain degree of strain and worry often fail under a heavier demand; even among those of us who pass for normal there are marked differences in this capacity to endure strain. One interesting account comes from Canada of a woman who temporarily went under, abandoning her children and seeking low companions, but who has entirely recovered her



sense of moral values and interest in her family. Her recovery was aided by a skillful rallying of better influences and associations. We have to remember, therefore, that these failures are not all of them irretrievable, though it is necessary, of course, to discover to what extent actual mental defect enters into the individual situation.

### *III. The Recently Married*

A trainer of Home Service volunteers reminds me that not all the hasty and ill-advised marriages of war time can be charged to the war. A good proportion of the contracting parties would have been married "in haste" in any case. The points of view of young wives in some of the Home Service families brought to my attention lead me to wonder whether the danger of absence is not greater for both husband and wife in the first year of marriage than at almost any other time. The new home has no well established habits and traditions. If the woman left behind faces the birth of her first child away from her own people, she may easily become morbid and lose her courage. In fact, in the case of one young wife known to me, who was not away from her people at all but living with her mother, it soon became evident that, with the best intentions in the world, these two women were putting their heads together and blaming every small inconvenience upon the absent husband. This slant of theirs reached such a pitch that, when the baby came, neither one wanted to let the father know of its arrival. Nothing in his past or present conduct seemed to justify their attitude. In all probability, if the young couple had spent their first year of married life in their own home and the wife's nervous depression could have been eased by the knowledge that her husband was there and was sympathetically sharing her troubles, no such sense of estrangement could have come to her. The Home Service worker of experience may well help to interpret life to a young thing who insists upon looking upon the dark side before her baby come, taking to some extent, in this service, the place of the wise woman relative who is absent, and counteracting, it may be, the influence of the unwise one who is present.

### *IV. The Unmarried Soldier or Sailor*

History is being made so rapidly in these days that, before the proceedings of this meeting are printed, my first comment under this fourth head may be quite beside the mark; but I cannot help expressing the hope that the day may be hastened when all of our men will be fighting under their own American commands. I urge this, of course, not for military reasons, about which I know nothing, but for social reasons. I am entirely willing to believe that the brave men in the British and French armies are "just as good" as our own boys, but each nation has a different background, each needs a different discipline when it comes to such matters as recreation, social hygiene, the use of alcoholic drinks, and so on. The provisions made with loving care by the American people for the

health and recreation of our soldiers are necessarily better adapted to American needs than any other provision, however good, could be.

Many of our unmarried men at the front look forward definitely to marriage, of course, but the alternation in army life of the two extremes, of months of dull routine followed by weeks of feverish excitement, does not tend to fit men for a quiet life in one place. We have to recognize that a long war will mean not only later marriages but, with many men, an acquired taste for adventure and change which may turn them from home life altogether. A Canadian woman writes:

My brother has spent nearly three years in France. Judging from his restlessness while on leave last winter, I should think any regular, humdrum life impossible for him for a while. He has changed from a quiet boy with considerable power of concentration to one who wished to be "on the go" every minute, jumping from one thing to another continually. I have observed the same change in many of my friends. Some of this will wear off, of course, but it cannot fail to influence their relations to family life.

Evidence comes from every quarter that the mothers are wonderful. As one Home Service leader puts it, "In the past a mother's affection for the boy just grown up has often been overshadowed by apprehension, but now all this is changed to affection plus a burning pride." So deep is this affection that we often find it difficult now to get any clear picture of the background of the boy who has given trouble in the past. According to his mother, at least, he has always been good. Then, too, there is the compensation that the boys often become more expressive. One mother said to a visitor, "I know my boy so much better now. When he was at home he was one of the quiet kind whose nose was always in a book, but now he writes to me every day and he tells me everything."

#### *V. The Stable and Responsible Head of a Family*

Social workers engaged in war work are beginning to realize, as never before, the importance of fathers. Edward S. Martin declares that the boys who lacked a father's care during the Civil War and became ne'er-do-wells later on (as many of them did) were as much sacrificed to their country as though they had been killed in battle. We must ask ourselves what were the elements that the absent father especially supplied in the home life, and strive to see that, to some extent at least, these elements are made good.

We are all familiar with the type of efficient person who makes everyone round about him inefficient. It often happens that when the responsible head of a family goes his family have been so dependent upon him as scarcely to know where to turn. There is opportunity here not merely for service, but for stimulation of the power of self help.

#### *VI. What We Can Do Now*

I realize that each one of these topics bristles with aspects upon which I have not even touched. The philosophy of family life is not my theme; I have been hurrying on, rather, to the one aspect of the subject upon which I shall take time to dwell. The outstanding problem of

the Home Service worker during the strenuous months immediately ahead is the problem of the psychology of absence under conditions of unusual stress and strain. The text books have no division devoted to this subject—it is practically an unexplored field. No group in the community has ever had such an opportunity to study the effect of absence upon social relationships as you are going to have in the fulfillment of your daily task. By keeping your eyes and your understanding open you can add not only to the world's sum of comfort and right adjustment, but to its sum of knowledge and experience also.

What are a few of the things now practicable that might have a wholesome effect upon the mental attitudes of the absent and of those who remain behind? I venture to make seven suggestions, some of which may seem to you trivial, but when we are exploring a new road we have to begin where we are.

a. One of the temptations of Home Service is to become so interested in constructive and helpful plans for family betterment that the plans and ideals of the absent head of the family may be forgotten. My first suggestion is that we *continue to consult* the absent husband and father whenever this can be done without giving him undue worry and anxiety over small nagging things from which he can be spared. What are *his* ideas about this cheerful plan which opens a new window of opportunity? What modifications would he suggest? Consultation is no new idea to the social worker, but its close relation to the sense of family responsibility needs to be emphasized anew at a time when so many are discovering the possibilities and the satisfactions of service.

b. A member of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War declared that the two things that did most to keep the soldiers well were music and *letters from home*. As between the family and its absent member everything should be done to keep all channels of communication wide open, while making that communication as vital as possible. Every Home Service visitor should be sure that letters are going regularly and frequently from the homes she visits, and should strive in tactful ways to be sure that these letters are stimulating rather than depressing. Years ago we learned the lesson in social work that the man sent to the tuberculosis sanatorium often left at the wrong time and came back home no better in health, not because he was indifferent to the measures taken for his cure but because he was intolerably homesick and hungry for home news. In other words, the social worker had neglected, after securing the right medical care, to take the additional step of urging the home folks to keep him thoroughly informed of home news and as cheerful as possible about conditions there.

Then, as now, illiteracy was often a bar. A friend tells me of one Home Service family in which a mother had two sons at the front. She reported to the visitor that she heard regularly from the older one of the two, but not from the younger. Tom and she had "had words" just before he left home. She was sorry now that they had parted in anger,

but the visitor failed to find out in this interview whether the mother had ever written and said that she was sorry. When the Home Service supervisor suggested that this be done, the fact came out that the mother could not write. Here, and in many similar situations, the Home Service worker finds a definite opportunity for usefulness.

As regards the tone of letters, a Home Service leader received some time ago a letter from an officer in France in which he says of his wife's letters, "Clara writes often, and her spirit reaches even over here." In telling this incident my informant added, "I was careful to ask Clara the next time I saw her about her letters. She explained that she was at great pains to keep all fretfulness out of them, but was equally careful to tell just what was happening." A mother, whose immediate family consists of two sons who are now at the front, thought seriously of closing her comfortable home in order to devote an even larger share of her time to war service. The boys protested, however, writing from France, "Whatever you do, Mother, be sure to keep the home together. It steadies us to know that it is there and going on as usual. Be sure to tell us about the dogs and don't forget to let us know when the flowers come up in the garden." Here is surely a strong argument for keeping families together and the home life as near to its normal standard as possible. In a rocking world the home becomes the one fixed center of the soldier's hopes and memories. The homeliest things—the dogs, the flowers, the little daily happenings—are the best things to write about. Unimportant in themselves, they assume vast importance as symbols of the unexpressed and inexpressible.

c. The exigencies of ocean travel under present conditions have barred out *parcels from home*. As conditions change for the better, this embargo will be lifted, let us hope, for nothing carries more definitely the genuine home flavor than a parcel wrapped at home (however badly wrapped), planned at home, and packed with loving care and thought. Then too we may hope that local newspapers will go freely to the man who has not ceased to be a citizen and an active participant, in thought at least, in the affairs of his home community.

d. One colleague of mine suggests that Home Service visitors "work the camera for all it is worth." Here is a powerful aid in making absent ones seem present. It has been suggested that not only is it well to take frequent snapshots of all the members of the family in their everyday occupations and surroundings, but that each photograph be carefully labeled and dated on the back.

e. We are arrived at a time in the world's history when much should be made of festivals. The nation is turning the great national holidays to account as an effective way of giving expression and point to public feeling. Similarly, the *home festivals and anniversaries*, such as birthdays, wedding days, etc., should be emphasized more than ever, should be prepared for in advance, and celebrated at home and in the trenches simultaneously.



f. The development of new interests in common has been definitely aided by the organization of *clubs of wives and mothers* planned on a democratic basis. Exchange of the news from the front which comes through letters helps unquestionably to stimulate correspondence, and the organization of classes in war geography, in current European history, or in international politics multiplies points of contact and increases continuity of interest as between the absent and the wives and young people at home. Unorganized and empty leisure is one of the greatest dangers which assails the stay-at-homes among rich and poor alike. There should be no such thing as *empty* leisure in these strenuous times.

g. Proof is not lacking that there is plenty of courage in our army and navy. As the months of war ahead of us measure a year, or a series of years, the supreme need for courage is going to be in our civilian population. Home Service has found no lack of things to do. Its workers are taking up the new tasks with energy and enthusiasm. In the sheer joy of the doing they must not overlook the need of sharing. In fact, in all their contacts with the wives and mothers, boys and girls of our soldiers and sailors let them remember that courage stays and courage grows not by shifting family burdens to those outside the family circle but by the kind of stimulating help which makes home responsibility bearable. In other words, Home Service, like every other form of service which is genuine and social, must be a *partnership affair* in which the families visited and aided are to be helped to find their part and play it gallantly. Family solidarity demands this—that our contacts shall release energy in helpful directions and aid each individual who is a member of a family to do his part in the kind of self-controlled, self-helpful living without which this war cannot be won.

This ends my list of suggestions for direct action in individual families, though it omits many items with which the *Home Service Manual* and other Home Service publications have already made you familiar.

There is time to no more than mention another part of the social program which falls not so much to the Home Service sections as to other agencies in the social field, though the sympathy and understanding of Home Service are going to be most valuable aids to social workers in helping forward these reform measures. Just as the physical and mental examiners of the army and navy have brought to light certain weaknesses in our country's social program on the health side, so the work of draft boards, of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, and of the Red Cross are bringing to light weak spots in the marital and social relations of our people. Not only rational law, but its intelligent administration will help to strengthen family life where it is now weakest. This is no plea for a standpat attitude toward the institution of the family, but a plea instead for a conservation of those human values which the family at its best can best maintain. Take, for example, the present laws regulating marriage in the different states. It is impossible to examine these

with any care without finding gross inconsistencies—inconsistencies not only as between different states, but inconsistencies in the laws of the same state. This is especially true wherever common law marriage is still recognized as valid. We social workers are coming to feel that not only should the marriage laws of this country be studied and revised—revised conservatively, that is, in the light of our daily experience, but that the detailed administration of these laws and their adaptation to varying human situations should be worked out as carefully as we are now working out the administrative details which affect industry. The clerk who issues licenses interprets the marriage laws. How does he interpret them? How intelligently are marriage records kept? How large a proportion of false statements do they record?

Then again, we have known theoretically that the marriage of the mentally unfit must be prevented, but as a practical measure this reform lags far behind because many American communities have not a single practitioner competent to detect a mental defect or to diagnose it properly. Social workers must create the demand which will increase this supply; they must learn too to increase the supply of competent practitioners in an allied field by creating the demand for prompt diagnosis and treatment of all those controllable nervous and physical conditions which are most dangerous to family life. This side of the family program would emphasize, therefore, not only socialized laws and their socialized enforcement, would try not only to put new vigor into the present attempts to control and segregate the mentally defective, but would also seek, by studying the human values in real families, to bring about those delicate adjustments which would tend to conserve the rights of the individual. In the supremely important task of family conservation, few processes are more important than those which assure such adjustments. In all these tasks, social work will need either the active co-operation or the sympathetic backing of Home Service.

Last of all, if I have seemed at any point to dwell upon the dangers and difficulties of family life or to strike a minor note, let me assure you in closing that I am well aware also of the great outstanding fact that many, many homes in America—homes saddened by war and by absence—are sound to the core. War is applying to them the test of fire, and they are facing the terrible experience of our day in a spirit of faithfulness, of self-sacrifice which cannot fail to store up for them in the future a faith assured, a treasury of memories destined to enrich family life in America for generations to come. Thus we have the old paradox of the wheat and the tares growing together—a mingled harvest, but a harvest infinitely worth our service and our pains.

A naval officer wrote recently from the cabin of an American destroyer in the war zone to his wife at home, "I must close and get a bit of sleep. It seems as if, when it is all over, all the heaven I want is to be with you and son again perfectly quiet." God grant that that par-

ticular heaven—the heaven of a relation carried over unbroken and unspoiled—awaits multitudes of our brave men now fighting in France and on the seas.

### THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

*Henry P. Davison, Chairman, War Council, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.*

The honor done me tonight in speaking under the auspices of this organization is appreciated by me. There are a good many little worlds in the big one, and this is one of them. I have looked into one or two others, and nothing has ever given me more satisfaction than when I looked into this world of social work. I know a little about it and I have the greatest respect for it and feel there is nothing more potent, more important today than this work. We have in the Red Cross three of your former presidents, Mr. Bicknell, Mr. Folks, and Mr. Devine and you trained them very well.

Any attempt to give you a description of the situation in Europe would seem to imply that it is possible to give some idea of conditions there. It is too tragic; it is impossible. If we had been fighting in line four years instead of four months, if we had lost two million men, killed, wounded, and missing, we would then not have a picture of conditions in France today, because an important part of our country would not have been invaded and destroyed and an important part of our population would not have been driven from their homes destitute and distressed. If that were to become the condition in this country then we would know what our friends across the sea are facing, and then we would not be having meetings and campaigns to carry on our charitable work or our Red Cross work, because by that time and under those conditions each of us would have been trained to give continuously and cheerfully until we had nothing more to give. I have just returned from my fourth trip to the war zone. My visits have been about a year apart, so that I have been able to compare the situation from time to time. I believe there has been a greater change in the situation in the last three months than at any time since the war began. As you know, there has been a unification of the military forces, and it may be stated that there has been a unification of the civilian forces. My trip through France, my stay in Belgium, in Italy, and in England have convinced me that at last the forces of the entente, both civilian and military, are confident that they have found a way to peace which they so much desire. Not only have they found a way to peace, but they are now agreed as to how to get it. They are convinced there is one, and only one method, a method which has been approved and adopted by all, and that is to fight, and fight, and fight until the military power in Europe is crushed. There have been pacifists and others amongst us who have been honestly and seriously trying to find some other solution

so that this shocking murder should cease, but at last Germany has convinced them all that there can be no peace so long as Germany is possessed of military power. Her interpretation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty and her treaty with Roumania shocked Europe more than any one thing she has done since the war began. I am told, and I believe it is true, that the small neutral nations—Switzerland, Holland, and the others, because of her treatment of Russia and of Roumania, are paralyzed with fear lest she spring upon them and treat them as she has treated these others, irrespective of any compact between the nations. The situation on the western front is serious, very serious. Undoubtedly the next few months will be the critical months of the war, because Germany recently has been, and soon will again be hurling her enormous forces against that line, with the idea of defeating and destroying the Allies' armies before we can get there in force. Conscious of all that, I still have the greatest satisfaction in saying that I never have left Europe more confident in the final success of the Entente than at this time. And the reason is that I have never seen the morale along the line and back of it as high as it is today. I have access to the military situation because the work of the Red Cross is so closely allied with it.

You have seen our boys in their uniforms and have told them good-bye and even may have seen them embark. I have seen them over there. I have seen them get off the steamer, line up, march through town and city, entrain, and land in the camps. You may be able to visualize them in the foreign land but you have no idea of the sensation they are making there. They have that true American swing which inspires everybody. They have given more confidence by their appearance and their modesty than anything that has happened in American undertaking in this war. I heard many comments about them. One thing that seemed to impress people most was their attitude when they got off the steamer. Did they shout, "We have come to show you the way to Berlin?" Quite the contrary, their manner has been modest; but they have shown that they were ready to do their part, and apparently have realized the seriousness of the undertaking. I do not want to take your time by giving you the details of what the Red Cross is doing for the boys here or over there.

#### *Duties of Those at Home*

You people of America have resolved that nothing is to be left undone to provide for their welfare and for the welfare of their families left at home for the peace of mind of the boys over there depends upon the welfare of those they have left behind. We must not draw the line at what we have done, but make provision for it to be done on a larger scale. General Pershing and leading members of the medical staff have said to me: "If the American people have any appreciation of the work that the Red Cross has already done, to say nothing of the work which it will be called upon increasingly to do, every man



and every woman in America will not only renew his or her subscription of the last drive, but will increase it, because of the increased demands to be made."

Col. Ireland, now chief surgeon of the Army in Europe, said to me: "The American Red Cross has done three or four single things any one of which would more than justify the organization and the expenditure of money." He spoke of the trench fever. That is one of the diseases incident to the war which has baffled the experts. The British regard it as the second severest disease ravaging its armies. The American Red Cross organized a research department and did a thing never done before, a thing which could not have been done under any other agency. They organized a union between the leading English, French and American specialists and said to them: "Devote your time to the study of all the problems incident to the war in order that there may be full consideration given to every disease threatening the lives of the soldiers." And as a result of this study of trench fever the American Red Cross, through its research department, is responsible for the discovery of the cause of transmission, and therefore of the method of preventing the spread of the disease.

There is a further obligation and opportunity. We have sent many of our forces to Europe and are sending more rapidly—all credit to our great Commander-in-Chief. I heard it said many times in Europe that the Americans were coming to win the war. I think that perhaps is true. But if it is so, it is true only because we, of necessity, came late. If we shall put in that which shall be the deciding factor for victory let us be thankful but by no means and under no circumstances must we lose sight in the final accounting of that which has been done by others before us.

Nothing gives more hope or confidence to the lines than the coming of the Americans, but hope and confidence will neither feed nor clothe, nor house old men and women and children, nor will it cure diseases that are ravaging the armies and the civilian populations of the countries at war, and that is what the American Red Cross is to-day doing in Europe. Today in Europe there are two fights being carried on by the Germans,—that on the front line trenches and the one behind the lines. Each is as clearly defined and as cleverly devised as the other. The battle behind the lines is being fought upon the principle that if they can break down the morale of the civilian populations those people will implore their governments to sue for peace. It is the most diabolical, cruel, fiendish war ever conceived by Satan. or any other force, let alone man. It is based upon the theory that if the Germans can kill four children out of five the mothers will implore the nation to sue for peace in order that the fifth may live. Under the plan, the war is carried on from the English Channel to the Swiss border and from the Swiss border to the Adriatic.

*Observations in War Zone*

I wish I could give you an adequate idea of what the War means but that is not possible. If I had the power of conveying it to you, you would be thrilled as nothing has ever thrilled you in your lives before. Let me tell one or two little experiences I had. We were going through a town and met a woman who formerly had lived with her father and mother and four children in a neighboring town. A bomb had struck the house and killed her father and mother and two of the children. She therefore moved to the town, where we were stopping. The night after she arrived the boche came and killed the other two children. That woman is being taken care of by the American Red Cross. Do you think for one moment that she was imploring her government to sue for peace? Not at all. Never!

We moved on into the next town, and arrived late in the afternoon. We were told me were to dine at the Red Cross canteen that evening. When we left our hotel to go to dinner and were walking through the main thoroughfare I became conscious that there was a procession on both sides, and all going in one way. I turned and said to my friend, "What is going on?" "Why," he said, "these people are going to the cave to spend the night. We have been bombed for three nights and they are expecting another raid tonight." Try to put yourselves in the position of these people. Go out of this hall to your homes, get your children out of bed and walk down the street, carrying a little food and anything which will cover those children, and walk out of Kansas City for three miles, not for a good night's rest but for a place of safety so that your children may be alive in the morning. There was a mother with four children, fourteen, twelve, seven, and one in arms. The children were carrying whatever they could. There were many groups like this. Was there any crying? Was there any weakening? Not for one moment. They said in effect, "If this is what is coming to us we will meet it."

At the station we found a building as large as this part of your auditorium. It had been decorated by a camouflage artist and was charming. We were met by the head of our American Red Cross, a most attractive person, who presented us to the other workers of the canteen and wanted to show us about. We went first into a large room where soldiers were being fed, and then into a room where were lines of bunks to accommodate hundreds. Back of the sleeping rooms were a dressing room and baths and a place where clothes were fumigated. Outside we saw them getting off the trains. The soldiers on leaving the trains did not look to the right or left and did not ask where to go. They marched right through into the large room, and said, by their expression at least, "We are at home." They were put through the mill and came in fresh and clean for dinner.

We were invited to dine, and were about to eat when one of the girls stepped up and closed the window. She said, "The raid is on,

the warning has been sounded." I asked her what was to be done. "We must get the French out of this building," she replied. "Sometimes we have a thousand French soldiers and it takes about an hour." I asked her what the girls themselves did. "Oh," she said, "we stay here." "Is there need of your staying?" I asked. She drew herself up and said, "Do you suppose an American woman would leave in the midst of a bombardment when there was a French soldier in danger? As soon as the soldiers are taken care of we go to the underground passage. We keep open twenty-three hours a day. We close between seven and eight in the morning to clean up."

They went back to the canteen and I went to my hotel. I noticed a crowd nearby, and found that a bomb had demolished two buildings and killed thirty-seven people. The French people about there did not say anything. There was no crying, no excitement. I went to bed in the hotel and stayed there until the windows of my room were blown out. That night the boche came three times trying to kill Americans who were trying to uncover the debris from those thirty-seven people. He did not get them, but he did get two other buildings and the windows of my room. So on, through the night, there were three visitations.

In the morning we looked out of the window. In the square we saw the French peasant women, the old men, and the little girls. They were pale and nervous—but weakening? Not at all. At the canteen I asked one old man what happened to him. He replied, "Nothing. We have had an exciting night, but not so bad as the night before." And he went on to tell me how the boche had bombarded the town he came from. He said they had vacated the town and got all the people out. "All out"; I asked. "No," he replied, "the soldiers are there, and there are eighteen American girls still there." Otherwise that town had been vacated.

This I am telling you that you may get some sense of what it means to be bombarded out of your town, out of your home. I wish it had been possible for you to have been in France during the recent months and to have seen the American Red Cross greet these people as they left their towns. They have Red Cross workers equipped with traveling kitchens to give food and drink to these people who are trudging out of these towns with nothing with which to protect themselves and with nothing to eat. The workers station themselves along the way, and direct the travelers where to go for food and clothing.

#### *What the Red Cross Is Doing*

If you could go through our maternity homes and see where we are taking care of mothers and babies; if you could go through the homes where we are taking care of thousands of children; if you could go in the front line trenches with a Red Cross representative and see the comfort given to the soldiers; if you could go through the factory where today

we are making splints so scientifically that they are being put upon the wounded men in numerous cases even before they are touched, thereby saving many lives and limbs; if you could see the artificial limbs upon which not only the American boy, but the French and the Italian boy, are learning to walk; if you could see our transportation system covering every country; if you could go through our warehouses and see the hundreds of tons of supplies which, thanks to you of Kansas City and other cities, we were enabled to put into those warehouses; even then you would not half appreciate how big the Red Cross is. There is not a place in Europe into which our armies may be sent but the Red Cross is preparing to receive them.

The American Red Cross, according to my information and observation, is today more responsible for the high morale behind the lines than any other one agency. Not only that, it has established relationships between people which will make a recurrence of a situation, which is beyond the power of man to describe, impossible. It has established relationships which are going to affect the very terms of peace when peace shall be declared. It is the one volunteer agency in the world today which is not only protecting and providing for the soldiers and the civilian population, but tending to shorten the war.

The American people have responded wonderfully so far, and they are going to do so again. I did not come to Kansas City to ask for money. I came because I had not had the pleasure of being here before. When I arrived at the dock on my return they said to me, "There is a plan for you to speak with the President in New York and they want you in Kansas City." I said, "Accept the invitation for Kansas City." So I did not come to ask for money.

There is little occasion to speak of any lack of enthusiasm in this connection, but I cannot resist saying this. It is not going to be very long before you will have some people coming back and you are going to find yourselves one of a little group. It may be on the road, on the porch, in the sitting room, or in the shop. There are going to be four or five there, and one of them may have one leg or no legs, one arm or no arms; one of them may have one eye or no eyes. They are going to talk about the only thing in life worth talking about to them, and that is what they have been through. And I want to ask every American man and woman, "What part in this conversation you are going to take?" If you have not done everything you could, every day and all day, you are not going to take any part in that conversation and you are not going to be recognized by society. Do not make any mistake about that. The time has come when a man or a woman will not be judged in America by the amount of money he or she has. All are going to be judged by their service. It does not mean that you have to work in the Red Cross—you may be in the conservation of food, in the Council of National Defense, in the selling of bonds, or in any other governmental activity, but you have got to be in something, and you must be in it with your whole heart.



The French prefect in one of the important provinces said in his charming manner to me two months ago at a dinner: "We of France know of your riches in America, we know of your power; but it took the war to show us your heart." In these tragic weeks of the world's history, when with our associates we are fighting in this death struggle for freedom, let us "carry on" indeed, and let us show not only to them but to our enemies as well that there is yet in the world a power of love, of sympathy, of Christianity, and of justice, that must and shall reestablish the world for the benefit of mankind.

### SOCIAL CASE WORKERS AND BETTER INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS\*

*Shelby M. Harrison, Director, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York*

What I have to say rests on the premise that *the soundest kind of reform, whether industrial or any other, is that based upon informed public opinion*; that in a democracy, at least, where the people determine public policy and action, if advances are to be at all permanent, they must be grounded in popular understanding of their value.

If, then, we can assume this premise, it follows that one, if not the chief or only, *means to sound reform* is through the education of the public; and it follows further that one, at least, of the best ways in which the case worker can make his knowledge contribute to industrial reform is through its educational use.<sup>1</sup> In general, two broad avenues of opportunity for teaching are open to him. The first is teaching through the use of individual cases<sup>2</sup>; and the second, teaching through the use of massed cases or massed facts. Because of space limitations only the first line of thought is here abstracted.

#### *Educational Use of Individual Cases*

Let us look, then, at the opportunities to promote industrial reform through the educational use of individual cases. In every modern charity organization society, and in many other organizations doing case work, is a case committee. It is sometimes called a case conference; sometimes, a decisions committee; sometimes, a consultation committee. Whatever its name, it is composed of a group of public spirited citizens selected because of their varied experience, points of view, knowledge, and broad sympathies which can be brought to bear upon individuals and families who are living abnormally. In this committee, I believe, the case worker

\*An abstract. The complete address is available in pamphlet form as a publication of the Russell Sage Foundation.

<sup>1</sup> The original and more explicit title assigned for this paper was: How Shall Case Workers Contribute Their Knowledge to Industrial Reforms?

<sup>2</sup> The term "case" used throughout this paper refers to the designation given, not to the family living under abnormal conditions, but to the complex circumstances which bear in upon it and cause its abnormal life. The case is the problem; it does not refer to the family.

has his first rare opportunity to arouse popular interest for industrial reform, both because of the method he can employ and because, even among such a group of citizens having lively human sympathies, there is far too little appreciation of the relation often existing between broken families and the circumstances under which workers labor.

Now I maintain that in all essentials as to methods employed everything that goes on in the university law class, in which the case method of teaching is employed in the case-study class in medicine, in the social workers' training class, can be or is a part of the regular routine of the average case committee.<sup>3</sup> The committee, indeed, has the real thing. It has before it actual cases to be dealt with, in the handling of which very vital interests of living people are concerned—the kind of cases which all of these schools in their own particular lines are trying to reproduce as realistically as possible. If this method, as would seem by its wide adoption, has the stamp of approval as the best, or one of the best, methods toward educational discovery and understanding of the broad principles which underlie law, medicine, social work, and other sciences, should it not be seized upon by the case worker to develop the fundamental principles of industrial reform, when he has so favorable an opportunity as that afforded by the case committee? Before him lies the chance to instill sound industrial principles into the minds and make them a part of the experience of a group of intelligent and often influential people through whom these principles may quickly radiate to still larger groups.

It may be answered that this is too slow a process; that, even assuming that the whole case committee were soon convinced, at most it would mean only ten or a dozen people. I do not agree that it would touch so few. It would rarely happen that persons sitting weekly, fortnightly, or even monthly where such telling instruction (though they may not know they are being instructed) is being given will be so little impressed by the vital principles taught as never to mention them to others—not even to members of their own households. In my own limited knowledge of such committees I have found that when people feel they are really getting down to bed rock in dealing with cases they become very enthusiastic indeed, and that they talk a great deal.

#### *To Educate, Cases Must Be Well Handled*

But in order that the cases that come before case committees should develop fundamental industrial principles, they must be handled in ways that call for the *application* of broad fundamental principles, handled in ways that take into account the largest possible industrial considerations for all concerned. This, of course, should be done anyway. The restoration of a sorely beset family to normal living is clearly the first duty

<sup>3</sup> I realize that the professional case worker does not assume the attitude of teacher or leader toward his committee; he prefers to be a fellow-worker. That, however, was precisely the attitude, as I understand it, of Professor Langdell toward his class; they were all fellow-learners.

of the social agency in touch with it. But adequate care of the disabled person or family and the education of the committee can go hand in hand. The requirements for both are the same.

For example, I was recently told of the case of a bricklayer who had come to one of the charitable societies in New York for aid. He was a foreigner, and at the time was not working at his trade, but was employed as a porter in one of the large downtown buildings. He had a large family, and, since his pay was only \$12 a week, the children were not getting enough to eat. The question before the committee was what to do. Four alternatives emerged from the discussion: first, the society could supplement the man's wages by a regular weekly allowance to the family and let him continue at work where he was; second, the society might try to get his employer to pay him more wages and let him still stay where he was; third, it might try to get him back into his trade of bricklaying where he could earn a larger wage, the society underwriting the family's needs until he should become re-established; fourth, it might find him better paying work outside his trade.

It will be seen that any one of the other courses would be better than the first, the straight charitable supplementing of his wages. To quote the words of a leading case worker, "the old attitude toward relief in aid of wages that regarded it as an abominable interference with the interests of the independent laborer and a probable handicap to the future of the recipient, is still justified whenever relief is the only or the main item in our plan of treatment." Thus, instead of taking the simple and easy course involved in supplementing the man's wages, the only course that some of the committee would have thought of, it was far more serviceable to the family, and impressed an important principle upon that part of the committee, when the rule was followed which declared in effect that "industrial conditions and personal capacities are far from being as inelastic" as most of us suppose.

The careful consideration of this case brought out other lessons also. It showed that social case workers must be interested in the general mobility of labor; in getting workers into jobs where they can do their best, into places where wages for them are highest relatively or the cost of living lowest. The case worker must think of cases in terms of the whole state or the whole country and consequently must be interested in the many agencies established for the efficient exchange of labor. There may have been still other lessons, but this case will illustrate some of the reasons for urging that the treatment must be on a broad scale and for believing that in so treating them fundamental industrial principles will be taught.

Such treatment of cases, however, demands certain prerequisites, among them the following:

#### *Thorough Investigation of Industrial Facts*

First, *thorough investigation of the industrial facts is imperative.* A case worker who has had the opportunity to read case records made

up in many parts of the country told me that he was constantly struck by the inadequacy of the investigations into the industrial factors involved in families which had become dependent. Case workers appreciate the importance of learning the essential facts as to sickness and disease when these are factors in dependency; but not so when the disability has its roots in industrial conditions. To cite one of many illustrations of this neglect, the case record often is not sufficiently explicit as to the man's or woman's occupation; the investigator too often fails to get at what is involved in the occupation. It is not enough to class a plumber's helper roughly as a plumber; for there is too great difference as to wages, nature of work done, etc., for such a classification to mean anything. Nor is it sufficient to put a painter of carriages in a carriage factory as a carriage maker. At least two facts, as Miss Van Kleeck in a paper discussing this subject has already suggested, are needed regarding occupation. The kind of industry should be ascertained, and the worker's precise position in it, including the nature of the materials handled and the health hazard involved.

Again, data as to wages are often inadequate. Workmen's earnings must be measured with at least two things in mind: not alone wage rate, but the regularity of employment. Knowledge as to annual earnings or as to the irregularity of work will give a more accurate index of the family's problem than the daily, weekly, or monthly rate could possibly do. Similarly the number of hours worked weekly and the amount of overtime work are more essential than the nominal schedule of hours per day.

Again, a man's industrial relations are important. A good illustration of this came to my knowledge recently. It was the case of a family which for some time had been going down hill. The man was a machinist and when he came to the society's notice was a strike-breaker, having turned against his fellow workers. The case workers to whom he was referred decided that for his soul's salvation he should be reinstated in his union. They found out how it could be done; that it would cost some \$50. They raised the \$50 and finally got him back. But in the course of six months everything was as bad as ever. He maintained that the union had discriminated against him and that he was unfairly treated. About that time two brothers of the machinist were found and they told his life story, which made it clear that here were physical and mental factors that needed to be taken into account.

While in this instance the failure in the information had to do with mental and physical factors, it must be obvious that no thorough treatment of the case would have been possible had the mental and physical factors been known but the industrial ones entirely neglected.

Very often as much is at stake in getting the facts upon which to plan a family's rehabilitation as in the preparation for a court-of-law case; yet when these facts have to do with the wage earner's industrial troubles the case worker is not nearly so thorough as even the inex-



perienced young lawyer. The analogies have enough in common to argue for social workers' giving more attention to the family circumstances that may be due to wrong labor conditions—for their carrying over into the field of family rehabilitation something of the technique of the professions of medicine and law.

### *Adequate Plan of Treatment*

This leads to a second prerequisite of such adequate handling of industrial cases as shall make them useful as educational material and in addition a contribution toward industrial reform; namely, *more adequate treatment of industrial cases*. The first step in handling cases, as I understand it, is investigation and diagnosis; the second, treatment—decision as to a plan of treatment and the carrying of it out. The decision as to plan is made by the case committee. Since many cases involve health and legal questions, the committee usually includes at least one doctor and a lawyer. Other types of training or experience are represented; but I wonder how often the committee includes a person who is a specialist in labor questions. I do not mean a partisan of either side, but someone who understands the broad implications of the questions coming up and who can bring informed and impersonal judgment to bear on the plans to be worked out. Such persons, of course, are rare; but I fancy not quite so rare as we may think. When looked for, they are often discovered in very unexpected places. But if none such is available, it would seem only advisable that along with the employer's point of view usually found represented on the committee there should be someone who sees things from the point of view of the worker in the ranks, even if he be a partisan.

### *Personal Equipment of the Case Worker*

Indeed, I am inclined to think something more than either of these things suggested is needed. The professional case worker himself or herself needs to possess considerable knowledge of industrial issues. I realize, of course, that professional case workers cannot be specialists in physiology and hygiene, in psychoanalysis, law, industry, and every other branch of human knowledge; but it seems to me that they should nevertheless have a certain introductory acquaintance, at least, with all of these fields in order to make their work succeed at all. And I wonder whether industry is not one of the fields that needs a *good deal* of their thought and attention. If the case worker is to get what is involved in a particular occupation he must have a general comprehension of what *can* be involved in the occupation. He not only ought to have some real grasp of industrial questions, but he should appreciate the importance of industrial questions. Miss Richmond, in her book on Social Diagnosis, indicates two kinds of equipment needed by the social case worker for his daily task. "To be a good case worker," he says, "he must have a generous conception, and one filled with concrete details, of the

possibilities of social service, and this conception must be a growing one. It must grow with his growing experience and also with each year's freight of social discovery."

#### *Appreciation of Relation Between Wages and Health*

If I interpret this correctly, when applied to the industrial field, it means that the case worker should not only be acquainted with the results of research and discovery in the industrial field, but that the way in which industrial issues are insinuated into most of our social relations should be recognized by him. It is part of his working equipment, for example, to appreciate, as Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas pointed out at the Fifteenth Annual Conference of Health Officers of New York State, that wages and health are directly related. To use General Gorgas' words:

It is the health officer's duty to urge forward these measures in his community which will control individual diseases; but my long experience has taught me that it is still more his duty to take that broader view of life which goes to the root of bad hygiene, and do what he can to elevate the general social conditions of his community. This, my experience has taught me, *can best be accomplished by increasing wages.* [The Italics are mine.] Such measure tend at the same time to alleviate the poverty, misery and suffering which are occurring among the poorest classes everywhere in modern communities.

Thus, also, would General Gorgas have the health officer, who in much of his work is a case worker, see that at least part of his responsibilities lie in the industrial field.

#### *Health and the Hours of Labor*

Similarly, the case worker should understand something of what industrial physiology is discovering as to the hours a man or woman may properly work and how the human factor can and cannot be used in industrial processes. Dr. Frederic S. Lee, consulting physiologist of the United States Public Health Service and professor of physiology in Columbia University, for example, in a review of recent work as to the bearing of physiological science upon industrial efficiency, sums up his opinions as follows:

"Industrial physiology tells us, in the interest of a large output, not only to keep the hours of labor down to what experience has shown to be a reasonable limit, but to choose this limit in accordance with the fatiguing effects of the different specific occupations. It tells us to introduce recess periods into long spells, to omit Sunday labor, and to impose overtime on already fatigued workers only in rare emergencies and when compensation can be given by free hours later. It tells us not to keep the same workers continually on the night shift, but to alternate night with day work. It tells us that each worker and each task possesses a specific standard of strength, and it indicates in what task each worker will probably prove most efficient. It tells us that each worker has a rhythm that is best adapted to his own neuromuscular mechanism and that it is advantageous to place in a squad of workers doing a specific task only those possessing similar rhythms, eliminating the faster and the slower individuals, and then to adjust the speed of operation to the common rate. Such instances as these few reveal the scope of industrial physiology and show how it is indicating some of the ways in

which the most intricate of all industrial machines, the body of the worker, must be used in order to bring out its greatest usefulness."

### *Income, Morals, and Ethics*

Again, the case worker's equipment should include a working appreciation of the relation of income to ethics and morals. Those who heard Professor James H. Tufts, head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Chicago, deliver his address on *The Ethics of the Family* at the Baltimore Conference will recall how his remarks on income and ethics, from the point of view of the student of philosophy, coincided with earlier conclusions of Professor Simon N. Patten, arrived at from the point of view of the sociologist and political scientist. Among other things, Professor Tufts said:

"The great point on which more positive ethics for the working-class family should center, I repeat, is a higher standard of living, a higher wage and a better house, better opportunities for play, and longer and better education for children. . . . The lack of privacy, decency, comfort, and resources in which great multitudes of our city children are now brought up is a far stronger menace to family life than any ethical—or unethical—theory or any frequency of divorce, and when we have remedied some of these conditions, we can speak more confidently as to the next thing."

At another, earlier place in the same address, he said, "If, therefore, one is to help the morals of the working-class family, the raising of the standard of living is evidently the most hopeful line of attack, whether this takes the individual form of better training and education of both boys and girls, or the form of public control of housing and sanitation, or public insurance for unemployment, accidents, and illness, and ultimately of a juster distribution of gains."

These conclusions suggest that reached by Mr. John Nolan, of the National Housing Association, and stated at the Providence session of that organization. He emphatically declared that the housing problem of most of our communities would never be solved until the wage question of our communities comes nearer being settled. I do not understand this to mean that housing conditions depend wholly upon wages; improvement in the wage scale must be accompanied by other reforms and improvements also. But it *does* mean that wages are a very important and vital factor in the housing question; and that its ultimate solution will not be reached until the wage situation is much improved, to say the least.

### *The Industrial Reformer's Help Needed*

And so on; the testimony of seasoned students and observers could be quoted at length. In so doing, we should very often be merely expressing in new phrases conclusions which many social workers have put into the public print long ago. And yet, in spite of it all, it is my conviction (I may be wrong, and I hope I am) that most of us who have known these things have not acted sufficiently on the knowledge, have not made it function in our own communities. Possibly this is because we have

not seen the opportunity for its functioning; because the technique for putting these theories and broad principles into concrete acts has not been sufficiently worked out. Indeed it has been worked out hardly at all. And here, clearly, the responsibility lies upon the *industrial reformer* to put his material in such shape as the case worker can use. His help along industrial lines should be similar to that of Dr. Cabot in medicine; he should put industrial knowledge and principles in a form which the social case worker can use. Household economists are helping the social worker in like ways in their field. But until the industrial reformer acts, I think the case worker can hardly excuse himself from doing all in his power to see that the diagnosis of industrial cases which come before his committee have brought to bear upon them the largest possible grasp of sound industrial knowledge and principles.

Fortunately there is much that the case worker can do for himself toward this kind of equipment—important, among other things, being the familiarizing of himself, as he has opportunity, with the industries of his own city. In order to deal with industrial cases most intelligently, he should have as large a background as possible of information regarding hours of work, wages, the physical surroundings of workers, and so on in the localities where the families brought to his attention live and work.

Finally, in order to arrive at the wisest decisions in planning for industrially disabled families, and to lay down principles of procedure in treating cases, which will be seed of future industrial improvements, case workers need to be faithful to the industrial facts as they find them, no matter who or what the interests that are hit. If the truth is to be acted upon, if case work is to have its basis on something solid, then the facts must be looked at impersonally and interpreted disinterestedly. This, I believe, however, is a suggestion which social workers need less than any other single group. The vast majority of social case work agencies have shown great courage in the past, and are showing more and more of it as time goes on.

#### *Other Opportunities for Teaching Industrial Facts*

These, then, are some of the ways in which case workers can apparently make their experience and knowledge count toward industrial improvement through contact with their case committees or case conferences. Their endeavors need not stop there, however. Several other avenues for teaching, still through the case method, which in the limited time available can be only touched upon, are open to them.

The *first* is the opportunity afforded through industrial and social-study classes. I know of at least one such class made up of enthusiastic young college women who induced the secretary of their associated charities to lead them in studying current social questions. It is hard to conceive of any better material for such an educational adventure than the active cases that come to the charitable agencies every day. Here was a chance, which was grasped, to set up an additional center in which



live labor issues could be discussed and through which the principles of industrial justice could be made to radiate to the families and friends of the young women of the class. If such a class is profitable in one city, it should be in others.

A *second* opportunity is to be had through the regular practice which some case workers pursue of reporting to contributors regarding families in which the contributors are interested. There is more and more tendency, as I understand it, when writing such reports (or better, when making them in person) to be specific—not to say merely that Mr. Smith, or Mr. Brown and family are "doing nicely"; but to indicate specifically the treatment being given and the progress made. What a capital chance to go into fundamentals in presenting industrial cases and interpreting them in ways that will educate!

A *third* avenue is much like the second. It is to be found in the practice of many societies of reporting on the progress of case treatment to the person who referred a certain family to the agency.

A *fourth* chance for such educational work is through the *general* reporting of the social or agency. Most agencies issue annual reports which go not only to contributors but to many other interested persons and to the press. Each year some one phase of the society's work, the industrial side among others, could be interpreted through the case method in ways that would set people thinking beyond the actual cases in hand.

*Fifth*, the case worker may make use of the newspapers all the year round. Most social agencies are feeling an increasing need of interpreting their constructive work to the public. Too often they are thought of popularly as strictly relief-giving agencies. I dare say that few endeavorers could do more to correct this misconception than occasional interpretations of the agency's work by bringing before the public cases in which the treatment given was dictated by broad industrial considerations.

A *sixth* way of teaching is that afforded in the occasional requests coming to case workers to make public addresses. Wherever and whenever it appears at all timely, industrial lessons drawn out of concrete daily experiences might be set forth to advantage.

A *seventh* method of reform may be found in the occasional calls upon employers whose co-operation is needed in carrying out the plan of treatment decided upon. Not all employers, not all even of those responsible for the bad industrial conditions, are cruel or selfish; many are merely ignorant and are willing to learn. The case worker is in a particularly favorable position to approach the employer and to teach him, since he comes on an unselfish errand, speaks on behalf of one in whom the employer presumably is interested, and has a definite plan into which the co-operation of the employer will fit. Through the presentation of well analyzed cases, it is often possible to show employers that the wages of women, for example, are a matter of public concern.

An *eighth* avenue may sometimes be found in other case work agencies whose representatives from time to time sit upon our particular case committee. When this is taken advantage of, a new center of educational influence may often be established.

And, finally, a *ninth* avenue is that found in the families restored to normal living themselves. This is well illustrated in the success of many societies in securing the co-operation of parents in observing child-labor laws, a kind of industrial reform which is especially likely to fail unless parents believe in it. It means a great deal, moreover, in laying the foundations for labor advance, to show workers in concrete ways that lead poisoning and other occupational diseases, for example, are not inevitable visitations upon people grown accustomed to misfortune; that they are preventable, that there are precautions which workers can take, and that right-thinking citizens will rally behind a demand for the preventive measures which the employer should install. These restored families should form another group who can help the work along.

This, doubtless, seems like a long catalogue. I think it will be realized, however, that the suggestions made add no new items to the usual routine of case work. They merely have to do with ways in which that routine can be made to contribute to industrial reform. And, incidentally, those workers interested in getting down to fundamentals, a purpose which I have heard voiced so often and with which I heartily sympathize, will find enough in such a routine, if used to the full, to claim a great deal of their energy and at times to call into play about all the moral courage they can summon.

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## THE SOCIAL CASE WORKER AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

*Edith Abbott, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy*

I feel that I should begin by saying, apologetically, that the subject of this paper was not of my own choosing but was selected for me and telegraphed on to me by your chairman. I say this by way of introduction, for I fear that many of you here may think that I am telling you things which are so definitely an outgrowth of your own experience that it may all seem very obvious to you.

Just about this time last year I happened to be going West on the same train with my old friend and teacher, Dean Roscoe Pound, now of the Harvard Law School. I asked Dean Pound at this time what he considered the most interesting problem in social legislation. "In America," he replied quickly, "our most interesting problem is how to get the legislation on our statute books enforced." Now this was very interesting to me as a social worker, for social workers come very close as a group to the protective legislation that is designed to safe-

guard the interests of the weak and the poor—to save working women from overwork and children from the wasteful lives of premature wage-earning. And it is in securing the enforcement of such laws that the social worker finds a great opportunity for constructive work if she is alert to seize it. It has been part of my work for the last ten years to discuss frequently with young college graduates and graduates of training schools for social work the problem of their future careers. Very often these young women say that they do not want to go into case-work; they would like something constructive. I suppose that I have quoted Miss Richmond a great many hundred times as a basis for explaining that case-work offers the best kind of training for constructive work. The good social worker, says Miss Richmond, doesn't go on mechanically helping people out of a ditch. Pretty soon she begins to find out what ought to be done to get rid of the ditch.

#### *Making the Ten-Hour Law Effective*

It has been my privilege in Chicago to be associated with a number of different case-work agencies, and each of them from time to time affords interesting illustrations of what case-workers may do to make effective the protective legislation that is so laboriously won from our legislatures. One of the best examples of such legislation is our ten-hour law in Illinois. You may remember that Mrs. Kelley and Miss Addams had persuaded our legislature to pass an eight-hour law for working women in 1893, which was declared unconstitutional by our conservative Supreme Court. So it was a great triumph, twenty years later, when the court sustained the new ten-hour law. Even a supreme court can change its mind in twenty years. This battle, however, was only half won. It was a difficult law to enforce, because the only witnesses of its violation were working girls afraid of losing their jobs if they testify against their employers. Great shrewdness, skill, and persistence were needed in the Department of Factory Inspection to enforce this law properly, and some years ago these qualities did not grow with profusion in that particular state department. The Immigrants' Protective League, an agency doing case-work among immigrant men and women, found evidence that this hardly won law was not being enforced in many places where immigrant girls were working. Specific complaints were made to the Factory Inspector's office, but it was not easy to find what was done about them. The League suspected that the Department was not interested in complaints about Polish girls and that the inspector found it difficult to work without the interpreters necessary to get evidence for prosecuting employers.

Finally the League adopted the policy of requesting that information be given of the results of the investigation of each complaint, but the Factory Inspector wrote to the director that the business of his office had grown to such proportions that he was unable to send out notices about the results of the investigations of complaints received, but that

if someone would call at the office either "personally or by phone" three or four days after forwarding complaints, such reports would always be furnished. The League began the practice of sending a visitor to the office of the Factory Inspector to learn the result of each investigation. But the statement that "three or four days after forwarding the complaint," a report could be secured was found to be inaccurate. Usually three or four months—or three or four times three or four months—was necessary.

The following cases indicate the vigorous persistence with which one case-work agency pursued the violations of this law during the first year after it was put on the statute book:

On the twenty-third of March one of the downtown hotels was reported because the Polish scrub girls worked twelve hours a day. Three weeks later a representative of the League called at the office of the Inspector and was informed that the case had not yet been assigned for investigation. Three days later there was still no report, but after another week it was learned that the inspector had visited the hotel and had found eleven violations. On May 20 nothing further could be learned as to the outcome of the case. On the twenty-third the record showed that the proprietor had been prosecuted, and that the case was "pending." On August 31 the report on the case was not yet available; but ultimately on September 19, one hundred and eighty days after the filing of the complaint, the record was found completed, showing that the hotel had been fined \$25 and costs as a penalty for the eleven violations.

I leave it to you to decide whether or not the hotel would have been fined if the social agency had not followed up its complaints instead of merely filing them.

Another case required a still longer time for its disposition.

A restaurant was reported on the 27th of February for violating the ten-hour law by requiring its Polish scrub girls to work twelve hours a day. A representative of the League called at the Factory Inspector's office on March 13, two weeks after, and the report on the investigation of the complaint had not yet been made. On March 16 they found a record that an inspection had been made but that only two violations were recorded. In order to follow through the case and to learn what had been done with the employer, another call was made a month later; but the clerk was not in, and nothing more could be learned. On May 24 the disposition of the case was described as pending in the Factory Inspector's office. August 31, the clerk could not find any record of the result of the case. September 19, the same. October 19, the same. November 13, the same. December 16, the same. But on December 19 papers were being made out to take the case to court. On December 30 a reinspection had been made and violations found. So after ten months' deliberation it was decided to prosecute the employer. On January 30 the case had been continued by the judge. On February 14 the League visitor was told that the restaurant had been reinspected on February 6 and was found to have changed hands and the proprietor was believed to be obeying the law, though why he should have been lead to believe that this was necessary from the experience of his predecessor was not entirely clear.

The League also went back over some of the cases which were on the records in the Factory Inspector's office with the words "No violations." It was found that in some cases the girls had never been questioned as to their hours because the inspector was unable to speak Polish. Some of the inspectors had, as a matter of fact, recommended on their reports a reinvestigation because they knew the inadequacy of their report, but the recommendations had been entirely disregarded in the office.

Altogether the vigorous effort made by the case-workers of the League to find out what was being done with the violations of the ten-



hour law convinced many people of the disastrous result of the delays in court which were depriving the woman worker of the protection that the law intended she should have and the woman so seriously needs.

It was during the regime of the same factory inspectors that we found in the old West Side district of the United Charities some interesting evidence of the failure to enforce an older labor law—the so-called health, safety and comfort act, designed to establish proper sanitary standards in industrial establishments. On two successive committee days in the old West Side office we had the difficult problem of providing for the family of a tubercular man who was doing "light work." One, I remember, was a flagman on the elevated railroad. It occurred to someone to ask for the industrial histories of these men in the hope that some former employer might be found who would assist. Both men had had a history of intermittent light jobs since their physical breakdown, but it appeared when a report was made at a later meeting of the committee that both men had contracted tuberculosis during their employment in the same West Side foundry, where both had worked for a series of years. This interesting fact was promptly reported to a new chief in the Department of Factory Inspection, who promptly investigated this place and found a large number of violations of the so-called "Health, Safety and Comfort Law."

#### *On the Trail of Employment Agencies*

Another form of protective legislation very frequently violated is the law regulating the employment agencies. Immigrants are most frequently exploited by such agencies, and the Immigrants' Protective League in Chicago found in its dealing with immigrant families many cases of such violations.

A crippled young Pole, who was discharged from the County Hospital, needed help during convalescence and then assistance in finding work suitable for a man with only one foot. In trying to explain how he lost the foot, the Polish visitor got from him the following story. Ten Polish laborers who lived in the same house on the West Side of Chicago were sent to Wyoming during the winter when jobs were scarce to work in a lumber camp. The agent charged them \$100, \$10 each for the jobs they were promised. When they were put off the train in Wyoming, they found no work of the character described but were given work for a short time on the railroad. When they were "laid off," quite without funds, they started to walk back to Chicago. One of the men, a bright young fellow of twenty-two, froze his foot. With no money to pay a doctor for treatment, he thought the only thing he could do was to keep walking on. When he finally reached Chicago, blood-poisoning had set in, and it was necessary to amputate the foot. Although crippled for life, he felt not so much resentment against the agent who sent him as shame that he should have been so ignorant of the climate of Wyoming and humiliation that he should have proved such an easy victim. "That's what you get if you're a green-horn," he said, and he was unwilling at first to have any steps taken that would expose his own ignorance, and reluctantly consented to have a record made of the fact.

A little experience with such cases shows the defendants find that the easiest method of defense when they are taken into court is to take a continuance, as the men are compelled to "ship out" to work at the first opportunity, and if the case is postponed the complainants will be out of town when it comes to trial. How easily this method is used was illustrated in the case of nine Roumanians and twenty-two Armen-

ians who paid an Italian agent, the former \$10 apiece and the latter \$12 apiece for work in Ottawa, Illinois, in all \$354. They were sent to Ottawa on May 10 and returned on May 13, after the chief of police of Ottawa had telegraphed that there was no work for them. A warrant was taken out for the employment agent, and the case was heard for the first time on May 23 and was continued to May 25, then transferred to the Criminal Branch and set for June 10. In the meantime the men had found work outside of the city. The whole theory of the usefulness of the Municipal Courts breaks down in these delays. Civil action in these cases is usually fruitless, as most agents have no property and the bond they give is only \$500. The claims in this case were over \$1,500.

A study of such cases as these makes it clear that the present employment agency law in Illionis breaks down in its enforcement so that it is not possible to protect the immigrant workers who are most in need of its protection.

#### *Child Labor and Compulsory Education*

Coming more closely under the observation of the case-workers is all our child labor legislation and the compulsory education legislation that returns to school the child who is proved not to be old enough to go to work. A good case-work agency may be very effective in encouraging the factory inspector to enforce the law vigorously and to see that children under age are not at work. The weakness of the child labor laws in most of our states is that without a system of birth-registration, proof of age is not easy and a lax official in charge of the issuing of working papers or an indifferent and unintelligent school principal may defeat the law by accepting parents' affidavits in difficult cases instead of searching until satisfactory proof of age is found.

In a large city like Chicago that is fortunate enough to have a good charity organization society many cases of working papers obtained for children under fourteen will be discovered through the relief records. When a family first applies for help, the dates of birth of all the children are carefully entered in the "case record," and it is not easy at this time to give incorrect ages. Moreover, the younger the children are, the more appealing is the distress of the applicants, and therefore there is every reason why the age should not be overstated. Later, when one of the children goes to work illegally, a resourceful case-worker may as a result of suspicion aroused by the old record succeed in finding the evidence that will serve to return the child to school.<sup>1</sup> Many examples of work of this kind may be found in the district offices of the United Charities of Chicago. I was tremendously impressed with the work done by the case-workers in our old West Side office under Miss Sears and Miss Bedford:

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of this subject, see "Truancy and Non-Attendance, a Study of the Enforcement of the Child Labor and Compulsory Attendance Laws of Illinois," By E. Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge. (University of Chicago Press, 1917.)

Thus, an Italian family that applied for help said that their youngest child was ten years old and gave a date of birth which properly related to the dates given for the older children in the family. Two years later, the youngest child, then twelve years old according to the case record, came into the office with an age-and-school certificate and asked that someone help her to find work. She had already been working in a box factory for several weeks, earning \$2.50 a week, but she said that she did not get on very well and had been told that she was too slow. The child had attended four different public schools in Chicago and one parochial school from which a certificate had finally been issued. She had attended school very irregularly, and the date of her birth had been given differently in each school. The visitor of the society acted properly on the assumption that the lower age should always be taken as the correct age until it can be proved incorrect. She noted that the record showed that the family had moved to Chicago from Omaha, where all the children had been born. A visit to the mother gave the name of the church in Omaha where the children had been baptized; and a letter to the secretary of the Omaha Charity Organization Society asking that the church be located and copies of the baptismal record be obtained. This letter brought back proof that the child was only twelve years old. The factory inspector was notified, and the age-and-school certificate withdrawn, and the child was returned to school under the supervision of the Department of Compulsory Education. It is important to note, however, that this violation of the compulsory education law and the child labor law was discovered through a case-work agency and almost by accident and that the proof of age which brought about the return of the child to school was secured by the same private agency.

#### A more difficult problem is that of the immigrant family.

A Polish woman applied for help in the district office, saying that her six children were freezing and her husband was ill in the hospital with incurable heart trouble. Their story was pitiful: the man had worked in the sulphur mines at home and hearing of the high wages in America, decided to come to this country. He came to New York, but was unsuccessful in finding work and then went to Pennsylvania, because he had heard of work in the brickyards there at \$1.50 per day. He had saved enough in two years to bring over his wife and children; but after the first year work became slack, so he moved to another small town in the same state, and then, still unsuccessful, he went back to New York, where he struggled along for sixteen months, and then came to Chicago, where work was plentiful, but for him disastrous, since it had led to overwork and a mortal illness. The visitor from the Charities decided that she would interview the sole wage-earner in the family, a little girl working for a low wage in a candy factory. A Sunday visit led to the information that the child was only twelve. The neighbors told them to say that she was fourteen and the child could earn money for them. When she was told that the little girl must leave the candy factory where she was working and go to school, the mother refused to submit, and a long struggle followed to get the child in school. The mother claimed that the child was unwilling to go to school and felt no other excuse was needed, and it seemed very hard that her application for aid should be met by the withdrawal of the only wage earner.

It is not enough to know the age at which the law permits a child to go to work. The social worker must know all the conditions on which age-and-school certificates are issued, the kind of occupation, and the hours at which a child may work. For example, the Illinois child labor law provides that a child may not work at a dangerous occupation, but it is important for every social worker to know precisely how the factory inspector's office defines a dangerous occupation. A social worker of my acquaintance has been careful to report several laundries that have employed little girls on the mangel, since work on the mangel is classed as a dangerous occupation for a child under sixteen.

#### *Mobilizing Case Records and Experiences*

The records of case-work organizations are a mine of information showing the need for protective legislation and showing also whether or not such legislation is being enforced after it has been passed. Enlightened politicians and still more enlightened university professors may be responsible for the final writing of the protective laws on the

statute books, but they do not know at first hand the lives of the people for whom they are legislating and they know as little as it is possible for intelligent people to know of how the new laws they have made are working. It is left for the social worker who is in touch day by day and every day with the persons who should be helped by such legislation to say whether or not it is finally successful. Our new child labor law in Illinois is the direct result of the work of a single case-work agency, the Vocational Supervision Bureau. The head of this bureau, Miss Anne Davis, marshaled from the study of her case records such precise and accurate data showing the defects of the old law that almost solely on this evidence the legislature was convinced that a more stringent law was needed.

In more than one state, the records of the charity organization societies have been used as the most convincing proof of the need of workmen's compensation legislation and the case-workers are under obligation to take note now of the working of such laws after they have passed. Eternal vigilance is the price of a good labor code. Everyone worthy of being called a social worker should be thoroughly acquainted with the industrial legislation of her state. Indeed, no social worker is worth her salt if she does not know the provisions of her child labor law and is not at the same time just as alert to note any violations of the law as she is to do any of the things that seem to belong more directly to her day's work. A social worker who connived at the violation of the law prohibiting children from working nights is as guilty as the school principal who violates the law by issuing certificates to children who cannot read and write. I have known examples of both sorts in Chicago, and they ought to be withdrawn to some occupation more suited to their conscience and capacities.

Now I am sure these statements are not new to those who are here, but I think you will agree with me on the importance of driving home one point this morning: that every case-worker has it in her power, if she is interested, alert, and intelligent to assist in preventing more poverty in the future than she can ever relieve in the present. Rehabilitating Mr. and Mrs. Jones and their children is a very important and necessary occupation, but while we are at work on this piece of social reconstruction let us get rid of the ditches that have been responsible for the downfall of the Joneses. If the compulsory education law that keeps the Jones children in school and the child labor law that protects them from dangerous occupations are not enforced the children of the Joneses and of all their uncles and cousins and aunts will be with us for a generation to come and more.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Hornell Hart*, research fellow of the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, Cincinnati felt that each case should have two types of diagnosis and two plans, the first to meet the emergency of that particular case,



the second to prevent that same emergency arising in cases of similar type. For instance; help the widow with young children, but work out a general plan such as mother's pensions, etc., that will prevent other widows with young children from having to apply, or help the family while the bread winner is ill, but work out some plan for sickness insurance that will keep other families with sick bread winners independent.

2. *Mrs. Florence Kelley*, National Consumer's League, New York City, referring to Miss Abbotts paper, brought out the point that there is frequently an honest, intelligent, faithful public official who in doing his duty comes up against powerful, organized employers, who will make him lose his job if they possibly can. Case workers can give strong support to such officials through their case records, if these records are properly kept.

Mrs. Kelley stated that it was exceedingly rare that workers were so scarce as to justify a mother's leaving young children to charitable care, or to no care at all, or caring for them herself by day, and working at night.

3. *Edward Lynde* of Detroit also participated in the discussion.

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## THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman, Gertrude M. Dickey, Registrar, Associated Charities, Columbus, Ohio*

It was with a feeling of keen satisfaction that Mr. McLean's suggestion, *How Far May Registration Profitably Outstrip the Keeping of Individual Records*, for the general topic of this first session on the social service exchange, was received. For this title brings the spirit of mutual helpfulness.

The old, negative idea of preventing waste of money and time through the registration of families has given place to the positive, progressive, ideal of securing to each family the greatest benefit, through conference among those interested in its welfare. Good case work comes only through complete understanding of influences which affect the family.

We must, therefore, take into consideration the organizations which do not keep adequate records. Although they have not come into a full realization of the value of method in their work, they do have a large place in the social scheme of many communities. Some of them render real service, others may do great harm, but in either case those dealing with the family need to be conscious of all the facts. A visitor from a benevolent society who has known a patient for years may be the only one who can persuade the patient to accept needed care or treatment. The lack of full records in the society which she represents should not prevent this visitor from learning through registration with the exchange just who else are interested in the patient, and helping to work out an intelligent plan for her relief. As workers of the *record* and *non-record* groups meet frequently on the ground of common interest, and are filled with a desire to learn the best way by which different families may return

to normal life, there must come a better appreciation of the other's motive and viewpoint.

Prejudice against the unknown seems to be a very common failing, and this is true of organization as well as individual. The remedy for prejudice is knowledge and acquaintance. It is easy to sympathize with one who has told you his aims and has shown that he thoroughly believes in his work, and easy to respect the opinion of one who is truly in earnest. Not only will this acquaintance bring about more friendly interest through better individual case work, but it will lead to broader social usefulness.

When we know the health agencies, it is natural to refer health problems to them; so may their contact with their own problem be enlarged. Church and settlement workers establish social contacts; hospitals and dispensaries, medical contacts. The results of these should be available, although they may be unrecorded or unindexed. Frequently it will be possible only to learn of the present situation. But the better developed agencies keep records of all interviews in connection with cases, so these results will become a part of the families' written history.

The registration value of poor record organizations as well as of good ones depends entirely upon their openmindedness, the fullness of their reports, their eagerness to share their knowledge and their willingness to profit by the experience of their fellow workers. Through case conference workers learn to analyze the results of their own labor, as well as that of others.

The recognition of imperfection is the first step toward improvement. The raising of standards must follow and become evident in better co-operation, improved case work (including records) and a larger sense of community responsibility.

When registration is not followed up or inquiries are met with grudging response, the social service exchange may well consider refusing to receive registrations from such organizations; this, of course, only after an earnest effort has been made to change the attitude of the agency. Registration of this kind will usually come from the endeavor to meet with a requirement in order to secure endorsement as a basis for financial support.

Chamber of commerce or other municipal bodies may well be urged to learn from the exchange to what extent it is being used, and base approval on these reports.

Any attempt to keep the letter of this law of registration without the spirit should be discouraged. Upon the stronger organization rests the task of helping the weaker secure the means for better record keeping. By inquiring for facts learned and treatment given during contact with the family over a period of years, and by asking about plans for the future, it is possible to aid workers in their efforts to convince their boards that such information should be kept in permanent form.

All agencies can make the exchange of greater value by urging others to use it fully. If it is found that the lack of response from any organization has not been corrected, the exchange should be notified.

The social service exchange should be ready, not only to report back on registrations, but to make sure that they are being followed up. From the agencies it should learn how fully the information is used and in what way the method may be better adapted to certain needs. It should be ready to call case conferences, where this is not otherwise arranged for. It should be ready to assist organizations to install or change their record systems, or to direct them to another agency better equipped. It should always remember that the exchange was created and now lives for the purpose of working with all who are earnestly trying to solve the problems of this complex social day.

#### NOTE

The following description of the social service exchange, the topic of the present symposium, is given on request by the chairman of a national committee on the subject, Miss Bessie E. Hall, registrar of the Cleveland Associated Charities:

The *social service exchange* is now universally recognized as the best plan for promoting the interchange of information between agencies whose interest may be centered on the same family.

The central exchange keeps a card index of all cases handled by the several co-operating agencies. Each card carries only identifying information,—the surname, first names of man, woman and children, address, ages, occupation, and a few other pertinent facts regarding each family or individual known to any of the agencies using it. On this identification card is recorded the name of each organization that has notified the exchange of its interest in the family. Each agency thus notified is given the name of the agencies whose names appear on the identification card, and they in turn are all notified of the interest of the new agency.

The exchange carries no treatment or history facts. It employs no visitors, has no extended knowledge of the families whose names appear in the files,—it is simply a guide to show where such information can be found. A person or agency consulting the exchange does not bring a family to the attention of any agency, nor give publicity of any kind to its condition. Information is given only to those who have a clearly defined social interest. This is an essential rule.

An efficient social service exchange has three main purposes. First, and most important, it safeguards the family's welfare and relieves it both from the embarrassment of unnecessary investigations and from the confusion of conflicting plans of treatment. Second, it brings about a better understanding between the various social agencies as to the nature and extent of service each is prepared to render. Such understanding is bound to result in improved standards of work. Third, it tends to prevent duplication of effort, and thus saves time and money.

There are some sixty exchanges in the United States and Canada. The majority of these are financed and managed by the local charity organization society. In view of the fact that the exchange is a community activity, it is being financed in several cities as a feature of the central council or welfare federation.

### VALUE OF REGISTRATION IN THE CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE TO ORGANIZATIONS WHICH KEEP ADEQUATE RECORDS

*Robert C. Dexter, General Secretary, Charity Organization Society,  
Montreal*

The important word in the subject that I have been asked to discuss, is *adequate*. It is doubtful if any organization which keeps no record at all, not even a card catalogue, would wish to register its cases with the exchange, and I do not feel that the exchange should accept such registration. The question then resolves itself into what constitutes an adequate record, and here we may have difficulties. For myself, I be-

lieve an adequate record to be a record sufficiently complete for the purpose for which it is intended. It would be easy to consider the word *adequate* from a charity organization point of view only, rather than the viewpoint of the social service exchange. May I, however, call your attention to the fact that a record adequate for a family agency like the charity organization may be unnecessarily detailed for an infant welfare station, for example.

Having settled that an adequate record does not necessarily mean a complete C. O. S. record or hospital social service record, but simply a record sufficient for the service for which it is intended, the first consideration is, who determines the adequacy? This can be answered quite definitely, that the standards of work in each field must be made by the workers themselves. Such standards have been slow in coming in social work; however, we have certain definite standards in some groups and the adequacy or inadequacy of the record must be determined by those standards. For instance, the Russell Sage Foundation and the usage of the larger charity organizations in the country determine standards for charity organization societies. The usage of the juvenile courts in Boston, Chicago and other centres determine the adequacy of juvenile court records. The usage of the home service section of the Red Cross determines the adequacy of records kept for soldier's families, etc.

#### *Value in Common to Record-Keeping Agencies*

The value of registration to organizations which themselves keep adequate records, of other organizations which also keep adequate records, would seem to be obvious. The exchange of information, the sidelights from the specialty of each organization, are invaluable. The fact that the records differ considerably is all the more reason why the exchange of information is of service. It is questionable whether the value of registration can be so great as to obviate the necessity of separate investigation by each agency. Unless two agencies are doing identically the same type of work and have the same standards, a relatively rare phenomenon, I doubt whether registering will entirely do away with duplicate investigations. It will do away, however, with investigations on many points. For instance, the names and ages of the family, past addresses, verifications of marriages and birth records, employers, etc., are facts which most social agencies keep, and which are exchangeable and prevent unnecessary inquiry. On the other hand, such important parts of the record as health conditions, moral surroundings, housing, wages, family history, not only vary from time to time, but are emphasized differently by different agencies, depending on the type of service rendered, and each agency must make its own evaluation for the purpose of its own treatment.

Of course, another value, which is so obvious that it just needs mentioning, is the fact that registration often prevents initiating action by one agency, as another which can perfectly well perform the services required is already in the field.



*Registration by Non-Record-Keeping Agencies*

The real question for discussion, however, is the value of registration of organizations which do not keep adequate records to other organizations which do, or in other words, should the exchange accept registrations which are classified as inadequate? This matter we have given a good deal of thought in Montreal and we have come to the definite conclusion that we would be willing to accept registration from any agency which keeps any record at all, whether that record be a card catalogue, an index in a book, or a complete C. O. S. case history. On the other hand, we have decided that we could not take registrations from agencies where the only record is to be found in the memory of individual workers.

Many agencies which register with us do not keep case records as complete as those of the C. O. S. This is particularly true of some of our numerous, far too numerous, war relief activities. Some of these keep more or less complete records, but none nearly as complete as the typical social case history. Some of the governmental agencies, for example, are required to secure only certain definite information, and very rarely go beyond that; others are entirely voluntary agencies, with untrained visitors who are not in a position to secure complete case histories. In our exchange, however, we have had registrations from both types of agencies and we have found them of great value to us. If a case is registered from the Board of Pension Commissioners for instance, we know that we can obtain an accurate history of the man's military service and physical condition; if registered from the Canadian Patriotic Fund we know that there is probably someone in that organization who knows a good deal about the family in general, although it may be necessary to obtain most of the information by word of mouth. In either case we know that a member of the family is, or has been, in the C. E. F., and we can obtain a statement of government money coming to the family.

Particularly in war times, with special agencies springing into existence, it is not only advantageous but absolutely necessary that the confidential exchange should receive registrations from agencies whose type of record does not correspond to a full case history.

The same reasoning which finds the registrations of war time agencies valuable, approves the registration of infant welfare stations which only keep facts regarding the health of the baby and the mother, or registration of institutions for homeless men which keep little more than individual identifying information.

The mere fact of registration itself is often valuable; for instance registration with a tuberculosis clinic suggests certain health problems, and registration with religious societies of different faiths might be significant.

The losses through such registrations are, of course, mainly the loss of time in the exchange in taking them and the loss of time on the

part of the agency which keeps adequate records in looking them up. There is also a certain psychological factor which is prejudicial to the use of the Exchange on the part of the better type of agencies, if their returns from the exchange only bring in agencies which can give very little information. I think, however, the fault here is that those of us who are connected with agencies keeping full records sometimes expect too much of other agencies which are doing only specialized types of work. If we take from them what they can give us I think we will find it to be of value.

#### *Value to Agencies Which Keep Poor Records*

On the other hand the value to agencies which even for their own purposes keep inadequate records, of constant contact with other agencies which keep complete records, is inestimable. We have not yet succeeded in convincing all the workers on the Patriotic Fund, for instance, that they should keep case histories, and their official records generally consist only of a brief initial investigation and of letters on the cases. At the same time, the constant referring back for information to individual workers has convinced some of them that a case history should be kept, and certain district workers now have case histories similar to those kept by the C. O. S., or the home service section of the Red Cross. Agencies in Montreal have developed a type of record adequate for their own purposes instead of a cumbersome book, for example, because of the constant pressure brought through other agencies registering in the exchange.

A point which has a definite bearing on this question is whether the exchange shall be simply an exchange, or a keeper of records of a sort itself. If the exchange is to be itself a keeper of records or a source of information, then it must insist that records adequate for its purpose shall be kept by the organizations registering. If, however, it is to keep to its own program of being simply a clearing house, then it needs only to insist that records adequate for the purposes of the registering agency be kept, and other agencies should expect only such information. The improvement in technique resulting from constant contact is one of the biggest factors in the development of social work, and an important contribution of the exchange. This will not be made, however, if the exchange itself insists on family histories adequate from the viewpoint of any particular agency.

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#### VALUE OF REGISTRATION TO ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DO NOT KEEP ADEQUATE RECORDS

*Miss G. L. Button, formerly Secretary, Monmouth County Branch, New Jersey State Charities Aid Association, Elizabeth*

Does registration stimulate better case work?

Does registration minimize the necessity for improvement?

My subject is the value of registration to organizations which do not keep adequate records. Registration may be made of real value to

such organizations, but of *how much* value depends largely, of course, upon the conception of its functions held by each individual registration bureau or social service exchange. It also depends quite as largely upon the personnel of the bureau.

A registrar who is keenly alive to the fact that adequate records form an integral part of all good case work and who knows what good case work is will be on the alert for opportunity to stimulate a desire for adequate records or for access to adequate records in the minds of those registering organizations that are not yet awake to the value of full and well kept records. She will do this in such tactful, unobtrusive ways that the part she plays in evolving standards will frequently remain quite unrecognized by the registrants, who will think of her only as a pleasant person, ready to be helpful whenever she can. But, in order that a registration bureau may do such educational work, it is essential that at least one of the registering agencies shall be skilled in the technique of good case work and the art of record making. Otherwise, we have the blind leading the blind; after the first, most elementary steps in cooperation through the exchange of knowledge have been taken.

A good registrar, and the members of her staff, if she has one, will be imbued with the idea that registration includes the following up of clues furnished by the bureau, not the mere sending in of the family's name, and by inquiry and suggestion will impart this idea to all the members. In this sort of service the value of a good registrar who has herself done a certain amount of field work is doubled. She has a sympathetic insight into the problems involved that is not otherwise obtainable, and such knowledge gives a certain quality of understanding that soon makes itself felt.

#### *A Narrative of Efficient Registration*

All this sounds rather vague and general, perhaps. One or two concrete illustrations may make my meaning clearer.

The telephone rings in a registration bureau. A young assistant answers. The Society for the Relief of Suffering Humanity reports that it is aiding Mrs. Jones on Blank St. The speaker does not know the name of Mrs. Jones' husband. He is away. She thinks that Mrs. Jones' name is Mary, though it may be Sarah. Before her marriage she was one of the Brown or one of the Thompson girls, she is not sure which. She has never noticed the number of the house, but it is a little tumble-down place on the west side of the street, a few doors above Town Avenue. Children? Yes, there are three or four. The oldest is a boy of ten or twelve. His name is Darius. She does not know whether the others are girls or boys. She is quite, quite sure that the family has never applied for help to any one else.

The young assistant, you will observe, has been trained to secure identifying information that would not otherwise be forthcoming, and

with the help of the additional clues that she has gleaned she learns from the files that the family was registered last year by the Association for the Aid of Indigent Infancy, by the Brownrigg Dispensary and by the aid societies of churches of several different denominations.

The young assistant knows that this is the first time that the Society for the Relief of Suffering Humanity has registered a case with the Bureau and she hurries eagerly to the registrar with the whole story, for she has been taught to look upon each such occasion as an opportunity, with a big "O". The registrar knows that none of the organizations that have registered this family do good case work; that none of them, with the exception of the dispensary, keep any real records and that the dispensary records are of the simplest and briefest sort; but each organization is at once duly notified of the interest of the others in the Jones family on Blank Street.

A bureau that conceived of its function as being chiefly statistical would stop here. Like a telephone exchange, it would provide a directory and make the switchboard connections, and then its helpfulness would end. The contact between the different societies might or might not help to create better standards. But this registration bureau believes that its influence should be dynamic, and in a day or two the registrar calls up the lady representing the Society for the Relief of Suffering Humanity to say that she was sorry that she was not in the other day when the lady telephoned and to inquire whether she has been able to get any helpful information from the other people who know the family. She finds the lady still in a state of surprised indignation. Mrs. Jones seemed like such a worthy woman; she was shocked to learn that she had asked any one else to help her. The registrar succeeds in conveying to her the realization that there may have been mitigating circumstances and in awakening in her a desire to know what they are.

In another day or two the Suffering Humanity lady calls up the registrar, "because she knows that she will be interested," to tell her what she has learned. She is then invited to call at the office some day, and one morning not long afterward she comes in mildly curious about this new piece of social machinery that has been placed at her service and she goes away (for this registrar knows her job) impressed with the fact that her assistance and that of her society are very valuable to the bureau. She reports several other cases, one by one, giving the needed information with increasing fullness and accuracy; and then one day a better chance to influence her standards comes to the bureau, when the one local society that measures up to present-day requirements for case work reports that the Jones family on Blank Street has been referred to them. Darius Jones, for some juvenile offense, has fallen into the clutches of the law, and they have been asked to investigate home conditions. The registrar tells the secretary the whole story and she (or he) in turn continues the effort to stimulate better case work in the Society for the Relief of Suffering Humanity. The good lady is con-



sulted; she is invited to a case conference, she becomes acquainted with the steps of a complete investigation, and learns how such a diagnosis and the subsequent history of treatment are recorded; and at that point perhaps she comes to realize that such a record may be made a human document, that carries within itself a legacy of good fortune for the family and that throughout an indefinite future period it will be the duty of some conscientious social worker, or some group of social workers, to administer this legacy for the benefit of the Jones family.

#### *Central Registration As Others See It*

I say "perhaps," for it is usually just here that the agencies of whom our lady is a type begin to react variously, and at this point we may venture to classify them tentatively as follows:

1. The impenetrable lady, who remains as before.
2. The proud lady, who recognizes new standards of which her organization falls short, and persuades her board to hire a better trained visitor who can hold her own and maintain the dignity of their society under these new conditions.
3. The resentful lady, who thinks that "really this is too much," and reacts against it as a personal criticism of her past methods.
4. The critical lady, who fails to see why everything is not done otherwise.
5. The hard-headed business man, who has been giving away money promiscuously whenever his sympathies were really touched, who sees the practical value of registration, recognizes some of the results of trained service and decides to delegate his giving to some one who has time to do it intelligently for him.
6. The overworked and undertrained secretary of some old society without clerical help in the office, who catches glimpses of the light, and, so far as possible, struggles toward standards that are for him almost impossible, co-operating in the most whole-hearted way with better equipped agencies.
7. The open-minded man or woman, through whose new interest and knowledge the standards of an organization are permanently reshaped for the better.

#### *Story of a Modest Beginning*

As a second illustration, let us take some small volunteer organization that begins by registering a group of cases,—surnames only, and street addresses more or less accurately given. Through the bureau it is brought into contact with one or more societies with professional standards of case work and record keeping; and gradually, step by step, the members learn to do better work and to record it more fully and correctly, until finally they reach the point where they recognize the need of continuous, trained service if their society is to attain and maintain the standards that they now consider desirable and necessary. And this

desire for the services of a trained worker does not lessen, rather it increases their sense of responsibility as volunteers.

Under such conditions registration does stimulate better case work.

But does registration ever minimize the necessity for improvement? I do not think that a good registration bureau ever does; but one whose services are merely automatic and formal may do so in a negative way, by leaving agencies with low standards with the impression that sending in a list of names and addresses to be recorded is all that is required or expected of them. Under such circumstances it is quite natural for them to glow with a gentle sense of satisfaction over having done their full duty as a co-operating agency, and to go on living in a little shell of placid complacency with things as they are.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Otto W. Davis*, assistant secretary of the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis, gave testimony to the opportunity of a central council of social agencies in increasing the use of the confidential exchange. The Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association are inclined to doubt the wisdom of refusing endorsement to agencies not using the exchange, preferring rather to use persuasion. Supporters of the confidential exchange should be willing to "sell the goods on their merits." "There are two important places in our offices where we are apt to fail to place competent workers—one, the switchboard; the other, the head of the confidential exchange," said Mr. Davis. The speaker advocated the plan of converting reluctant agencies by having their representatives bring in twenty-five family cases to be checked over with the records of the exchange, thus revealing duplication in treatment. Instead of asking an agency, "Do you use the confidential exchange?" one should ask, "Have you any means of knowing whether the same people you are interested in are being helped by some other agency?" The great increase in the use of the confidential exchange in Minneapolis Mr. Davis accredited to the use of competent employees and the adoption of the salesmanship attitude of bringing the exchange to the attention of agencies.

2. In the general discussion which followed questions were raised concerning several points, and answers made to which may be summarized as follows:

Practical standards for registering dispensary cases with the exchange and the advisability of including the total 25,000, of which about 6,000 are under the care of the Social Service Department. It was pointed out that "human beings suffer medically as well as educationally and politically by lack of team work." It will be to the advantage of the dispensary to know if its patients go from one medical agency to another. The best social service the department can possibly render is to make the dispensary patients feel that they should follow the line of treatment prescribed. In one city mentioned, a dispensary with poor record system learned through the exchange of many duplications as well as of the relationship of many of its patients.

Experience in trying to secure registration from rescue homes. It is necessary to accept the fact that the exchange is confidential and that means are never given out and that a particular girl cannot be inquired about unless her name is known. The exchange in Winnipeg Canada, is receiving such registrations. One agency agreed to register

and sent in a list of 155 names, reserving two "particular cases." Within two days the worker reported that "she might as well have listed those cases for she found out for herself that they were registered elsewhere."

Whether all persons applying to the Red Cross should be registered. In Montreal, the applications are divided into information and non-information (relief) cases. These cases are kept entirely separated and handled by a different group of workers, but a record is kept for each and each is registered with the exchange. The suggestion that some names should be withheld has been discussed several times and always voted down. They are striving to make the people know "that anything given to the soldiers families is gladly rendered to them for what they have given to the country." If the family later is referred to another agency registration will show that it belongs to the Red Cross and the family will be left to its care.

3. Those taking part in this informal discussion were: Mary E. Richmond, New York; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; Ethel Riddle, St. Louis; Eugene C. Foster, Indianapolis; Stockton Raymond, Columbus, Ohio; H. L. Eddy, Des Moines; Sarah R. Bregstone, Chicago; A. Dunham, St. Louis; Eleanor Patterson, Cincinnati.

#### WHAT EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY CAN CONTRIBUTE TO CASE WORK WITH THE NORMAL FAMILY.

*Angie L. Kellogg, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.*

Before considering as a whole the question, what can educational psychology contribute to case work with the normal family, it seems necessary to indicate what significance the expression, normal family, can have in general and what it can have in this particular connection. The use of this word, normal, in description of any group of human beings, of any one human being, or even of any one phase of human behavior never fails to bring down an avalanche of thoroughly human criticism. Everyone, to whom this question has been mentioned has immediately risen in arms against the expression, normal family, because of its total lack of realism. What, they skeptically inquire, is a normal family, and where is it to be found? As for themselves, their experience has been limited to the individual family and they are unable to conceive of any family except the individual family.

This animosity is undoubtedly due in very large part to the wholesome jealousy which case workers have for the welfare of their principle of individual treatment, against which the word normal would seem to militate as if it connoted uniformity. For this principle emphasizes the irregularities of pattern among individuals—not their regularities. It is based on the fact that, in spite of all we may know about any number of families, the next family which we come to know reveals its own peculiar attitudes and tendencies: and that in every case of family disorder with which we are dealing we must discover the peculiar composition or drift of the family in question and act accordingly, if our treat-

ment is to succeed in removing the disorder. And, therefore, in thus roundly asserting that nothing human is normal, the critics are right in so far as they would sound thereby a warning against dogmatic, mechanical interpretation and treatment; that is, against the abuse of such an abstraction as human normality is.

*Idea of Normality Essential to Scientific Consideration*

But in our zealous guardianship of this principle of individual treatment perhaps we need to have a warning sounded against our neglect of other matters which demand our consideration. Social case work aims to be a science as well as an art, and norms, rightly conceived and utilized, are as essential to the development of a science as ideals are to the making of character. They are abstractions, to be sure. And, if, on the one hand, the scientist loses sight of the fact that his norms are merely ideational devices instrumental to theory, then, in the long run, he will fail to secure control of the phenomena in his field of study—he will fail to secure rational practice. But if, on the other hand, the scientist does not assume more or less definite norms, then he has no point of departure for his investigation, no goal, and no means of passage from one experience or bit of knowledge to another.

Norms, abstractions, generalizations are essential to analysis. Without them the *diagnoses* and *prognoses* of the case worker would be impossible. Of necessity, they are uncertain, indefinite, and empirical in a science which is in the early stages of development, as is the science of social economy, and which has for its field of study and control such exceedingly and confusedly complex and dynamic phenomena as has this science. But, notwithstanding these truths, every case worker would concede, I think, that as a matter of fact, when she has to help a family become adjusted to its environment, she refers to her own more or less vivid conceptions of a normal family and of a normal community. She compares the family in question with her idea of the family that is normal with respect to intelligence, domestic relations, size, economic resources, vocational aptitudes and abilities, health, education, interests, etc., and she compares the community in question with her idea of a community which is normal with respect to recreational, occupational, educational, and general social conditions. And this comparison affords her, at least, a modicum of guidance in the solution of this family's problems, indicating, as it does, how far this family can and must be modified, and how far the environment can and must be modified. Also, I think that every case worker would concede that one reason why she records the data gathered from her investigations, treatment and follow-up work is to secure standard achievements upon which she can base more or less approximate predictabilities concerning the families and individuals with whom she will work—that is, to establish norms for a great variety of social performance, thus making for the development of a science of social economy. That these norms will be manifold, various,



dynamic, and non-existent in nature does not detract from their functional validity, inasmuch as they constitute as abstractions or generalizations one means by which social workers can learn from experience and can pass on their experiences to others.

It has seemed worth while to seize upon the use of the expression *normal family* in this topic as an occasion to discuss thus at length the general significance of the idea of normality, because, in our zeal to emphasize individual causation theories of dependency and delinquency, as contrasted with general theories, and in our zeal to emphasize the principle of individual treatment in contrast to uniform treatment, we tend to forget that norms have a very important functional validity, even if they have no reality apart from ideation. Were it not so, educational psychology, whose task is in part to establish the norms of learning performances, or any other science could contribute nothing to case work. And recognition of this fact is essential if the contribution is to be received.

#### *Improving the Relationships of Families to Environment*

Now what significance can the expression *normal family* have in this particular question, "What can educational psychology contribute to case work with the normal family?" The critics are right in holding that the wording of the question implies situations that do not exist, for, as they say, case work is not concerned with the normal but with the abnormal family. A family comes to the attention of the case worker only by reason of its abnormal condition. The normal family can and does take care of itself. Case workers, however, deal with—if you will—the potentially normal family. They would break up the unordered family which has no capacity for normality. The feeble-minded or mentally sub-normal family would need to be under institutional care. But the educable, or potentially normal, family is a reality and is the family with which the case worker deals.

To be sure, in every case of family disorder, the remedy necessitates in part a modification of the members of the individual group and in part a modification of its environment. Sometimes, however, on the one hand, the need of modifying the environment so dominates the need of modifying the individual that the latter is practically impossible without the former. Thus, so correlated are alcoholism and dependency and alcoholism and delinquency that prohibition seems vital to the elimination of a large number of cases of dependency and delinquency. This sort of modification of the environment belongs to the social research worker and to the social reformer. Sometimes, on the other hand, the problematical family may have within its capacities for modification sufficient to make the need of changing the environment comparatively negligible. The family is educable by means of, or in spite of, the economic, social, and educational forces of the community of which it is a part. Its character and vocational possibilities are such as, when developed,

would make the family self-reliant. It would seem, then, that the term *normal* has real validity when applied to this type of family, whose disorder can be eliminated through the education of its individual members under its existing social conditions.

All that is needed in such cases is proper mediation between the family in question and the available social agencies. This mediation is at once a process of education and social case work. The mediator is at once case worker and educator. The educable or potentially normal family is to be taught how to avail itself of the resources of its environment, so that it can manage its own affairs efficiently and socially. Education and case work have the same general task—the reorganization of the objects of desire and purpose, the improvement of man's wants and of his ability to satisfy them; that is, the development of character and vocation, the development of capacities for harmonious social relationships. Therefore, whatever constructive work educational psychology has done should be so much accomplished toward the theory and technique of case work. Whatever educational psychology has discovered with respect to tests of intelligence, the original nature of man, the learning process and even much of what it has developed of the more narrow subject of the psychology of school subjects and of school discipline makes for the successful practise of the case worker as for that of the teacher.

#### *The Place of Educational Psychology*

To be sure, the field of educational psychology, as compared with that of more mature sciences, is undefined and elastic; but, in general, it may be said to comprise, as indicated above, three fairly definite departments dealing respectively with intelligence tests, the learning process, and the psychology of school subjects. Obviously it is the findings concerning the learning process, or the growth of behavior, which constitute the greatest contribution which educational psychology can make to case work with the normal family.

Educational psychology in its consideration of the learning process takes over the facts, terms, and methods of investigation known to psychology in general and to genetic psychology and social psychology in particular, redefines and interprets them from the point of view of the adjustment of the individual to society by means of school room activities. That is, educational psychology points out and explains all the processes which are called into action in the pedagogical situations of the school—the modification of instincts and emotions, the development of sensations, perceptions, motor coordinations, memory, imagination, association, volition, and judgment—and the laws governing the modification of these processes as they become organized into character and vocation. All this can as well be applied in any of the teaching situations of life, whether in the school, the home, street, factory, club, theatre, playground, the doctor's office, the hospital and the dispensary; the court, whether

domestic relations, juvenile misdemeanants or criminal; in the visit of the probation officer, the friendly visitor, the mother's assistant, the visiting nurse, or housekeeper, and so on.

### *The Learning Process*

The problems and possibilities of any and all of these situations can be expressed in terms of the psychology of the learning process. They can make available toward the control of any situation all that educational psychology has done by way of naming and classifying the instincts and emotions; all that it has ascertained concerning when and how they are and can be stimulated and modified; concerning the formation and reformation of habits; concerning association and dissociation processes; concerning the laws for the development of memory and imagination, the securing of attention, interest, and effort; concerning the factors which enter into rational thinking and into volition, desire, deliberation, choice, and the more conscious purpose; all that it has learned concerning methods of decreasing the wasteful effects of trial-and-error learning, and increasing the more economical effects of learning through general or free ideas; concerning the negative results of attempts to suppress imagery and the positive results of the substitution of imagery when it is necessary to break up a habit, dissociate associations, or inhibit impulses; what it has learned about the effect of fatigue upon learning, about the existence and significance of *plateaus* in the learning process—that is, periods of comparatively no progress through practice which are consequent upon periods of comparatively rapid progress; all that it has found concerning the slow, gradual, and indirect character of the operation of the learning forces; and, finally, all that it has found concerning the possibility and the value of putting the learners themselves into possession of an understanding of the learning process. All of these subjects which educational psychology considers are as vital to the theory and practice of social work as to school room teaching. The social worker who can translate her problems into the terms of educational psychology has an understanding and control which greatly economizes and validates her efforts.

For illustration, we have but to turn our attention to any typical situation of disorder in a potentially normal family. Thus we have a family of good stock in which, however, exist poverty and contentious domestic relations, physical deformity, adolescent instability, truancy and delinquency, defective speech and school room dullness in the children, inebriety in the father, shiftlessness, querulousness, and ill health in the mother—a tangle of unorganized and disorganized instinctive, habitual, and emotional behaviors. If the family is potentially normal, the tangle can be smoothed out. The adenoids and swollen tonsils which prevent intelligible speech can be removed; the deformed leg can be straightened somewhat and be given mechanical help; the father's physical craving for alcohol can be removed; the mother's nerves can be given a rest. All that is fundamental, though comparatively simple. Then the learning

processes must be set in motion—the boy must learn how to use his mechanical aids; the girl must unlearn bad speech coordinations by learning correct ones, now that the obstacles to the latter are removed; the father must dissociate the experiences he has had which have become identified for him with a desire for drink—such as the hunger he feels because of an unbalanced diet, the discontent he feels because of the querulousness of his wife and children, the shiftlessness and emptiness of his home, his lack of recreation, the community and school complaints against the truancy, the dullness, and the delinquencies of his children. His wife must unlearn the irritabilities and shiftlessness she has acquired through worry and deprivation. The children must unlearn their animosities and fightings which have developed because they have been ridiculed for their defects and deformities and because they have been scolded and blamed by their teachers for inattention and dullness attendant inevitably upon their physical defects. New habits of attention and interest, new desires and purposes, new volitions, new judgments must be learned; the old stimuli and emotions which incited and controlled must be attached to new objects. The exposition of the learning process as set forth by educational psychology with respect to general issues and even with respect to school subjects can give scientific simplicity and power to control just such confused concrete situations.

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#### THE KINGDOM OF EVIL: ADVANTAGES OF AN ORDERLY APPROACH IN SOCIAL CASE ANALYSIS.\*

*E. E. Southard, M. D., Director, State Psychopathic Hospital, Boston.*

Those of you who look into the problem of classification in general, or in any particular science or art, will find that classifications are infinite in number. Every one, doubtless, will have a classification of his own that differs more or less from that which another would prefer. What are the requisites of a particular classification? A Linnaean brevity of definition, a comparatively small number of groups, an appropriate subdivision so that smaller categories shall not be matched up with larger ones in the process of elimination—such are some of the requisites of a classification. As to the groups of evil which I present, I have no special confidence as to their finality. I do not particularly insist upon any

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\*Introductory portion of address omitted for lack of space. The content of the omitted portion is reflected in the following quotation: "In its beginnings what I have to sketch as the realm of evils comes from purely practical considerations derived, in the first place, from medicine. A few words upon these beginnings will clear up the question of the inductive or empiric origin of these views and will go some way to showing why, when I come to talk of the major divisions of the kingdom, I rank disease first among the greater groups of evil, and the first (in my own opinion at least) for the social worker, and indeed every altruist, to attack." Illustrations for these statements were drawn chiefly from the author's experience in mental diagnosis at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. A second approach to the subject, in this introductory portion, was the author's explanation of the importance of the individual, rather than the family, as the unit of interest in social work.



special nomenclature. Above all, I would not insist upon any particular order in analysis. The point I make is that *some* classification, *some* grouping and *some* order of analysis will prove essential to good social case work.

The big groups which I propose, namely, disease, ignorance, vice, crime and poverty, are doubtless not the only groups of evil in the world. Indeed I hear many of you say that ugliness and the unbeautiful form an evil which is not always due to disease, to ignorance, to vice, crime or poverty. I am bound to say, however, that most of the uglinesses that lead to any social mal-adjustment are often found to have their origin in one or other of the five groups I mention. Still, one ought not to be dogmatic upon such a point.

Again, the social case analyst may find it important to consider the economic situation of his social patient before his medical plight. Indeed, I think that the history of social service, deriving as it does so much from philanthropy, rather inclines the social work analyst to put poverty ahead of medical conditions, which he regards as less common. I sometimes think that the socialistically bent are persons who improperly put the question of economic level ahead of more important questions of educational or moral level. However that may be, my point now is that some order, not necessarily any particular order, and not necessarily the order I present today, is essential in social case analysis.

Miss Richmond's book on *Social Diagnosis*, like many medical books on social diagnosis, deals with the methods of collection of data, and not so much with the process types of logical analysis of the data themselves. Now, the point is that many listeners at my lectures at the Boston School were inclined to think I was somehow proposing an order in which the case data were to be collected. Far from it; my considerations deal with analysis of the data after they are all handed in and either on paper or in the minds of the analysts. We all have attended many a social case conference at which the upshot was that the district workers would best fare forth and get more facts. The upshot of the conference would often be that such and such a line of inquiry would be most profitable because there was such and such a hiatus in the facts at hand. Now, we would all concede that the labor of the social case worker is infinite and that no case exists in which more data of one sort or other might not be of value. My point is that the application of logical processes of case analysis should begin only when enough data are in hand to justify some sort of action. It is idle to analyze unless the pragmatic issue is on the cards. Of course, in many a case not enough data will ever be at hand to warrant profound analysis. The pragmatic result here will naturally be a blundering failure or (what is not much better for the future of our art) a blundering success. Let our social case conferences, then, deal for the most part with cases in which sufficient data are at hand. Let us learn what under ideal circumstances should be done in all types of maladjustment

which society provides. But are not these, you will inquire, infinite in number and variety? Probably not, one must reply who looks at the history of logical analysis in some of the most complex sciences and arts. At all events, I wish to inquire whether or not every case of social maladjustment will not fall into at least one of the following great groups of evils, namely:

### REGNUM MALORUM

MORBI  
ERRORES  
VITIA  
DELICTA  
PENURIAE

Disease  
Ignorance  
Vices and bad habits  
Crime and delinquency  
Poverty and resourcelessness

Some of you will inquire whether there are not cases of more general maladjustment, cases which it would be best to call simply cases of maladjustment or maladaptability. I think, however, that in every case of such supposed generality of nature so far presented to me, I have been able to determine that the phenomena in question could be classified under one or more of these five groups. For example, a case of social maladjustment was narrated to me in which a certain person, herself a social worker, possessed a wonderful and healthy physique, was a person of the highest and best education, was not the victim of any vices or bad habits, was involved in no legal difficulties whatever, and was a person of great wealth and resourcefulness in the world. Somehow, nevertheless, this social worker was described to me as not getting on, as socially maladjusted. A very slight logical dissection, however, betrayed the fact that, although she was a woman of perfect physique, her mental attitude was one of a slightly psychopathic nature. The misfit was inborn, or at least developed in early life and in such wise as to exclude the effects of poor education, poor moral training, and the like. This instance, doubtless not at all unlike several in your experience, will serve to point an important moral, namely, that the diseases or *Morbi* must include not only the obvious, acquired diseases, but various defects, and these defects must be held to include mental defects and perversions. In short, we must count among the *Morbi* a variety of psychopathies.

In this connection I conned with greatest interest the pages of Miss Richmond's book and found that fully half of the cases in the book had most important psychopathic factors at work, whether out-and-out psychoses, mild psychopathias, alcoholism, or attitudes of mind toward diseases and other maladaptations which were not exactly wholesome. At the time I conned over the Richmond group of cases, I was more particularly interested in psychopathic conditions; doubtless one who should analyze her book to learn the exact proportion of diseases in general which had a grave effect upon the social maladjustments therein depicted, would find far more than half the Richmond group to

be afflicted in an important sense with some one or other of the *Morbi*. The great size of the psychopathic fraction in Miss Richmond's book is of particular value to us at this juncture because her book was collected rather with the aim of displaying methods of collecting data than with displaying the nature and treatment of the conditions themselves.

To sum up my contentions thus far, I would say that my view of the task of social case analysis is doubtless somewhat "medicated." Not only have I suggested a method which is immediately derived from medical studies, but I have been tempted to demolish what seems to be an erroneous pet view of social workers. That is to say, I want to replace the family as the unit of social inquiry with the individual as the unit of social inquiry. Wherever a family is in question, showing social maladjustment, I want the social service catalogues to contain all the different individuals in said family which may be found to deserve social analysis. I would even go so far as to think that most of the minors in these families with social maladjustments require individual analysis before a proper decision can be made and treatment rendered. Insisting upon the individual as the unit of interest in social case analysis, I then suggested, on the basis of medical studies, that the analysis of social maladjustment should proceed in a certain order. The order suggested was that of disease, ignorance, vice, delinquency and poverty. As partial justification for placing disease first in order of analysis, I called attention to the great number of cases in Miss Richmond's random series which presented important medical features which must indispensably be met if a complete adjustment is to be made.

I submit that this classification, however erroneous, is at least brief. I think there are few cases, even amongst the most complex, which the Psychopathic Hospital has afforded, but can be successfully analyzed by entering the collected data under one or other of these headings. I find the allocation of these collected data to the various headings to be a very practical matter. Shall, or shall not, a physician be called in for more exact diagnosis and possibly for treatment? Here is the question which is brought up forthwith by the attempt to eliminate the *Morbi* from the logical scene of social maladjustment. But if the physician does not come in question, or if his work gets properly done, is there a remainder of difficulty which falls not to the physician's lot, but to the lot of the educator, the expert, or the man who knows? Is there, perhaps, nothing the matter with this particular case save that the man cannot speak the language of his community? Can we, perhaps, solve the bread-winning question by a course in English? Is the whole or a part of the trouble due merely to ignorance, merely to the error, *e. g.*, of not knowing a certain language? Or, perchance, has there not been a false education in the matter of mental or physical hygiene; a false education, the effects of which can be destroyed or annulled by proper management? Or is the matter not so much an intellectual matter of

education and false information, as a matter of poor moral training, a matter of vice and bad habits—anything from the profoundest perversions, on the one hand, to biting fingernails, on the other? What we may need here, of course, is not education in the intellectual sense of the term, but moral training, inhibition, and habituation of the type shown, *e. g.*, in animal training. The field of the delinquencies is not exactly coterminous with the field of vices. I am not quite satisfied with the term *delinquency*, inasmuch as the group of evils which I place fourth ought to include all manner of legal entanglements and public disabilities in which the onus of responsibility may well be lacking; thus a man or woman in a divorce complication, or in a legal entanglement as to estates and incomes, may be legally maladjusted when he would not suitably be charged with crime in the ordinary sense, or even with delinquency. May it not be better to put the question thus? Suppose we can eliminate the necessity of a physician, and again, the necessity of an intellectual guide, and again, the necessity of a moral teacher; can we fourthly, also exclude the necessity of calling in some expert in legal, public, or official matters? If all four of these experts and their founts of knowledge are to no purpose, then I will concede that the social maladjustment might prove to be nothing more or less than poverty.

What is the cause of poverty, and what is its "cure"? This is surely one of the leading questions in every social worker's mind. When I look over material accessible to me both as Director of the Psychopathic Hospital and as a citizen of a community, I seem practically to find that there are no cases of pure poverty. This is not tantamount to saying that it would be disadvantageous to raise the economic level. My point rather is that I am familiar with no case of social maladjustment in which the cause appears to be poverty alone. I am prepared to admit that there may be such cases, and indeed hope that there are great numbers of them because I feel that their "cure" is amongst the easiest things we in this world now do. But, where your social case analyst proceeds beyond a superficial account of general family conditions and proceeds to an analysis of the individuals in the family, then I protest that in virtually all instances important deficiencies will be found to exist in one or more of these other directions.

I would like to penetrate the still more attractive vistas which open out in social case analysis. With the data concerning social maladjustment all in hand, how shall we analyze them? I have spoken of the major categories in which these data are likely to fall. Highly specialistic inquiries will have to be made to determine the details and sub-headings under each of the categories mentioned. No one has, so far as I know, before attempted to classify the Kingdom of Evil. Many attempts exist in philosophy to classify goodness and its types. From time to time, pessimists have appeared, but for the most part their pessimism has been of the blanket order, and indeed I think the majority of the pessimists will be found either psychopathic or else strongly under the



influence of psychopathic suggestions. Now and again, a psychopath like Rousseau or like Schopenhauer catches the ear of a generation and develops disciples whose work lasts a decade or two, only to be swallowed by the unfailing optimism of the race. Whether the unfailing optimism of the race is or is not an evil, is perhaps subject to dispute. Herbert Spencer could use the data of Darwinism to show how the millennium was at least on the way. On the other hand, such persons as Haeckel and Nietzsche could use the self-same data of Darwinism for essentially materialistic and pessimistic purposes. On the whole, most of us mature and worldly persons feel that the world is compounded both of good and evil, and every one of us here at least is engaged in some part of the battle against evil. If most of us were put to it for a percentile account of good and evil in the world, we should probably think goodness formed 51 per cent of the world all told rather than 49 per cent.

Yet, though no one apparently has attempted to classify the evils, can any one say that such classification is not the first duty of the sociologist? He will find at hand practically no attempts at classification of the field. For instance, in the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the middle ages, something of importance can be found with respect to the sins and their relative deserts. No doubt also, in certain works on criminology something can be found, though a recent superficial search of outstanding textbooks failed to indicate that much of a logical nature had been accomplished by criminologists as to the true nature and origin of those social maladjustments called crimes. Is not this, then, an attractive task lying before us as applied sociologists?

But suppose we had all these matters in hand and could describe to a jot the various subforms of evil, what would be the pragmatic, that is to say, the therapeutic, outcome? Should we be witnesses of mere ruins and wrecks without possible relief in action? Such might be the theoretical view, particularly of one inclined to pessimism, but those of us who at all practically deal with social maladjustments must inevitably hold otherwise; wherever we can nail our evil down to the platform of a particular group, there almost always something appropriate can be done; and if not, some value attaches to our knowledge that nothing can be done.

Should we eventually get in hand not only the bare verbal outlines of a classification of the Kingdom of Evil and some command of the process of diagnosis by which one would arrive at placing the social patient, what then? I should like to talk on about the still more general and philosophical situation in which we should then find ourselves. Consider, for instance, what the word *patient* means. Sometimes physicians are inclined to wonder why social workers call their objects of attention *patients*. For my part, noting the basic meaning of the term *patient*, namely, sufferer, victim, or person to whom something has happened, I cannot see that the physician is more especially entitled to the use of the

term *patient* than the social worker would be entitled thereto. A patient, whether medical or social, is somebody who from the social point of view is almost always, if not always, in the passive voice. Somehow this whole question of society is bound up in the question of the passive voice. What the socialists and even the anarchists want is not more than what everybody wants: such a freedom as will permit each person to be duly and profitably active in such wise that his activity is consistent with that of others. What is the source of inactivity, perverted activity, passivity, counteractive effort based on felt passivity, and the like? I have intended to suggest that the basis might lodge in disease, in ignorance, in vice, or bad habits, in delinquency or legal entanglements, and in poverty or other forms of resourcelessness, each one of which forms of evil is by itself removable or in some way to be wholly or partially compensated for. But whether you concede the philosophical basis of this subject, whether you regard its logic as not all well founded, whether you see in my contentions a great deal of medical prejudice and not too much social service insight, I hope you will concede that there ought to be some orderly approach in social case analysis, with or without the artificial aids proposed in my little arrangement of *Regnum Malorum*.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Miss Agnes Murray of Denver and Carl De Schweinitz of Philadelphia also participated in the discussion, informally.

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#### CASE WORK ABOVE THE POVERTY LINE

*Agnes L. Murray, Assistant Director of Civilian Relief,  
American Red Cross, Denver*

In discussing a subject of this sort, our first question is, "What is the poverty line, and at what point does case work fall above or below it?" We have, of course, the text-book definition of the poverty line as the point below which a family cannot live in health and efficiency. We have also in our own practical experience, in C. O. S. work, in child-placing, in medical social service, in organizations dealing with delinquents, and in almost every form of family case work, cases which we recognize as being above the poverty line. What is the distinction which we make in our own minds between these cases and those others which, for most of us, form the bulk of our work?

Is it not really the distinction between the people who come to us or who continue to accept our services of their own free will, and those who are driven to accept the services we offer, by circumstances over which practically they have no control? The largest group of families with whom we deal is, unfortunately, the group who come to us because they lack the bare necessities of existence. They have to accept what we

offer them, whether they like it or not. But, we will all say, no good social case worker will force any plan on a reluctant or unwilling family. True, but do we always realize the constraint that the very fact of their necessity places upon them. In many of them, it seems to me, far more than among the social workers, is the feeling that they must take what is offered, without complaining or explaining, for fear they may get nothing. And on the other hand, the feeling prevails among many workers that only through the giving of relief and its implicit threat, can constructive work be accomplished. This feeling is seldom formulated, even less often admitted, but it nevertheless exists. It is illustrated by the question put to a Red Cross Home Service worker who was addressing a group of social workers, and who stated that the government was taking most of the financial burden of the soldiers' and sailors' families, so that a very small part of the Red Cross work would be relief work. "But," said the questioner, "how will you have any hold on them?"

### *The Line*

The line between these families on whom we have a "hold," in plicit or expressed, and those on whom we have only the *hold* that personal influence and real helpfulness as recognized by them, can give us, is the poverty line. And this distinction is the great fact which we must recognize in social work above the poverty line, and in the light of which all the other facts concerning our work must be reviewed.

First of all, we must realize that work with both types of families is the same in method and spirit,—in that spirit of developing resources and overcoming disabilities which constitutes case work. This fact is the same in method and spirit, in that spirit of developing resources particularly important in its relation to the understanding and general acceptance of the case work method. There are many people who can, and sometimes do, express their disapproval of our methods and our failure to get their full sympathy and understanding for the work we are doing, by refusing our services. Nearly all dispensary patients, for instance, if they do not appreciate the value of the services which are offered them there, have the choice of going to a *private doctor*, and not infrequently exercise it. Nevertheless, the great majority of them are coming back to us again and again for help and advice, are sending their friends to us, and are acting as advertisers and boosters of the very methods which many people still believe are employed only in behalf of those who can neither resist or resent them. It would seem that this fact ought to be given wider publicity than it has received in the past, both to the general public and among possible contributors. Many people still think of the methods of organized charity as being a detective agency investigation to determine the *worthiness* of those whose statements are found to be true, and to protect contributors from the possibility of giving money to those who have departed from the straight and narrow path. That the recipients of organized charity choose those

methods when other paths lie open to them would be an eye-opener to those who realized it.

#### *Necessary Distinctions in Treatment*

In spite of the fact that the method of dealing with both types of families is in essence the same, there are many minor differences. Case work above the poverty line is absolutely dependent for its existence on the satisfaction of its clients. In a certain sense this is true of all social work. But in relief work, that sense of necessity, the feeling that beggars may not be choosers, which, more often than we realize, is present in the mind of the client, leads him to cover up a dissatisfaction. The average family has overcome whatever dislike it may have had for *investigation* before making any appeal. And there is a real temptation to the busy worker to go ahead with the steps of her investigation without the close cooperation that ought to be present. Too often we use the word only of the family falling in with our plans, rather than of the working out of a plan together with them.

On the other hand, work above the poverty line has also its temptation to the busy worker. We are in danger of losing our power of giving any assistance to a family if we take a step without their full consent and understanding. The moral of this is, of course, to take time for full explanations of every necessary point in the investigation. But sometimes it is easier to leave a visit unmade, a relative unseen, than to go through the lengthy process of explanation. This is the danger of which we must beware.

Case-work below the poverty line is often apparently more effective than that above the line, as paternalism is often more effective than democratic government. We can do for people only what they will let us do, and people below the poverty line are, on the whole, more susceptible, more ready to accept ideas and suggestions. The exceptions among them—the few people whom we find clinging to their own opinions and refusing to accept assistance until they themselves are convinced that it is the best thing for them—go to prove that work which makes these demands, as most work above the poverty line does, although more slow in results, is, in the long run, more fruitful.

#### *The Opportunity of the Red Cross*

It is along these lines that the tremendous opportunity of the Red Cross, in its Home Service work, lies. The opportunity is great not only because of the newer and larger group of people whom it reaches, but because of the tremendous extent of the work. Home Service, with its gospel of the case-work method, is reaching not only the large towns and cities where it is striking because of the new group of families which are being served in this way; it is reaching also the hundreds and thousands of small towns, villages and countrysides where the county poor-house



or the undirected effort of church or neighbor to bring a little relief to the utterly destitute, have been heretofore the only social agencies known.

The fact that it is so easy to demonstrate that Home Service does not fall under the head of *charity* as that word is understood by the average individual, gives a great educational opportunity. Little by little, as people come to see the ideals of constructive helpfulness which are a part of the Home Service work, they will come also to see, with a little suggestion on our part, that these ideals are not confined to work with soldiers' families—that they are the only true way of helping any family in difficulty. As we explain to the inquirers about Home Service that it is not charity, but a part of our effort to show that the whole community must share the burden left by the man who has gone to fight the community's battles, so we may later be able to make them see that the whole community must share, not as a matter of charity, but of social justice, with the man for whose failure the community, directly or indirectly, is responsible.

Again, as the job of the Home Service worker concerns itself frequently with personal *social service* to many who under no circumstances can be considered as having problems due to poverty, so the time may come when rich as well as poor will seek the services of the social interpreter and assist in solving their family problems. In past days, the priest, the clergyman, the family doctor or the family lawyer were the recipients of these confidences and the adviser in all kinds of troubles. Now few families maintain such relationships. We have realized for a long time that there was no reason why social service should be confined to the poor. May not this be a way of showing those above the poverty line the possibilities of helpfulness in the job of the social expert, and of making that job one of the assurances of the future? This is perhaps too far to look ahead. But that case-work above the poverty line, as well as the whole case-work method, will receive a tremendous impetus through this war work, is a fact which no one can doubt.

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#### CO-OPERATION OF THE HOME SERVICE DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS WITH OTHER SOCIAL AGENCIES

*Harriet E. Anderson, Field Supervisor of Civilian Relief, Lake Division,  
American Red Cross, Cleveland*

The great inspiration to co-operation in this present year, 1918, is found in the number of new people who are engaging in some branch of social work. People who could not be persuaded to work for pay are now seeking service because of their desire to help win the war. College graduates and others, well equipped to give a fine grade of service, may now be secured in many lines of social effort. The Home Service department has an undreamed-of opportunity, not only to interest

new workers in Home Service families, but to awaken an abiding social consciousness through the contact with these families and the permanent and established social agencies of the community. To understand and definitely face the purpose of co-operation may help to secure it.

The Home Service department of the American Red Cross exists to minister to the families of men in the service and to maintain their morale, so that they will encourage rather than discourage the men at the front. It is expected further that the family will not be suffered to lose its former standard of living, but on the contrary that the family shall be benefited mentally and physically, as the government strives to improve the men in service. To this end co-operation with other social agencies is necessary. The specialized service of these agencies will be needed to supplement the best efforts which the Home Service worker can give. No organization nor individual can be all things to all men.

#### *Two New Agencies of Education for Family Welfare*

Two new social forces should be used especially in this time of stress in the industrial world and of mounting prices of the necessities to maintain life; namely, the child welfare committee of the Council of National Defense and the demonstrators of the Food Administration. The child welfare committee of the Council of National Defense, with its work of reducing the death rate of children under five years, as instituted by the Children's Bureau, gives invaluable impetus and publicity to a fundamental social aim, that of not only keeping the baby alive but of giving him a basis of health on which to grow. The Home Service worker should use this new group of enthusiastic and specialized workers by bringing babies within the range of their influence. The mother finds new interest in caring for her baby and adding to his weight and stature if she is in competition with other mothers.

No opportunity like the present to teach proper feeding has ever before been given to the worker with families. The curtailment of certain foodstuffs forces a consideration of the matter of food, regardless of the income of the family. The large numbers that have made their diet of bread and coffee are seriously affected. In this crisis, we have at our doors literally the demonstrator of the Food Administration.

As I see these fine college girls penetrating into every hill and valley of Kentucky with their message of what to eat and how to prepare it, it seems too good to be true. There seems to be no school house too small nor no cross roads too remote for them to visit. They have the message. It remains for the Home Service worker not to lose this opportunity to help to bring health and strength for the future to the families under her care.

The country school is another resource which we might almost call new, because so little is known of it and the rest of us give so little attention to its encouragement. This is the time for the Home Service worker of the rural district to give some measure of appreciation to the country school teacher. Many of the men in service will be taught to

read and write before they return to their families. It is even more important that the family should be taught to read and write while the men are away. It will help both the morale of the family and the man at the front if a means of communication is established. The country school teacher will gladly help in this task and will be encouraged by the Home Service worker's co-operation.

### *Questions of Relation of War Work to Customary Agencies*

Co-operation with old and established social agencies causes more heated argument than work with the new movements. The idea has been lodged in the minds of some that the American Red Cross is all sufficient and "different" and that it is a mistake to apply any regular case work standards and methods to Red Cross service. Some of the specific questions that are being asked are as follows:

1. Shall we register in a confidential exchange? I should say that it was necessary to register every family known to the Home Service worker. As in regular case work, the family is protected by so doing. If a fine relationship has been established by some existing social agency, there is no risk of interfering with it. If the family is previously unknown, the name is buried safely amid thousands of others pending the day when some need may arise.

2. Shall the Home Service office ever be in a social service building, even though the associated charities may happen to be in that building? In certain cities this arrangement is found to work very well and to promote an exchange of records without difficulty. It seems to depend somewhat upon the standards of the various organizations in the same building and thus no rule can be made for all cities. If it works, it works well. If it does not work, it is very bad. There seems to be no middle course.

3. In counties where there is a public relief official, shall he be asked to investigate for the Home Service department or shall he be implored to refer families of men in service immediately to the Red Cross? In Indiana, which is honeycombed with township trustees, wide use seems to be made of this officer. The benefit of this arrangement, to my mind, depends upon the individual officer. If he sees in Home Service nothing but relief, he is of no use to the Home Service department. I do not mean by this that there should be no contact with the public relief official, but that co-operative, constructive work may be impossible. But if the public relief officer is a man of wide vision, he should be used as any other desirable citizen would be.

4. If the public relief agency has plenty of money and the Red Cross chapter has none, should the public relief official be asked to give needed relief to the families of men in service? A few chapters have found the public relief official a very convenient and easy way to quiet their own consciences. I fear that was all they achieved.

5. Is it possible for the Home Service department and a public or

private relief agency to be giving relief to a Home Service family at the same time, on agreement, because the dependency was not due entirely to the enlistment of one member of the family? The woman who said to me that this could not be done, struck me as being herself at fault. I am wondering how many times it would work out that way.

6. Shall the Civilian Relief or Home Service committee have on it of necessity representatives of other social agencies as a means of securing necessary co-operation? As I see the organization of the various committees, I feel that those that do the broadest work are the committees that are composed of people who are not directly responsible for the management of some other social agency. Of course, there may be exceptions, but I feel in general that this is true.

7. Does the Red Cross bear the same relationship to the family as other social agencies,—as compared to the family, the church and the fraternal society? To illustrate, certain chapters have been known to show a certain resentment, because a church felt that its members had been connected with it so long and so intimately that they should turn to the church only for advice and help. I fear that there is too much effort to build up a clientele for the Red Cross, when more effort should be made to maintain connections with existing and permanent social groups.

The crux of the whole question of co-operation at this time may be summed up in two points, to my mind: First, the necessity of a proper appreciation of the great opportunity to use individuals and social groups fired by the desire to help win the war; second, the necessity for each one of us in the social field to stretch his mind and heart to the utmost to comprehend the changes and possibilities of the present day. We will co-operate with workers around us if we see them and are fit to work with them.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. Discussion was opened by *Mrs. Katharine Briggs*, director, home service section, American Red Cross, Chicago, who suggested the Chicago plan to cities strongly objecting to registering home service families in a social service exchange. Chicago Home Service clears absolutely everything with the exchange but families not known to the Exchanges are not registered. About 75% of the families in the Home Service are not known to any other social agency registering with the Exchange. Home Service includes many families of officers. In cities where the social service exchange is looked upon as a charity registration, *Mrs. Briggs* objects to registering home service families. All agencies in Chicago have been required to refer all soldiers' and sailors' families to home service.

2. *Frank J. Bruno*, director of civilian relief, northern division, American Red Cross, Minneapolis. Emphasized the point that Home Service workers experience little difficulty in securing co-operation with the older organized agencies. Quite to the contrary, these latter agencies are eager to do whatever the Red Cross asks; they give their workers; they train others for Home Service, and they place at the disposal of the Red Cross their experience and their service. The real



danger in co-operation lies in a possible attitude of the Red Cross in looking upon its work as being different from other social work, and therefore superior to the fundamental conditions on which co-operation is based. A second danger which Mr. Bruno pointed out, lies in the feeling sometimes shown by Home Service workers, that their standards are superior to the standards of the other social agencies. This would result in actual destruction of true Home Service, on the one side; and on the other, would cut away from Home Service and the Red Cross the great body of public opinion and community of background which the Red Cross requires and might sorely need, when as a result of its case work, the accumulation of criticism which all case working agencies develop should threaten its very existence.

3. *Mrs. Janet Anderson*, director of civilian relief, Brooklyn chapter, American Red Cross: There are bound to be many agencies springing up, formed with a purpose of interesting themselves in the families of men in the service. Great confusion will surely arise unless there is a complete understanding and thorough cooperation between these agencies and the Home Service sections. We in Brooklyn have found that the best way to secure a thorough understanding is to go out after these agencies as soon as we hear of them, with the offer of co-operation. The plan that we have evolved, and which is working out well, is to suggest that the professional case work with families be left to the Home Service section, and that a report of our plan for the family be sent to the agency interested. There is no question that it is an advantage to have the case work handled by trained people, but the fact remains that after the professional work is done, these agencies, which are generally local or which become interested in the family because of some other common tie, can continue to supply the friendly touch which we are not always in a position to give.

4. *Lawson Purdy*, general director, Charity Organization Society, New York, suggested that Home Service makes connection with the selective service boards regarding the history of each man whose family applied for aid. He said, "I favor registration of all cases in the social service exchange, which are under the care of the Home Service section." He cited the instance of a soldier's wife receiving a check for \$94.00. As she was not accustomed to handling money, the friendly service of a neighborhood society was secured for her. Another wife claimed to be dependent upon the soldier who denied her claim. The woman and child were left in destitution due to a condition not at all connected with the war. An old time agency was best fitted to render her necessary service. He cited the instance of four brothers: two in the National Army, two in the British, with no dependents; a fifth brother in the Canadian Army left a wife and child. The wife did not have her marriage certificate and could not obtain the allowance from Canada. Under selective service law her brothers-in-law were not able to obtain an allowance for her from the United States because she was not a blood relation. Very intricate difficulties arose due to the war, which needed legal advice, loans and innumerable friendly comforts. Service is emphasized as of first importance. "As I have read the history of charity organization societies, emphasis has rightfully been placed on service."

5. *Jeffrey R. Brackett*, director of the School of Social Work, Boston, questioned if a "poverty line" should be drawn on a basis of money resources. He felt that the greatest poverty was lack of educational and spiritual development. And such persons as the conference members should be leaders in clarifying the public mind in such matters. Another illustration of desirable leadership was the use of

the confidential exchange for information about families in distress. Mrs. Briggs of Chicago had kindly spoken of the exchange in Boston as unique. The reason why that particular exchange is so much used is because the value of its use for the protection and help of families in distress is being shown and championed. Five years ago, it was used little, for example, by medical social agencies; now it is much used by them, as a necessary part of thoroughness in treatment. In the fine social service work of the American Red Cross there is a real danger of camouflaging if the Red Cross claims to be a democratic and fraternal service in comparison with "charity" work—for real charity is a sense of brotherhood expressed in helpful action!

6. *Robert C. Dexter*, general secretary, Charity Organization Society, Montreal, quite agreed with the last two speakers. There should be no poverty line; we cannot draw poverty lines even if we would with prices soaring daily. We have worked out methods of constructive social work, which if correct need not change for war conditions. We are fighting for democracy and we should be consistent. Charity is compassion, love, and service; if we leave these things out of Home Service we had better not have any home service; but if they are there we need not draw an arbitrary line based on financial or social standing. We do not want to bring soldiers' families down to the pauper level but our work should represent a standard of sympathy, tact, and standardized treatment which involves no lowering for anyone.

7. Other suggestions made were that a record be kept of every individual and family in the community, and—for the small community, that all mothers who have sons in the service should be organized into a group to be known as "Our Boys Club."

8. Participants in the informal discussion in addition to those named previously were: Rev. Carl R. Taylor, St. Louis; Blanche Renard, St. Louis; Mrs. Marian Clark, Seattle; A. Maude Taggart, Peterborough, N. H.

## RURAL HOME SERVICE\*

### *Introductory Statement by the Chairman of the Division, Gertrude Vaile*

The subject of rural home service is a very large and interesting one which will certainly grow rapidly larger and more interesting during the next year. The majority of the American people live in small towns and country districts. It is there, I suppose, that the great bulk of our home service work will eventually come. For the purpose of the present discussion the term "rural home service" should, I think be construed to mean work in small towns as well as in the country.

At present the problems of such work are a little hazy to some of us who have a good deal of responsibility for it, for we are more familiar with work in the cities. Of course the great fundamental facts of human nature and the basic principles of human service must be the same wherever human beings are, but possibly some new lights may strike across the work in small communities, and some angles may appear requiring us to shape our methods anew. Already some noticeable advantages and disadvantages of work in small towns, as compared with the cities, have come to my attention.

In the small town, for instance, there is a wealth of neighborly kindness already at hand and willing at all times to give personal service, aht is not easily available in the city. On the other hand, there

\*Luncheon meeting

are many times when people would far rather have the ministrations of comparative strangers than of people near at hand. They hesitate to tell some kinds of troubles to people with whom they must live in constant and close association.

Again, the worker in a small town starts with a great advantage in that many things about the family she would help are already known to her and may be simply assumed without inquiry. Yet, there is always danger that one may mistake length of acquaintance for intimacy of relationship and imagine one knows a great deal more about a family than one really does. And so it is very easy to make snap judgments and unwise plans about people.

In gathering information to enlarge her knowledge of the family the worker again finds helps and hinderances in the small town. The people to whom she goes for information can probably give it quite fully. An employer in a small town, for example, can probably tell not only how good and steady a worker his employe was, but much about his habits and temperament and even his family affairs. Yet, though the sources of information in small towns may be peculiarly rich, they are peculiarly dangerous to draw upon. In city work we warn inexperienced workers not to confer with a family's present neighbors lest they break down the dignity of the family. But where everybody is a present neighbor, and it is not possible even to look up a record at the court house without consulting a present neighbor, how carefully must the worker move to escape stirring up gossip, that deadly scourge of small communities!

But, amid all these conditions and many others, helping and hindering good home service in small towns and rural communities, I have great confidence in the good common sense, the neighborly kindness and the genuine respect for the other fellow's personality that is deeply ingrained in our democratic American communities, and I believe that very fine rural home service will be developed in this country.

Meanwhile I am sure I voice a general sentiment when I say I am very eager for all possible light that may come from the experiences yet available from different parts of the country, as seen by directors of home service from the different Red Cross Divisions here represented.

Other leading speakers in this discussion were: Frank J. Bruno, director of civilian relief, northern division American Red Cross; Alfred Fairbank, occupying the similar position in the southwestern division; Joseph C. Logan, of the southeastern division, and Charles C. Stillman, of the central division. One of the most important questions raised pertained to the means of providing Home Service workers for rural districts who had both case work experience and rural training. The sentiment was expressed that workers of ability could be found in the country who, with training, would do good service.

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## PROBLEMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF MOTHERS' AID

*Mary F. Bogue, Acting Supervisor, Mothers' Assistance Fund, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania*

The Mothers' Assistance Fund Law of Pennsylvania was passed in the spring of 1913. It was framed on the wave of mothers' pension agitation and legislation that was sweeping over the country at that time, and applied to deserted wives as well as to widows. The admin-

istration of the act was left entirely in the hands of local county boards, consisting of from five to seven women, whose only guide was the Auditor General's department in Harrisburg. No central co-ordinating and supervising agency was provided. Generally speaking, the only advice rendered by the department was of a legal and financial nature, and the boards formed their own policies with entire independence of each other. This has made for great divergence in standards, and in a few cases for an unwillingness on the part of old boards to accept new standards. This is not true, however, of the majority, who have come to welcome advice from the State office.

#### *Amendments*

The legislature of 1915, at the urgent solicitation of the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh boards, amended the 1913 act. The beneficiaries were henceforth limited to widows and to wives of men permanently confined in institutions for the insane,—that is to families in which the father was permanently eliminated. The amendment also provided for the appointment of a State Supervisor, who was to be on the staff of the State Board of Education. Her powers were limited to the formulation of rules of procedure, to visitation of the boards, and to supervision and inspection of their work. She was not given the legal authority to refuse grants. However, by request of the Auditor General, she does inspect and approve all new petitions for grants, so that she virtually exercises large discretionary authority over the granting of new petitions.

#### *Administration*

The Pennsylvania law leaves the question of organization optional with the counties, who may appropriate for the fund, through their county commissioners at their discretion. The thirty-seven of the sixty-seven counties of the state now organized include three-fourths of the total population. The state appropriation is divided among the counties on a population basis, the counties duplicating the amount granted by the state. The appropriation has been small from the beginning. The legislature of 1913 appropriated \$200,000 for two years; the legislature of 1915, \$250,000 for two years. The State Supervisor asked the legislature of 1917 for an appropriation of \$800,000; about \$446,000 was granted. This when doubled by the counties provided a total expenditure of \$446,000 per year for the whole state. Philadelphia county now has 204 beneficiaries and is still drawing on its 1914 applications; that is to say, proceeding in a chronological order this county has not been able to consider its 1915-16-17-18 applications for lack of funds. This inadequacy of the fund has been serious all over the state and has led to the formation of various policies on the part of the boards.



*Policies of Boards*

The first and most dangerous policy from the point of view of constructive family work is that of giving a little to all the families who are eligible. A few families are still receiving \$3.00, \$4.00, and \$5.00 a month, but under the influence of the central office no new grants are made on so inadequate a basis. A second policy, and one which an increasingly large number of boards are adopting, is that of deliberately assisting a few mothers and demanding from them high standards of home care. From the first the two city counties of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have stood for the principle of granting adequate assistance to a relatively small number of beneficiaries rather than doling out the sum in small ineffective amounts, and many other counties especially the newly organized ones have fallen into line. This is in the face of much local pressure, which the boards are quite heroically resisting. In one of the largest mining counties the board was utterly overwhelmed by the number of applications, and the misery and destitution in the homes of men who had been killed by industrial accidents prior to the operation of the workmen's compensation law. Outside the large cities there are almost no charity organization societies to which families may be referred, and we are continually discovering in the small cities where there are so-called charity organization societies a tendency to give only emergency relief. This mining county therefore decided to give the benefit of its supervision and service to as large a group as it could by asking the poor board to supplement its grants on something approaching a fifty-fifty basis. As a matter of fact, this policy has been followed in several counties, but has not been worked out so constructively.

*Inadequacy of Administrative Funds*

Ten per cent of the total appropriation is allowed for administrative expenses, which in the city counties is fairly adequate. Ten boards are now employing trained or partly trained workers, some of whom are on part-time, as it has been the policy of the Supervisor to correlate the work with that of private agencies in order to secure the best possible service. The rural counties, however, cannot afford trained service, and do not contain social agencies with which our boards could combine, even had they sufficient funds. It is significant that in counties where there has never been a demonstration of good case work the level of our own Mothers' Assistance Fund work is lowest; so true it seems that public service rises no higher than the level of the community work as a whole. In this connection therefore our problem becomes twofold, to work for larger administrative funds and to make so vivid the value of case work that when the funds are at hand the Boards will be eager to welcome the trained worker.

*The Scope of the Problem*

The Supervisor in her report to the legislature of 1917, calculated that there were in the state on a conservative estimate 5,000 eligible families. The state is now assisting 1,484 families, including 5,449 children under sixteen. The average grant per family is \$16.88. Four counties give an average grant per family of from \$24 to \$25 per month. Six counties an average grant of from \$18 to \$22. Fully half and probably two-thirds of the grants are approximately adequate, and they are being raised constantly to more adequate levels.

*Distinction Between Mothers' Assistance Fund and Poor Relief*

It is a matter of surprise to a city worker to note the distinction which is made by the mothers themselves between mothers' assistance and poor relief. It is true that in some counties they are recipients of poor relief and mothers' assistance at the same time. Yet in many parts of the state the mothers would disdain to receive poor relief. There is a distinct feeling that mothers' assistance is honorable and that it is payment for service. The Supervisor's connection with the State Board of education and the emphasis on good school records have fixed in the mind of the mothers the purpose of the law as an educational measure. The interest of the mothers in the school reports of the children has increased, and the teachers have become concerned about the family problems of children assisted by the Fund.

*Rural Social Problems*

The Home Service division of the Red Cross and Mothers' Assistance exist for the same purpose:—that of filling the breach, which the absence of the male breadwinner makes in the family life. Both organizations spread out over vast areas, and find themselves most needed where there are fewest community resources, and where there is the least community organization for social improvement. The conditions crying for remedy are envired in such a labyrinth of prejudice and such a tradition of *laissez faire*, that they are much more difficult of approach than in metropolitan districts. For example, non-attendance at school in order that children may work on farms during late spring and early fall in many districts is an established custom not easily broken by "up-start state officials." The problem becomes that of educating the whole community. The case worker in the country has on the one hand the task of safeguarding the family against self-exploitation, while providing opportunity for development on the other—opportunities which much often be conjured up by her. This means that the case worker must become a community organizer.

In order to learn how our rural counties were meeting these problems the Acting Supervisor has visited during the last seven months 166 mothers in twelve counties. They are counties among those least

touched by modern social service and do not include large centers of population. None of them with one exception could afford to employ a paid worker. The following statements are made on the basis of the facts secured in these visits and in conference with the Trustees. The women on these particular boards are conscientious, forward-looking and socially-minded. They are remedying conditions of their own accord, so far as they are able, but with all their devotion they cannot do all that is needed. The conditions crying for remedy are not therefore a criticism of their work, but an index of the need of trained service. The simplest analysis of the interviews taken with these 166 mothers shows how far we are falling short of adequate care on the side of health, education, recreation, budget making, and vocational guidance. On the whole, these mothers were intelligent women, whose homes and children were well cared for. Too many of them, however, were broken spirited and seemed to have lost the joy of life. There was too often a pathetic lack of what most of us consider necessities of decent living; income, health, social contacts, and amusements, and the intellectual stimulus, that comes from books and magazines. It is devoutly to be hoped that as our work grows, it may become preventive, and that we may get in touch with these mothers before they have become broken either in health or spirit.

#### *Standards of Investigation and Supervision*

Investigation in these twelve counties consists for the most part of a visit to the family and of inquiry in the neighborhood; sometimes the school is visited. Often the trustee making the investigation is in a general way familiar with the family history and habits over a considerable period of time, but the details of the present situation often elude her, and the gospel of the cooperative and constructive social investigation is not understood, to say nothing of the difficulty of putting it in practice. The lack of explicit, detailed information covering minutely the earnings and income has made scientific budget making for the most part out of the question. Though a rough calculation of relative needs is made, the grant has been determined in most of these 12 counties not so much by the difference between income and necessary expenditure as between the amount in the treasury and the probable number of widows to be helped. Accordingly the woman has been allotted a certain sum, and has adjusted her living expenses around this as best she could, sometimes with complete satisfaction but too often with ill health, truancy, child labor, special school employment certificates and inadequate food as accompaniments.

On the side of supervision, each trustee is generally responsible for visiting the mothers in her part of the county. The aim of the boards is a monthly visit. Country roads, however, are often impassable in winter, and sometimes an interval of six or seven months will elapse between visits. Occasionally the trustees put in touch with the mother

some neighborly woman living near her who reports anything of importance, or is supposed to do so, but this is not satisfactory. The mothers are often encouraged to write to "their trustee;" this is preferable to the lack of communication which exists during long intervals. It does at least make the mother feel the closeness of her official connection with the board. The trustees are performing countless helpful services, especially in securing medical treatment for the correction of physical defects of children. They are often playing the part of generous and benevolent neighbors. School records are generally conscientiously secured, and even itemized statements of income and expenditure are required monthly in one of two counties, but supervision, as understood by the case worker in terms of normal life, is still to be achieved.

### *Work*

Three-fourths of the 166 mothers were earning and over one-half of those earning were doing day's work or washing in their own homes or both. The wages for day's work vary from \$2 to \$0.50 a day. Home washing appears to be very little better paid now than formerly. Many women are doing ten washings a week. They earn from \$4 to \$7 according to locality and amount of work done,—a wage totally out of proportion to the effort expended. It is still considered respectable for well-to-do women to underbid their washerwomen, and as this is the only employment open to many widows competing for the work, wages are always at the lowest level. This ever present home washing is a trade which deserves more scientific study and concerted effort on the part of case workers for higher rates of pay.

### *Health*

Added to the severe physical strain of washing is the fact that two-thirds of these 166 women were in poor physical condition which was being aggravated by long standing with hands in wash water in rooms filled with steam and moisture. The physical ailments of our mothers is an old story. Gynecological conditions, rheumatism, varicose veins, decayed teeth, goitre, and neurasthenia loom largest. The slow devitalization which comes with lack of proper care at child birth, the strain of the man's illness and death, inadequate income, overwork, and worry can only be overcome by the most exhaustive and patient planning, and by adequate grants. It was very noticeable that the women working in factories, who lived with relatives, and were therefore relieved from overwork and the care of children during the day, were both in better physical condition, and their whole bearing showed greater independence and equanimity, and a sense of being equal to life.

Not only were two-thirds of the mothers in need of medical attention but over one-third of the children and my observation necessarily was superficial. The problem of medical care in the country is acute. Many hospitals do not have facilities for either diagnosis or treatment of certain diseases; dispensaries are rare, and physicians less socially-minded; less insistent upon getting the needed thing done than in the



large city. For example, in a city of 19,000 a family of eight was discovered in which the mother and two children were actively tubercular. The State Dispensary was not urging sanitarium care, though adequate home care was out of the question. This city had a charity organization society, though now one only in name. It was giving clothing and an occasional grocery order, and had requested the Mothers' Assistance Fund to help the family, as it was felt by everybody that the community would not stand for the "breaking up of the home." This *laissez faire* tendency in the country to leave health to Providence can only be offset by aggressive public health propaganda.

#### *Earnings of Children*

I was curious to know the effect of Mothers' Assistance on the contribution to the family budget of the boys and girls old enough to work. Did Mothers' Assistance tend to destroy the sense of responsibility, the pride and chivalry in filling the father's place? There were sixty children over sixteen at home in these families; of these sixty, thirty-one gave all of their earnings to the budget, while the eighteen who gave from 25% to 85%, provided their own clothing. Of the thirty-five under sixteen who were earning, twenty-five gave all of their earnings to the household budget. It is true that often the grant is so small that its effect is very slight. By a somewhat rough calculation the boards decide upon a grant which assumes that the bulk of the income will be made up from other sources. When these rural counties begin to give larger grants the problem of adjusting them discriminatingly to the child's wages will involve planning and a supervision more intensive than these twelve boards are now able to give. It is urged by some social workers that to permit a child to contribute all of his earnings is to exploit him. This, of course, depends upon the age and earnings of the child as well as upon his own individual requirements. How much the boy or girl should contribute is a matter of most delicate adjustment and no hard and fast rule can be made; we are coming to realize the necessity of far greater individualization of children, but that children should not be expected to contribute more than a fair board, when their earnings are much in excess of this, seems to me to fail to take into consideration the co-operative quality of family life down the ages.

#### *Relatives*

The procedure involved in securing moral and financial support from relatives is not generally understood in these counties. Many relatives are voluntarily helping generously both financially and morally. The Pennsylvania law makes compulsory on the part of able grandparents the support of dependent grandchildren, and I believe we should requisition this law more freely than we are doing, and that we should enlist help from able brothers and sisters to a greater degree. There is a subtle psychological temptation to refrain from visiting relatives when one knows there is a fund, which will supply all need.

It is natural that relatives should stand off and let the Mothers' Assistance Fund show its hand, but I am not willing to say that relatives would if appealed to in the beginning, shirk their obligations toward their kin. I believe there is a vast amount of untouched fellow-feeling and financial and moral resources on the part of relatives, that we are not tapping but which state officials could call forth as effectively as charity organization workers.

### *Education*

On the side of education, the mother is instructed that it is part of her contract with the state to keep the children regularly at school. It is even written into our Pennsylvania law that the trustees shall in no case recommend payment except upon a satisfactory report from a teacher that the children are in school. School reports are required from the teacher on a uniform state blank at regular intervals. Community standards, however, are lax and truancy systems often inefficient. Schools are sometimes so crowded that teachers do not mind the children's absence and do not take the pains to report it. For example, in a city of 10,000 one of our children was discovered this spring who had been out of school for two and one-half years. Often education is meagre enough at the best, as many townships in Pennsylvania have only seven months of school.

Many petty violations of the child labor law are discovered. The temptation to permit thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen year old youngsters to work eight months in the year and go to school four is very great. Special working certificates for children under fourteen, and between fourteen and sixteen, when they have not completed the sixth grade, as our law requires, are not at all infrequent. The pressure upon superintendents to grant these special permits should be relieved by our work to a far greater extent.

### *Vocational Guidance*

The field of vocational guidance is still almost untouched so far as these 12 counties are concerned. It not infrequently happens that because no plan is made for a child to enter a neighboring high school, he repeats his grade in the district school, waiting for something to turn up next year. Our school report blanks, excellent as they are, must be supplemented by visits to the teachers, especially as the child approaches his thirteenth or fourteenth year. In one of our families a boy of seventeen was discovered who for several years had been working eight or nine months, attending school the other three or four. For three years he had been in the same grade, and was returning to it again this winter. Our mothers unless they are unusual are peculiarly helpless, and our children quite at the mercy of circumstances. The great majority go no further than the grammar school, then enter into any industrial niche, that is found for them. Despite the fact that the free-

dom to choose an occupation is very limited in communities where all industries center about mining, railroading, iron or steel, with that little freedom which we do have we could do much more than we are doing at present to place the child where he will be given some opportunity, if not for self expression at least for earning a competency.

### *Recreation and Social Life*

On the side of recreation and social life all too often we find that the widow, after the man is gone, loses touch with the world. She may be unable to leave her children and after she had been kept at home for years, she shrinks from picking up the threads of social life again. She may even lose her church connection, though she sends the children to Sunday school. We, who are trying to take the man's place in the family, need not only to put the children into relationship with all the spiritualizing forces in the community, but to enrich the mother's life through enlarging her social opportunities. Illegitimacy is very rare among our mothers but it might not happen even so often as it does, and the moral temptations would not be so great, if the widow's life were less barren and forlorn, and if she were surrounded by more of the safeguards that come with friends and outside interests and pleasures.

### *Mothers' Assistance and Community Welfare*

If compared with the highest case work standards, Mothers' Assistance Fund work in some communities still falls short, that is not a matter for surprise or alarm. Expert administration of a public trust is a flower of slow growth. Standardization of case work in a public agency inevitably proceeds more slowly than in a private one, where an order from the top is sufficient to reorganize a system, while the efficiency of a public agency depends upon the sympathetic understanding of a whole constituency. This is peculiarly true with our Mothers' Assistance Fund work in Pennsylvania, which is supervised by a state official, but administered by local boards. Faulty as it may be, the work is really the first expression of social service except tuberculosis nursing, that has penetrated whole sections of the state. Mothers' Assistance is still in a plastic and experimental stage, but real standardization is going on. A more autocratic state control would insure a more perfect technique, but it would ignore the educational opportunities that are now afforded to local groups of becoming familiar with the principles of social service, and would thus fail to provide them with a yard stick with which to measure their own social problems. The trustees all over Pennsylvania are gripping their local social problems, which their eyes are open to see as never before. One board is struggling at this moment to reform a truancy system; the women are securing the names of all the children known to be out of school for an extended period of time and agitating for a non-politically appointed truant officer. This is the same county, by the way, in which two of our children were discovered

out of school, one for two and a half years, and the other for eight months. Another board is becoming interested in feeble-mindedness in its county, and still another in cooperation with other social agencies conducted a child welfare exhibit.

The rural Mothers' Assistance Fund boards occupy a strategic position. They are able to see conditions affecting child welfare over the whole country, as no other body of people is able to see them, and they are therefore able to initiate and organize community movements, which have for their object the welfare of children; at least one board has so interpreted its responsibility. Particularly in the country the Mothers' Assistance Fund boards and Home Service must take the initiative in knitting together the forces for social advance. Cooperation between what social agencies do exist is of the most meagre sort. Mothers' Assistance and Home Service can be of invaluable help towards enforcing child labor and compulsory education laws, not only by demanding their observance in the families assisted, but by demonstrating to school superintendents and the general public that poverty is no valid excuse for depriving children of the hard-won protection that is legally theirs.

#### *Personnel of the Boards*

I know of no body of women who are shouldering so large a burden entirely gratuitously so faithfully and unpretentiously. In twenty of the thirty-seven counties the trustees are personally performing all the clerical work in addition to investigation and supervision. The personnel of the boards for the most part consists of the most socially minded, and civically alert women in their communities.

The Supervisor in her report to the last legislature says "that probably public funds were never administered in Pennsylvania with greater economy and care." In almost no case has a trustee been appointed for political reasons. The women's club movement is responsible for many wise selections, since the clubs have mothered Mothers' Assistance and have felt responsible for its success in many newly organized counties. They have even gone so far as to present lists of names to the commissioners for appointment to the boards. Occasionally society women have been appointed, but I was interested in observing in one county a few weeks ago, that it was distinctly felt that the women on the board should represent the selfmade walk of life. It is in the personnel of the boards that the hope of Mothers' Assistance in Pennsylvania lies. Theirs is the ultimate and final responsibility, and the great majority are rising splendidly to meet it. Many boards are eager for trained service, and are ready to support an amendment for increasing the appropriation for administrative expenses in the rural counties at the next legislature.

#### *Mothers' Assistance Not the Ultimate Goal*

The most ardent advocates of Mothers' Assistance do not look upon it as a final measure of social justice to the wage earner. Ninety per



cent of the fathers of the families assisted under our law died under the age of forty-five, at the very time when they were most valuable to their families and to the community. If mothers' pension legislation should be used to keep standards of compensation for industrial accidents low, or to delay the passage of health insurance legislation, it would be cause for regret that a law so shortsighted, though benevolent, had been passed. We in Pennsylvania therefore have taken the stand that our fund shall not be used to supplement inadequate compensation. It does help to fill a need, the appalling scope of which no one had been in a position to know previous to the passage and operation of the Mothers' Assistance Fund law. We do not yet know it in its entirety, but we have the machinery for gauging it, and the proportion of our problem is daily taking on a more concrete form. The ultimate goal, as Dr. Devine pointed out long ago, is not relief of any kind, but the decrease of widowhood, and a thorough-going system of social insurance; added to that the community must receive a tremendously increased stimulus in the direction of providing for *all*, adequate medical care, recreational facilities, and educational opportunities, which the case worker tries to secure for the families under her care, who are temporarily below the poverty line. Just the monthly allowance which social insurance would provide without these specialized forms of service would not be adequate to meet the entire need. At the same time, therefore, that we are working for the passage of social insurance legislation we need to be propagandists in the cause of community organization of medical, educational, vocation and recreation resources for the common good.

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### THE FAMILY BUDGET AND ITS SUPERVISION

*Florence Nesbit, Director of Food Conservation, Women's Committee,  
Council of National Defense, Cleveland*

A judge who administers mothers' pensions in a country town said when discussing the need of supervision of the families receiving relief: "No one can teach these women anything about household management. They know from hard experience more than is written in all the books and taught in all the schools." When asked what evidence he had of this unusual ability, he replied: "Any woman who can support a family on what I give them must be a good manager." His grants, it was learned, never ran above \$25.00 per month for the largest sized family. This man was missing in his work all the help that a careful consideration of the family budget would have given him. He had no clearly defined picture of the standard on which the families in his care should live or of how much this would cost, or of the buying capacity of the money he was granting in terms of living necessities for the families regarding whom he was given so much responsibility. In some families

the small grant could be spent for luxuries, because necessities were otherwise provided; in others they were going without the barest necessities because the combined resources of the family and the grant would not buy them.

In the payment of pensions to mothers the state has taken over the support of certain homes for the purpose of providing children, who might otherwise be deprived of it, with a family home and the care of their own mother. This cannot possibly be considered worth the expenditure of public funds unless there can be reasonable assurance that such children will have a home which will provide at the least the conditions necessary to make possible a normal physical and mental development. Ill-trained, ill-nourished children, pre-disposed to crime and disease, growing into a stunted, ineffective adulthood, are a serious liability, not an asset to society. Perpetuating homes which produce such results would be both uncharitable and unwise. That every child has the right, at the least, to the irreducible minimum standard necessary to his welfare, of which President Wilson speaks in his Children's Year announcement, would remain undisputed. Just what are the elements of this irreducible minimum may not be so clear in all minds. That is, if we say that each child must have sufficient food, there will be no one to challenge the statement. But if we say that this includes a certain amount of milk daily for each one, we will discover that someone has considered milk necessary only for young babies or for tuberculous or otherwise ailing children, not for those who are well.

#### *Determining Minimum Standards*

One of the first questions confronting the organization through which pensions to mothers are paid is: "How, at the minimum, must a child be housed, fed, clothed, and otherwise cared for that it may have its full chance to develop?" This question is not as new as *mothers' pensions*. The answer to it was at least partly formulated before this particular plan of relief was conceived. A few general rules are rather universally agreed upon: that houses occupied should be above ground, light, clean, in good repair, large enough to allow for decent sleeping arrangements and free from vicious neighborhood influences; that food meet the requirements of an adequate, well-balanced diet according to established dietary standards such as will meet the approval of food experts; that clothing be sufficient for protection from cold and wet, whole shoes and other needs provided, of an appearance that will not be so inferior to that of those with whom the wearer is thrown as to be a source of humiliation; that household equipment and furniture be sufficient to make possible a reasonable degree of cleanliness and order in the home and the personal possessions. Other points, such as the carrying of insurance, provision for recreation and education, care of health, are still subjects of discussion.

The question to which the estimated minimum budget is an answer

is, "How much, at the least, does all this cost for a family of known composition and surroundings?" A schedule which will form the basis of calculation for this budget can be worked out by computing the average cost of articles of food, clothing and other personal expenses needed for individuals at different ages, and that of rent, fuel, household equipment and other expenses in which the family shares as a whole. There is no "royal road" for arriving at the figures of such a schedule any more than there is one leading to learning. It needs much careful detail work, involving a knowledge of intimate household affairs—of how many pairs of shoes it will take to keep the average 12-year-old boy's feet dry for a year, and how much milk and cereal the 8-year-old girl will need in order to be adequately fed, and how much soap it will take for the family washing. Not only must the number and kind be determined, but the accurate price of these articles at a market at which the mother can buy.

#### *Checking With Experience*

Nor are the difficulties ended when the schedule has been worked out. The estimated budget arrived at from such a schedule must constantly be checked up by the results of experience. "What will this money buy, and is that enough to supply this family adequately?" is a question that should be frequently asked and definitely answered. Otherwise practices sometimes arise which involve the gravest dangers to those whom we wish to safeguard. A society giving relief to a large number of families was three years ago allowing 30 cents a week for the food of a child under two years. One of the workers was asked how 30 cents could be spent in order to provide food that would last a baby for a week. She answered: "I have often wondered that myself; I do not know, but that is what our schedule says."

This question of the buying power of money needs attention even before the time for estimating the family budget comes. The following conversation took place between a supervisor and a volunteer worker who was making the investigation of an application for a mothers' pension by a family who had no apparent income: "How has this family been living?" "They owe three months' rent and have just been living on county supplies"—county supplies in this case being the familiar allowance of beans, flour, sugar, etc. "Are the children undergrown or under-nourished?" No, they look healthy and well fed." "What about their clothing?" "Oh, that's all right; they have good clothes." "Where do they get them?" "The mother makes them." "Out of what?" At this point the visitor, blushing, said she would look into the matter further before going on with the discussion.

Again, the schedule must not be used rigidly. Flexibility is one of the first requirements of a good schedule, just as a provision for its own amendment is one of the most important articles of the constitution.

Take for example the making of an estimate for the needs of a family of mother and young children whose father died of tuberculosis, leaving the whole family under-nourished, if not positively infected. An extra allowance for food will be needed over the amount needed for a healthy family with good appetites and good digestion. Especially bright, sunny rooms will be necessary, which may mean higher rent; outdoor sleeping arrangements may be advised as the only way to make restoration to health possible.

Suppose we have a family in which a mother is working outside her home. She will need not only money for carfare and lunch for herself, but a higher allowance for clothing than if she were at home. The family food will cost more than if she had more time for planning, buying and preparing it. There probably will be a nursery fee for the children or a small sum paid to a caretaker. Differences of occupation make often considerable differences in working expenses. The 16-year-old daughter of one family goes to work in a neighboring factory or shop. She walks to work and comes home to lunch at noon. Her working clothes need to be warm and an adequate protection, but the standard of appearance, and therefore the cost, may be much less than those for another girl who goes to a downtown office or store to work and who must also buy lunches and pay carfare.

#### *Chicago Experience*

During the time of my service with the mothers' pensions of the Cook County Juvenile Court, we must have met almost all of the arguments there are against making the pension for mothers adequate. The one which caused the most disastrous results is the one based on the argument that a dependent family must never be better cared for than the self-supporting family, depending upon the wages of the father. In 1913 the county agent convinced the president of the county board, through whom our funds were paid, that this principle was sound, and they set \$50.00 per month as the wage of the workman whose standard should be accepted as the standard for our relief. The ruling reached us that no mothers' pension should be allowed which would bring the family income above this amount. Where part of the resources were wages of working children, three-fourths only of these wages were to be counted in making up the \$50.00. It was, of course, the largest families who suffered. The ruling went into effect about Christmas. On the day when a large number of hearings were set, some friend of the court had sent many flowers. None of the workers can ever forget the flower-decked room filled with the anxious, bewildered faces of these mothers of many children summoned to court to have a part of their income cut off, nor the year of deprivation that followed for them, until with a change of county administration the ruling fell into disuse.



*Supervision of Income*

After the estimate of the family budget is fairly made, there remains the yet more difficult feature of assuring an administration of the income that will secure the standard of living decided upon as the minimum of normal existence. In considering this aspect of family supervision, we must remember the handicaps under which this mother is so apt to be placed. She often has no more in material possessions out of which to make a home than the little girl who starts playing house in a farmhouse yard. Frequently she has no more training for home-making than this little girl. If any are fitted to live with so little as this in the way of material possessions, it is those who are strongest in body and spirit and richest in mental equipment. They would know best how to deal with the problems arising out of these straightened circumstances. But among those who are forced to face such a situation are many who are ignorant and some who are weak and poor in spirit. We should not expect of these the miracles of achievement necessary to make an inadequate income stretch over adequate living. We should be very sure that the amount of money given should not only be enough, but that we are able to supplement their lack of training by the necessary guidance. Those who believe that the discipline of poverty necessarily produces the thrift, wisdom and strength in self-denial necessary for carrying on the difficult enterprise of making every cent count to the utmost, and that the poor have means of stretching a dollar not known to more fortunate mortals, are disillusioned at the very beginning, as soon as they are met with the pitiful fact that no one gets so little for their money as the poor.

Last month when potatoes were selling in Cleveland for 90 cents to \$1.00 a bushel, the only way in which many of the grocers who supply the poorest neighborhoods made any sales were 4 pounds for 15 cents, which amounts to \$2.25 a bushel. The small corner grocery is almost always filled with highly advertised packages of foodstuffs put up in the smallest, and therefore the most expensive, sizes. Buying done meal by meal or day by day is bound to be an expensive practice, just as coal bought by the pail costs  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 times as much as by the ton. Clothing and furniture bought on the installment plan is often worn out before the exorbitant price at the rate of only 50 cents a week is paid. The economies which we hear praised are too often simply doing without and saying nothing of the lack of what we may well regard as essentials.

With the allotment of a minimum amount on which a normal standard can be maintained must go the assistance in its administration which each housekeeper needs in order to make it cover the expenses for which it was intended. We have no right to expect the untrained woman to do what we cannot do, or guide her into doing. Many things which she has had no opportunity to learn must be grasped before

it is possible to administer a minimum income in a way to get maximum results. She must know something of the requirements of an adequate diet, although she may not call it that; the part which each class of food material plays in the nourishment of the body—although she needs to know no technical terms for these classes. Although she may not hear of calories, she needs to know something of the comparative value of different foods so that she may judge whether she is getting real value for her money or giving it for pleasant flavor and attractiveness, or perhaps merely to pay for clever advertising. She needs to be able to estimate the advantage of buying in larger amounts and to become acquainted with many new materials in food and clothing, and to learn the qualities of each and the way in which they should be used.

*Expense Accounts Required in Cook County*

The daily expense accounts the women all kept more or less faithfully of their expenditures showed in general what choice of food and other materials was being made and the way in which the buying was done. These accounts were valuable chiefly for indicating what the need of instruction was in each individual family. Unless given this help in planning the expenditure of her income, the untrained woman is apt to be bewildered by the demand made upon her for maintaining better living standards than those to which she is accustomed. Her first thought is that she cannot afford to buy the milk and vegetables and fruits advised; she has always regarded them as luxuries beyond her reach. One mother once said, "you expect me to buy \$50 worth for \$30." It was necessary to show her just how the \$30 could be laid out to cover what she thought would cost \$50. Sometimes this involved the sacrifice of some pet extravagance, such as puffed rice or boiled ham, and the mother was reluctant to make the changes that would be necessary if she were to buy three quarts of milk daily for her six children, instead of the one quart to which she was accustomed and which she thought was all she could afford. In such cases the worker sometimes said: "But all of us believe that you need three quarts and that is why the judge granted you \$60 a month. If you were to have had only one quart he would have given you only \$55." This direct connection between needs and income was usually effective in bringing about an attitude of willingness to learn how the matter could be accomplished.

But we spared no effort to carry the family with us in spirit in every change; unless they can in the end be convinced of the desirability of the new order of things the old regime will be re-established just as soon as pressure from the relief-giving agency is removed. In that case the only accomplishment of one or two or three years' work is the physical effect of the better living conditions during this time. In most cases, however, the natural reaction is toward the better things. The mothers frequently confide to the visitor that they are just beginning

to "live nice." Sometimes when the mother, dulled through long familiarity with bad conditions, cannot be stirred, the children are the only hope. An ideal of wholesome, unpretentious living must be built in their minds; good air and light and adequate food and clothing and the things they need for mental and spiritual development. When they come to regard these as a part of their inalienable rights as human beings, they will, when they become wage-earners, demand the pay that will buy them; and so a small contribution is made to wiping out the disgrace of poverty among our people.

## PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION OF MOTHERS' AID: DISCUSSION

*Frank W. Goodhue, Superintendent, Division of State Adult Poor, of  
the State Board of Charity, Boston*

I was very much interested in the statement of Miss Bogue that the Pennsylvania law has financial limitations. The Massachusetts Mothers' Aid Law is an *adequate relief* measure, not a pension law, and provides that:

The aid furnished shall be sufficient to enable the mothers to bring up their children in their own homes.

We have a public relief agency in every city and town, which administers our Mothers' Aid Law. The law also provides that:

The State Board of Charity shall hereafter supervise the work done and measures taken by the Overseers of the Poor of the several cities and towns, in respect to families in which there is one child or more under the age of 14, whether or not such family, or any member thereof, has a settlement within the Commonwealth, and for this purpose may establish such rules relative to notices, as they deem necessary, and may visit and inspect any or all families aided under this Act, and shall have access to any records and other data kept by the Overseers of the Poor or their representatives, relating to such aid.

The commonwealth reimburses the city or town for the total amount of aid given, if the mother has no settlement, and one-third of the amount, if the mother has a lawful settlement in any city or town. The law also provides that these mothers and their children shall not be deemed to be paupers, by reason of receiving this form of aid.

When this law became operative, September 1, 1913, the cities and towns naturally appealed to the State Board of Charity to guide them in working out the many problems that necessarily arose, and under the supervisory authority conferred by the law, the State Board of Charity established "policies" which I shall discuss in such detail as the limitations of time will permit. We felt that a deserving mother should not be reduced to penury in order to be eligible to receive this relief, and therefore adopted the policy that:

### 1. Money on Hand.

Aid should not be granted to a mother who has funds in excess of \$200.00. The applicant should be required to show her bank-book to the Overseers when she applies for Mothers' Aid.

## 2. Equity in Property.

The State Board of Charity is willing to approve aid to an applicant who has an equity not exceeding \$500 in real estate, upon which the family resides, the assessed value of which does not exceed \$2,000, provided that in the case of a widow, the property has not been acquired since her husband's death, and further provided that no payments are made on the mortgage other than a reasonable rate of interest; taxes to be abated whenever possible. All other cases involving ownership of property should be referred to the Board for approval before aid is granted.

The regular relief laws of Massachusetts permit the granting of adequate relief, therefore it seemed inadvisable to grant mothers' aid to temporary cases, necessitating the establishment of the following policy.

## 3. Temporary Need.

Aid should not be granted to a mother unless it seems probable that need of aid under this Law will exist for more than a year.

In all cases, the overseers of the poor are obliged to furnish satisfactory proof that the applicant has resided in Massachusetts for three years next prior to the date of her application for mothers' aid.

Our law does not limit the granting of aid to *widows* with dependent children under 14 years of age, but includes families wherein the husband and father may be totally incapacitated, or has been sent to a sanitarium, insane hospital, or penal institution, where he is likely to remain for more than one year.

The question of desertion is one of the most important problems that we are now facing. The Uniform Desertion Act, which has been adopted in Massachusetts, is an excellent law, but the lack of enforcement by many police authorities is a very serious handicap in the working out of this problem. Our policy provides:

## 4. Desertion.

Aid should not be granted to a mother whose husband has deserted his family, unless a warrant for non-support has been issued under the provisions of Chapter 456, Acts of 1911; until one year has elapsed since the desertion occurred; and until every effort has been made to apprehend the deserting husband.

We found that most of the recipients of this form of relief carried industrial insurance, and from a study of a limited number of cases, the average of premiums paid by each family amounted to 54 cents a week. On this basis, it was estimated that more than \$75,000 of the relief granted was invested in insurance. To remedy this situation, the following policy was established.

## 5. Insurance.

Considering the allowance for burial expenses, aid should not be granted to a mother who is paying insurance upon the lives of her children or upon the lives of other relatives. Also, aid should not be granted to a mother who is paying insurance upon her own life or upon the life of her totally incapacitated husband, if such policies can be converted into paid-up policies, or if they have a reasonable cash surrender value.

We also found that industrial insurance was usually carried in anticipation of burial expenses, and to relieve mothers of their dread of the children being buried on a pauper basis. To alleviate this feeling, and also from an economic standpoint, the policy relating to insurance just quoted, and the following policy with reference to burial was established.



## 6. Burial.

It is the desire of the State Board of Charity that the allowance for burial shall be wholly suitable. When the Overseers are in doubt, the State Board of Charity will be glad to advise.

The unwillingness of members of a family ill with tuberculosis, to submit to sanitarium treatment, caused the State Board of Charity to take the following attitude.

## 8. Tuberculosis.

Aid should not be granted to a mother if a member of the family has tuberculosis in a communicable stage, unless such person shall apply for admission to a sanitarium, to conduct himself in a manner prescribed by the local health authorities, and also unless the other members of the family have been examined for tuberculosis.

From experience in all of our relief work, the presence of male lodgers or boarders has often been found to be a detriment to the normal welfare of children. For this reason it was felt that (policy No. 9):

aid should not be granted to a mother if she has male lodgers or boarders other than father or brother of applicant.

The State Board of Charity believes that very careful consideration should be given to families wherein there are illegitimate children, and that:

aid should not be granted to a mother with illegitimate children, unless with the approval of the State Board of Charity.

Also:

Aid should not be granted to a mother whose only child is under 14 years of age, unless the mother, by reason of illness of either mother or child is unable to provide proper support.

The question of employment seems to be a much debated problem, and the more I hear the matter discussed at this conference, the more in doubt I become as to the advisability of insisting that the mother who has young children to supervise be required to perform much labor. The State Board of Charity is working at present under the following policy.

## 12. Part-Time Work for Mother.

Only such part-time work as the mother can do without detriment to her health and without neglecting her home and her children should be encouraged. If a member of a family of working age claims to be unable to work because of illness, a physician should examine the person to determine his ability to work, and to prescribe for his medical needs.

In considering the family budget, we believe that the amount of weekly aid should vary with the changing needs of the family. In determining the amount of aid necessary for a given family, not only the number of persons in the applicant's family, but also the health, the age, and the capabilities of each member of the family should be considered. The former income, and the former standards of self-supporting citizens of the neighborhood should also be considered.

## FAMILY TREATMENT IN WAR TIME COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

This was an entirely informal discussion. The chairman of the Division, *Miss Vaile*, spoke of the many new community activities brought on by the war, laying special emphasis on food conservation. The Americanization campaign, Liberty Loan, Red Cross activities, both home service and regular chapter activities and buying Thrift Stamps. The query in the mind of those who suggested the meeting was the possibilities of lasting effects of these various activities, and the reactions of these activities on our family work.

1. *Ethel Bird*, Y. W. C. A., New York, from her experience with foreign-born soldiers and their families, felt that if the American people were in a teachable mood, the war might hasten a change in the relations between the latter and the foreign-born. In our family case-work we have never utilized the leaders of foreign groups as we might. Recent Liberty Loan campaigns and Red Cross drives indicate a change in this respect. There are unused sources of helpfulness in our foreign-speaking communities which, once tapped, will result in much more sympathetic understanding of and respect for the immigrants' point of view—and incidentally in a much better type of case work, where foreign-speaking people are concerned.

2. *Mrs. Robert A. Woods*, South End House, Boston: Our experience of the past year has brought to the attention of the settlement worker the fact that in almost every city block there is some person more interested and more resourceful than the other neighbors, who is glad to have a share in war work. Thus matters of food and fuel conservation affect everyone and these movements may be made essentially democratic by eliciting the special ability among the people affected.

It must be the task of social agencies to engineer these undertakings so as to use effectively local ability and thus make real progress in organized community life. It is then an important but somewhat neglected aspect of social work to be ever on the watch for ability, capable of training, among the people whom we serve. War activities make this particularly possible and the discoveries made will not only be of very great use to the community, but of real guidance to social workers in the development of the art of association.

3. *Frank J. Bruno*, director of civilian relief, Northern Division, American Red Cross, Minneapolis: The new war activities are bringing to the fore a group which has been hitherto practically unused in social work, namely, the large middle class. Social work previously has concerned itself almost exclusively with the leisure group on the one hand, and the poor on the other. The war activities have discovered that between the two there is a group of eager, reasonably able people, anxious to be of service and giving valuable assistance to the various activities, such as Thrift Stamps, Food Conservation, and Red Cross. Our great problem is so to organize social work, that the interests of these people and the other newly organized resources may be conserved for service after the war is over.

4. *J. B. Gwin*, general secretary of the Associated Charities of El Paso, Texas, said: General moral and sanitary conditions in our foreign section, composed of Mexicans, have been greatly improved through the work done by the federal government in their general program, which includes a venereal disease clinic, inspection of all houses for insanitary conditions and the suppression of vice through the local

police department. The Mexican population, though, still present a social problem which has received almost no attention. A great many of the men have been called into war service through the draft. They went somewhat unwillingly, but in general their wives and families seem to acquiesce. The opportunity to render a big service to the government, to teach an understanding, to get the whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the Mexican population for the war—to Americanize them—has been neglected. We have washed our foreign population in great numbers by law, but absolute cleanliness, which comes only from the spirit or understanding, is still for the future.

5. *Robert C. Dexter*, general secretary, Montreal Charity Organization Society: One of the war activities in Montreal has been the opening of a Red Cross Sewing Group for the purpose of giving out home sewing to families of widows, etc., where women can do this sewing and cannot do other work. This sewing has been given in place of relief and has worked a double advantage. It has given the Red Cross a nucleus of well made, thoroughly examined garments and has given the women an opportunity of doing work for the soldiers which they would otherwise be unable to do, and also of earning enough to keep their families together. It has also afforded a way of utilizing a large group of volunteers in the supervision of the work. The problem of keeping up the interest of the middle classes, particularly after the war is over, is one that might be met to some extent through getting their interest now in the school. If, through the emphasis placed on children's health and welfare, groups of volunteer visitors could be induced to work in connection with the schools, as the schools continue in peace times, the interest of the visitor might be continued. It is also very important to get the volunteers tied up with peace time agencies, as thus there will be something for them to cling to when the present incentive for work is over.

6. *Miss G. L. Button*, Elizabeth, N. J.: The importance of the food conservation movement in bringing out leaders and getting the community acquainted with itself cannot be over-estimated. This is particularly true in the rural and semi-rural communities.





**VI.**  
**INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC**  
**PROBLEMS**

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-18

### *Chairman*

Mrs. Florence Kelley,  
General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York.

### *Vice Chairman and Secretary*

Roger N. Baldwin,  
Director, National Civil Liberties Bureau, New York.

Edith Abbott.....	Chicago	Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara.....	Portland, Ore.
Frederic Almy.....	Buffalo	Mrs. William Z. Ripley..	Cambridge, Mass.
George L. Berry.....	Nashville	Raymond Robins.....	Chicago
Hornell Hart.....	Cincinnati	Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull.....	Portland, Ore.
		Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York

## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, one hundred and thirty delegates registered as members of this Division. Ten meetings for discussion were held, six of which appeared in the formal program as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 3:30 p. m., "Insurance, Pensions, and the State" ..	388
May 20, 8:15 p. m., "Industrial Reorganization After the War" (General Session) .....	375
May 21, 9:15 a. m., "Social Work and Radical Economic Movements" .....	396
May 21, 11:00 a. m., "Health Insurance. Problem of Inheritance" .....	407
May 22, 9:15 a. m., "Labor Problems of the War" .....	420
May 22, 11:00 a. m., "Labor Problems of the Reconstruction" .....	426

The section meeting at 10:00 a. m., May 21st, was a joint session with the Division on Health.

On May 16, 1918, at 12:45 p. m., the Division met at luncheon. At 2:00 o'clock a business session was held under the chairmanship of Mrs. Florence Kelley, the chairman of the Division, about sixty persons being present.

Mr. Hornell Hart moved that the Division proceed to nominate a Divisional Committee by the Hare System of Proportional Representation. The motion was seconded and carried. Mr. Roger N. Baldwin moved that the committee consist of fifteen members. This was seconded and carried.

Mr. Baldwin read a list of nominations. The following names were placed in nomination from the floor: Miss Ernstine Friedman, New York; Father John R. Maguire, H. M. Kallen, Karl De Schweinitz. As tellers there were appointed Mr. Fulkner, C. M. Bookman and Mr. Hart.

On the motion of Miss Abbott a resolution was adopted to appoint a committee to bring in a report on organization for the coming year. The chair appointed Miss Edith Abbott, Alexander Fleisher, Hornell Hart, Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Arthur Kellogg, Mr. Baldwin and Father John R. Maguire.

Mr. Roscoe C. Edlund moved that steps be taken to stimulate discussions on radical economic problems through the year in social service clubs and conferences, and that a committee of three be appointed for that purpose, the secretary to be especially charged with that function.

Mr. Fleisher moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee with power. Amendment accepted, and motion adopted.

On Friday afternoon at 3:30 o'clock a second business session was held, about sixty persons being present.

The tellers reported that the election had resulted in the choice of the following members of the Division Committee: To serve for three years: Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Jane Addams, Miss Ernestine Friedman, Roger N. Baldwin and Miss Edith Abbott. To serve for two years: Allen T. Burns, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Frederic Almy, Hornell Hart, Father John A. Ryan. To serve for one year: Paul U. Kellogg, Mrs. Halleck, Alexander Fleisher, Sherman C. Kingsley and Dr. Jessica Peixotto.

The above report was adopted.

The report of the sub-committee under the chairmanship of Miss Edith Abbott was received and adopted, providing for the organization of sections within the Division, on the following subjects:

1. Labor standards.
2. Relation of social work to radical economic movements.
3. Taxation and social welfare.
4. Social insurance and pensions.
5. Industrial welfare work.

The content of the committee report at the present meeting of the National Conference was discussed and the following committee named to formulate it: Mrs. Kelley, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Hart and others whom they should be empowered to add.

The question of defraying the expenses of the Division in preparing for the Kansas City Conference was raised and it was voted that the pro rata share for each person registered in the Division should be announced.

A third session of the Division for the transaction of business was held on Tuesday afternoon, May 21, at 3:30 o'clock, Mrs. Kelley presiding.

In accordance with instructions received from the Conference at its business session, the Division proceeded to elect three additional members of the committee, who were to represent labor. Those chosen were Charles A. Sumner of Kansas City for three years, George L. Berry of Nashville, for two years, and Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago for one year.

A preliminary draft of the Division report was presented by Mr. Baldwin. It was referred to a special committee for redrafting and a motion prevailed to the effect that it should be finally presented to the Conference as the work, and with the authority only, of those preparing it. The following committee was named to take charge of the matter: Messrs. Baldwin, Fleisher, Shelby M. Harrison, Mrs. Halleck and the chairman, Mrs. Kelley.

(Signed) FLORENCE KELLEY, Chairman.  
ROGER N. BALDWIN, Secretary.



## INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman of the Division, Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York*

The Division on Industrial and Economic Problems based its program for the evening session on the service that the Conference can render by concentrating public attention on three great, persistent causes of poverty. These are (a) *race prejudice*, which closes many avenues to prosperity to masses of Negroes; (b) our crude form of *land tenure*, which gives rise to the debtor farmer, the tenant farmer and the farm laborer; and (c) the *irresponsible organization of our great industries*, which produces, inevitably and wholesale, underpaid, underfed, undereducated men, women and children, citizens of our Republic.

The speakers who presented these subjects—Mr. Ratcliffe outlining the inspiring program of the British Labor Movement, Mr. Weldon Johnson depicting the Changing Status of Negro Labor, and Professor Elwood Mead, of the University of California, dealing with land tenure—pointed each in his own field a road to liberty.

All the section meetings and several adjourned sessions of the business meeting dealt with practical relations of these three causes of poverty to the activities of social workers.

It is the conviction of the chairman of the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems that a continuing, unified policy of the Division, in the present crisis, may greatly help to a peaceful, lasting, and beneficent reconstruction. Without prompt and effective changes in our laws and usages in these three fields, permanent peace within our own borders is inconceivable. The world can never be safe for democracy while millions of Negroes, with farmers and laborers of both races, are objects of study and of solicitude, when they should instead be organized agents actively participating in the conduct of the political and industrial life of the United States.

## THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY; ITS PROGRAM AND AIMS

*S. K. Ratcliffe, Special Correspondent in America of the London Daily News*

An eminent American citizen said to me a short time ago, "It is the by-products of this war that are so amazing and in some ways so encouraging." The truth of this remark is illustrated in a striking manner by what has happened in England since 1914. The social and economic transformation brought about by the organization for war has been accompanied by a vast amount of forward thinking and by preparation for the new England that is to come with the peace. The work of national organization had not been going on for many months when reconstruction became the word of the hour. The work of the new and extended government departments to which so much power had been given, was not for the war emergency alone: it became more and more systematically directed toward the tasks and needs of the future. And war, we recognized, made the swiftest kind of movement possible.

Under the urgent demand of the nation in peril, a great many unexpected and revolutionary changes were accomplished. The fact that a thing had not been done before was no reason for its not being tried in war time. We were conscious of the obstacles under normal conditions, the difficulty of overcoming objections because reforms would be disturbing or costly. The war brought a wonderful revelation of what could be done under stress by the power of a common thought, emotion, and will. It brought, moreover, a revelation as to the use of public funds. If a thing was needed, if it was good, it could be obtained; and in the running of a modern war nobody is satisfied with makeshifts of the second-best. War demands the best possible product, at whatever cost. If, then, people began to ask, all these marvelous things can be done in the organization of destruction, why not for peace and for life?

Hence all parties and public agencies found themselves, while concentrating upon the urgent work of the moment for the war, doing it with an eye to the permanent values. The special training of workers in new directions was not for war only. The public control of industry and supplies was not for war only. The housing of war workers near shipyards and munitions towns was undertaken on a permanent plan. Mr. Fisher's education bill, framed during the third year of the war, is designed to meet the need of the generation still in infancy. Discussions of self-governing schemes in industry go forward along with the continually expanding state power. A Ministry of Reconstruction is engaged in co-ordinating all the various agencies that have come into existence within and without the government departments.

Inevitably this immense development has brought with it a new relation between government, capital, and labor, for England is now a country in which industry and commerce are almost completely controlled by the state. How, then, does organized labor stand toward the

war government? There has been in America a great deal of misunderstanding on this subject. Since 1914 the labor forces in England have stood with the government in the carrying out of the war policy. A majority vote determined the position of the labor party in Parliament. The minority, a strong and compact body led by Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and others, has maintained a critical attitude in relation to the military and diplomatic policy; but in the English labor movement there has never existed a peace-at-any-price party. The minority leaders and the rank and file stand upon the formula of restitution and reparation; they have accepted the inter-allied statement of war aims, and have been among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Wilson policy. Where they have differed from the majority has been upon the question of a negotiated peace; but it needs to be said that, upon all the fundamental issues of the war, British labor is completely united.

The past year has seen a remarkable increase in the strength and influence of the labor party. Its power has grown through many influences, chiefly, of course, through the concentrated education of war time. We cannot, for instance, underestimate the effect of war profiteering upon the mind of the nation, on the complete results of the system of industrial conscription introduced by the Munitions Act. And since last summer there has been the widely educative effect of the discussions over the holding of an international labor and socialist conference at Stockholm. It will be remembered that after the Russian Revolution Arthur Henderson, the labor member of the War Cabinet, was sent to Russia as special envoy and that he returned in August convinced that the Stockholm conference ought to be held. The labor party supported him by an overwhelming vote, but his colleagues of the War Cabinet were hostile and Henderson left the government. At the moment this had the appearance of a severe defeat for the labor party and its leader; but events showed that it was far otherwise. The strength of labor was increasing rapidly.

No sooner was Henderson free from office than he set to work with his friends upon the task of framing a new constitution for the party and a declaration of war and peace aims. By the beginning of this year the whole scheme was ready. The revised constitution made room in the labor party for a membership representing all workers by hand or by brain. The memorandum on war aims endorsed by Lloyd George for the war government was identical in all essentials with the statement afterwards adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and with the aims stated by President Wilson. The party set to work upon its list of parliamentary candidates, making ready to contest some 300 or 400 seats at the next general election, when six millions of women will be entitled to vote. And, in addition, a pamphlet on *Labor and the New Social Order* is being made the basis of a nation-wide movement of education in advance of the general election.

In this notable manifesto, an eloquent document now being extensively studied in America, the structure of the future society is said to rest upon four pillars:

1. The establishment of the national minimum.
2. Self-government in industry.
3. A revolution in national finance.
4. The surplus wealth for the common good.

This is a program which will seem utopian to many progressives, and utopian of course it is. But the presence of war conditions has already carried England some distance along the road indicated. And it should be borne in mind that even if the labor party's program prove impracticable or unacceptable, England is destined to great changes. After the war the competition will be, not between reconstruction and inaction, but between rival schemes of reconstruction.

Two questions, among many others, are constantly asked by interested Americans. The first is, What danger is there of revolutionary Bolshevism in England? The answer is: None, if the problems of tomorrow are sincerely and intelligently met. The British labor movement has always been remarkably steady and responsible. The second question is, What of labor leadership, and the chance of labor being called upon in the near future to form a government? The answer to that challenging question is that the labor party has had many years of parliamentary and general political experience. It has a notably clean record; no graft scandals have stained it. And the developments of these years have brought great opportunities for the production of capable leadership. Its day of power and responsibility may not be distant. And in the meantime there is no room for doubt that the experience of the war has tended to create in England a far more intelligent and purposeful democracy than we have had hitherto.

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#### THE TENANT FARMER AND LAND MONOPOLY

*Elwood Mead, Professor of Rural Institutions, University of California, Berkeley*

A discussion of farm tenantry a few years ago would have aroused little interest. The program for its removal would have had few followers. Renting land was regarded as a stepping stone to owning land. Tenantry was looked upon as a temporary incident in a man's progress. There was free public land to be had for the asking. The great extent of the nation's resources made us careless of its disposal and of the conditions which might arise when free land was gone. Besides, this was a nation where every man looked out for himself. Community problems were ignored.



Today we face a different situation. The problems of agriculture and its importance have changed in recent years. We are thinking now of what democracy means. We are learning that men cannot do as they please, because their actions affect the welfare of their neighbors. We are learning that the Government can be made, and ought to be made, a greater instrument for serving the common welfare. This new idealism needs to take definite form and to be moulded into institutions and laws if this thoughtful and humane spirit is to be permanent.

### *Planning Rural Development*

One of the things needed is a planned rural development. There are many things in country life that need to be eliminated, and some that ought to be created. Among those that ought to be abolished are land monopoly and farm tenantry. Among those that need to be created is a sentiment which distinguishes between home owning and land owning that will make men buy farms, not as a speculation, not to sell again as soon as there is an increase in price, but to buy farms as a place to live, to follow a vocation, to rear families, and to create homes for their children and their children's children.

In this country conditions which control the comfort and satisfaction of rural life change faster than men's ideas and understanding. When we had a great surplus of land everybody believed that the area a man owned was of no importance, that the earth was for those who were shrewd and strong enough to hold it and take it, and so the nation sold land and gave away land, and a very small fraction of the nation secured the ownership of all the soil. Now we are beginning to believe vaguely and uncertainly that the men who cultivate the soil ought to own it; that the men who do not live in the country ought not to control the conditions of those who do live there, and that those who do till the soil should not be made to pay tribute to anyone for this privilege. This new idea of land tenure and of rural democracy is beginning to prevail in a country where one-fourth of the land is owned by less than one-half per cent of the population; where over two hundred million acres is owned in tracts of over four thousand acres. With such ownership increase in tenantry is inevitable, and instead of being a nation of land owners we are a country in which four out of every ten are renters, and with the percentage of tenantry steadily and rapidly increasing.

### *Tenantry Increasing*

In recent years tenantry is increasing because privately owned land has risen so rapidly in price that men with small capital are unable to buy, and this is making tenantry a permanent condition. The purchase of high-priced land is made difficult because this nation has done nothing in the way of Government aid and direction to assist and encourage the purchase of farms by men who have industry and thrift and but little else. Nearly all the foremost nations of the world, outside of this country, have

given such assistance through carefully thought out plans, which include low rates of interest, a small initial payment, and a long time, ranging from thirty to seventy-five years, in which to complete payments. In America, where the difficulties of land purchase are fully as great as in those countries, with the price of unimproved land fully as high, we have left the poor man to deal with the private land settlement agent, who is only concerned with his commission, has no enduring interest in the settler's success, and where credit from the commercial banks is entirely a matter of personal favor. In other words, we have left that feature of progress, on which the endurance of the republic largely depends, to the land sharks and loan sharks.

The people who would like to own farms are finding it too difficult. They are accepting tenantry, or are moving to the cities. As a rule the American goes into the city, and where he stays in the country he is being discriminated against because he is too independent, and the American rural population is being displaced by an alien peasantry drawn in many sections from the Orient, or from those portions of Europe where the conditions of living are hardest.

Land owned by nonresidents and farmed by this kind of tenantry is taking on a corporate form. I talked recently with the manager of a corporation that owns thousands of acres of farming land. He said they had this business organized on a scientific basis. They have a definite rotation of crops; they have a fixed rental; they select their renters from only three nationalities, none of them American. They go abroad for tenants because the European and Asiatic peasant will pay higher rent because they have a lower standard of living. In many states the tenant family moves every year, or more than half of them move every year. The consequence is that the tenant can take no interest in education. He has no permanent share in community life. High rents leave him an inadequate margin for living, raising up a new generation, poorly clothed, poorly educated, lacking the independence and hopefulness that was once the finest contribution of rural districts to American life.

There is one valley in the West larger than the state of Delaware which thirty years ago was public land. Today that land is held in great estates of two thousand, ten thousand, even twenty and thirty thousand acres. Seventy per cent of it is farmed by tenants, and these include a large influx of white tenants from other southern states, peons from Mexico, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, forming a part of the welter of races and languages, as many of these tenants cannot speak English. Anything resembling an American democracy is impossible under those conditions, and this is not an isolated illustration, but one that is becoming more and more typical. It is evident that something must be done that will make land ownership a principle of rural life. That conclusion has been reached by Europe and immense sums of money have been spent to purchase great landed estates and improve and turn them over to farmer peasants on long time and low rates of interest.

In France the farmers are land owners. Since the beginning of this century Denmark has been changed from a land renting to a land owning nation. In Ireland land tenantry is rapidly becoming a memory. In New Zealand and Australia many millions of dollars have been spent in the purchase of land which has been subdivided, improved, and sold to people of limited means who are paying their way.

#### *Reform Legislation in California*

At the last session of its legislature California determined to make a beginning by the passage of a law providing for the state to buy land and, under state aid and direction, to divide, improve, and sell to settlers on long-time payments under conditions which would create an organized community. In the university it was seen that the young men who studied agriculture were being driven away from the pursuit for which they were trained because they had not the capital to buy land. It was felt that an effort should be made to provide opportunities for young men so that they could marry and go on these homes as owners. What if they do have to spend years paying for them, they are theirs to use and to occupy, and they are at the same time making provision for old age, and life is a success. There were objections to this legislation on the ground that it was socialism, that constitutionally it was not proper use of government money to buy land from one individual and sell it to another group of individuals. It was therefore found necessary to state the purpose of this legislation and show that it was something beyond mere traffic in land. I will read the first paragraph of the Act, because it has exerted great influence in shaping public opinion.

*Section 1.* The legislature believes that land settlement is a problem of great importance to the welfare of all the people of the State of California and for that reason through this particular act endeavors to improve the general economic and social conditions of agricultural settlers within the state and of the people of the state in general.

That board was given an appropriation which enables it to finance the improvements needed by settlers. A tract of six thousand acres has been purchased, subdivided into farms and farm laborers' allotments, and will be sold to settlers at cost on twenty years' time with interest at five per cent and with an initial payment of five per cent of the cost. Thousands of dollars have been spent in improvements and in making the land ready for cultivation. The farmer must have a capital of fifteen hundred dollars. An inspection of the statements made by those applicants of their capital and experience and their worth shows how great a need there is all over this country for some agency that will give to the next generation the opportunity that was formerly afforded by free public land.

Another thing needed is a more attractive rural architecture. The plans of the California Settlement Board aim to create this. The board has had the generous co-operation and support of a number of

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architects, of the Diamond Match Company, one of the large manufacturers of building material, and has been fortunate in securing as one of its staff a man who has been trained to be a farmstead engineer. He confers with settlers about the grouping of farm buildings, the location of the orchard, the garden, and the things that make the rural home attractive, or the reverse, and it is believed that this settlement when completed will represent something new and distinctly superior in the appearance which it presents to the casual visitor and in the comfort and satisfaction of the wives and children who live in it.

One of the distinctive features of the first settlement is that it is to be a place for the breeding of fine stock, not so much because of the increased profit which will result, as because it gives to the farmers and their families the added interest which comes from trying to produce finer quality and higher type of animals. Nothing in my experience as a boy on a farm was more enjoyable than the weeks spent in preparing animals for exhibit at the county fair, and a community that is seeking to create a reputation for quality will have a source of interest as enduring as any that the city can furnish.

Whatever opposition was felt in the state and outside has now disappeared. All now believe that the money invested will be returned, and there has been a great gain in mobilizing and co-ordinating the State's knowledge and credit. The State authorities now favor a larger appropriation next year, not only because of a conviction that the State has entered on a service that it can safely and wisely perform, but because it is believed that we are working out in a practical way a solution of the question of what we are to do with the soldier who comes back to us with a longing for life in the country, or whose health requires him to live in the country. It will not do to send those men to rented farms, or to send them to the parts of the country that are either too wet or too dry. Each state wants its soldiers to come back to the neighborhood they left. A system like that of California, financed by the nation and operating under the state and national direction and responsibility, could easily provide farms under conditions which would enable the soldiers qualified for country life to pay for them. In Australia over a hundred million dollars have been spent creating homes for soldiers. In Canada thirty million acres of land have been dedicated to this purpose, and funds have been raised to improve five thousand farms for soldiers. If we are to take care of our own we must make provision for buying land and financing settlers in sections where land is owned and cultivated, and we must do this under conditions as favorable as are being provided by other democracies of the world.

## THE CHANGING STATUS OF NEGRO LABOR

*James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York*

I am down to speak on the changing status of Negro labor. It might be well, in a dozen words, to trace the change in the status of the Negro during his history in this country, because it has a bearing on what I wish to say on the topic assigned to me. The Negro in America has passed through four distinct and well marked epochs. The first began with the landing of twenty-odd naked savages on the shores of Virginia in 1619. The second had for its duration the great war in which he gained his physical freedom. The third was marked by the change in the organic law of the land which conferred upon him the rights of citizenship. And today he is going through a fourth epoch, an epoch which began with the hurling of the German armies through Belgium; an epoch in which he sees the beginning of his economic and industrial emancipation; an epoch which is big with spiritual meanings for him, because in it must be answered more fully than ever before the question, "Can full and unlimited democracy be realized for all the people, or is the hope of it a mere dream?"

We shall not attempt to review these epochs historically, or to trace the course of opinion regarding the Negro from the time when it was a question as to whether or not he had a human soul and could be made susceptible to religious teaching, or whether or not he had sufficient gray matter in his skull to master the rudiments of learning and the intricacies of English speech, or whether or not he would revert to barbarism if given his freedom, down to the present time, when it is a question as to whether or not he shall be admitted to full participation in American democracy. There is no longer anything to be gained from discussing the Negro problem academically. Once it was popular, and still is among some backward people, to discuss theoretically whether the Negro is capable of advancement. The very shifting of the ground of controversy concerning the race renders any such discussion obsolete. We shall then go at once to the influences now at work on the Negro and to the efforts that he himself is making.

*Migration Northward*

The present war set in motion a great many blind forces; that is, forces whose course was not foreseen when they were first unloosed and whose effect cannot now be controlled. These forces are at work all over the world, and many of them are operating directly upon the American Negro.

The most striking example of how some of these forces are operating upon the Negro is shown in the "exodus" from the South. As we know, when the war came it took thousands of men out of the industrial and labor fields in the North back to the colors of their native lands

in Europe, and cut off the supply normally furnished by immigration, thus creating what might be called a vacuum in the industrial world. This resulted in a steadily increasing stream of Negroes from the South rushing into the North to fill the vacuum that had been produced. They have gone up by the thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, until today the number is roughly estimated to be anywhere between half a million and seven hundred and fifty thousand.

At first there were many complaints about the shiftlessness of Negro labor; and it is true that a number of Northern employers, accustomed to steady workmen, had good cause for complaint. And there was a reason: the rush of Negroes northward was started by the railroads sending labor recruiting agents South and having them spread the news that they had free transportation for as many men as wanted to go north to work at so much per day; these notices gave only a day or two to those who wished to take advantage of the offer. As a result, many of the most shiftless and unreliable of the race, attracted by the prospect of a trip North, were gathered in. The steady, reliable class would demand more time and more definite information before they would be willing to pull up and leave. However, by a natural process, this condition is being rectified. Since the first great rush, the people coming North are more and more largely of the steady, reliable class. This is due to the fact that agents are no longer recruiting wholesale in the South. The people who have come North and secured jobs are writing back to their relatives and friends to come on. This is by far the better method, for in most cases, those who write have their eyes on a job for those who come. This process is selective, and is already producing a steady flow northward of the best element of colored working people, who become adjusted economically and socially as soon as they arrive.

They are being engaged in many lines of industry, especially in the steel and allied industries, where large numbers from the southern iron districts are finding work in which they are already skilled. The demand is so great that notices of jobs for wages ranging from \$3.00 to \$6.00 a day are frequently read in the colored churches of northern cities. The opinion regarding Negro labor is constantly rising, and many employers are testifying that it is as good as any they ever had. And so the Negro has this chance, the first in his history, to get his hand upon the thing by which men live, to become for the first time a real factor in the world of labor. He has at last come into what is rightfully his own, the opportunity that has heretofore been denied him and given to the stranger.

But the Negro comes up against a problem he has never had to face before, and that is union labor. In the North, in almost every field the unions shut him out, and he finds himself in the position of an independent or a scab. Many colored men skilled in their trades have had to turn to common labor because they were not allowed to join the unions. So after all, this thing we call the Negro problem and which



we have thought of as a problem of the South is today coming before the North; and it is going to be curious to see just how the North will meet it.

Heretofore the Negro has had two choices,—that of living in the South where most of his manhood and civil rights were denied him, but where economically his condition was secure; or that of living in the North where his rights were guaranteed him, but where his economic condition was always precarious. In this attitude toward the Negro, the North has been almost as cruel as the South; for although the South, to use a figure of speech, denied him life, it offered him bread; while the North offered him life, but refused him that whereby he might live. Many problems connected with the shifting of Negro labor from the South to the North are to be met, and if they are met in a spirit of fairness and helpfulness the movement will exert a stronger influence on the status of the race than anything that has happened in its history since the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; it will mark the beginning of a great advancement not only in the economic status of the race, but also in its intellectual and political status.

#### *Revelations of Army Statistics*

The Negro himself stands almost amazed at some of the things that are coming especially to him out of this war. For example, ever since his emancipation there have been circulated what were reputed to be statistics on the Negro's health, showing that he was dying of consumption much more rapidly now than in the days before the war, and inferring that Negroes never had consumption before the war. The truth is, people did not know what Negroes died of before the war. And there have been insidious reports subtly spread about the physical condition of colored men. The Negro could not disprove these things, and people generally believed them because they were put forth as statistics. He stood helpless before the mass of figures compiled and given out, the results of observations that were necessarily limited and often prejudiced.

Now comes the great war, and the government summons three million of its young men between the ages of 21 and 31 from all over the country and submits them to identically the same physical examination, and what are the results? To secure the number of white men required for the army, out of every 100 men examined, 25 were accepted; and to secure the number of black men required for the army, out of every 100 men examined, 36 were accepted. Here was an experiment conducted on so grand a scale that the figures cannot be questioned or doubted; these figures have become a part of the records of the government, and they prove, to say the least, that the young Negro manhood of America is just as fit and just as clean as the young white manhood of America.

I must confess that I myself had been impressed by the old statistics that have been handed around so long; so when I saw the records pub-

lished by Dr. I. W. Brewer of the Medical Reserve Corps relative to the physical and mental condition of 165,000 applicants for the regular army, in which all of the diseases and the rejection rate per thousand were given in detail, I admit that some of the figures astonished me. I found that the rate of white men rejected for tuberculosis was higher than the rate of colored men, the figures being respectively 19.2 and 12.8; I found that the rate of white men rejected for alcoholism was higher than the rate of colored men, the figures being 34.1 and 7.8; I found that the rate of white men rejected for diseases of the genito-urinary system was higher than the rate of colored men, the figures being 25.4 and 23.2. And—I do not state it as a laughing matter—I found the rate of white men rejected for weakmindedness higher than the rate of Negroes. But a bigger surprise still. You know there is a joke about the Negro that is older than the Constitution itself, but I found that the rate of white men rejected for flat feet was higher than the rate of Negroes.

But all of these changes are merely phases of the great transformation that is being wrought in the entire race by the forces set in motion by the war. The most vital and far-reaching change is the one that has been wrought within the Negro himself. He has been seized by the spirit that has taken hold of all the submerged classes of the world. He is looking with wider, but wiser eyes at what is happening. He has seen the breaking up and the melting down of the old civilization. He believes that something new and something better is going to be moulded, and I tell you he has made up his mind to have a hand in moulding this new thing that is coming to the world so that it may be a little nearer to the desires of his own heart.

That change is going on. The Negro is in contact with the current that is running around the world, and he is striving to see that this war will mean for him just what it promises—democracy for all the people of the world.

#### *Contrast With Lynching*

I saw in the papers today, in the same issue, contrasting articles like these: "General Pershing telegraphs about the valorous conduct of two Negro soldiers at the front; how in a hand-to-hand conflict with a number of Germans estimated at more than twenty, fighting with rifles, hand grenades and bolo knives, they repulsed them. These two Negroes were sentries on duty, and saved a great many of their comrades from falling captive." In the same paper I read that following the lynching of two Negroes at Valdosta, Ga., charged with the murder of a white citizen, another Negro was lynched today charged with implication in the murder, and then this Negro's wife was lynched for making "unwise remarks" about the lynching of her husband, and the mob is searching for a fifth victim.

A short time ago I had the privilege of going with a delegation

which brought this very matter to the attention of the President, and, speaking for the delegation, I asked that he say some word against lynching. I called to his attention then that within nine months three human beings had been burned alive in the single state of Tennessee. I rehearsed to him the horrible details of a burning which had occurred only three or four days previously. Jim McIlherson was a young Negro, twenty odd years of age, who lived near Estill Springs, Tennessee. It appears that the white boys of that town had a habit of chasing the colored boys out with rocks. They had chased Jim several times, but somehow or other he got tired of running, and bought himself a pistol. The next time they started to chase him he didn't run, but he opened fire and killed two, wounded a third and got away. Well, they got him after he had put up something of a fight; and when they brought him in they brought him on a stretcher, weak from loss of blood, one arm limp and one of his eyes hanging on his cheek. He was chained to a stake, and at a fire they heated irons red hot. The first lyncher to get a hot iron jabbed it at the boy's body; the boy instinctly grabbed it with his naked hand, and the lyncher pulled it through, taking the burning flesh off with it. They took those irons and seared his body from head to foot, into his eyes and down into his throat; they they poured oil over him and burned him alive. This happened on a Sunday afternoon between church hours, and two thousand American men, women and little children looked on—and that Sunday was Lincoln's birthday.

We want this country to be a democracy, do we not? And we want to do our best in winning this war, do we not? Well, I tell you we can never be a real democracy until such things are remedied. And we cannot fight our best fight for democracy abroad, while such things are tolerated at home. Righteous men and women north and south must rise up in their might and crush out this vile thing which otherwise will in time undermine all law and order in our land.

You may wonder how I feel about this as a Negro. I do not feel it merely as a Negro. I feel it doubly as a disgrace and danger to our country. I feel it as an American citizen. Some years ago I was in Paris and formed an acquaintance with a young man from Luxembourg. He spent a great deal of time with me; perhaps he did so because he was studying English and wanted to try it out on the dog. And he was studying English because he wanted to come to the United States, which he had heard was a great country where you could make lots of money and all that sort of thing. I remember with what pride I told him about my country and its wonderful opportunities—I was simply an American citizen then—and I inflamed in him a desire to come. One day he asked me, "Is it true, did they ever burn a man alive in the United States?" My friends, I would have given anything if I could have answered, "No!"

*A Call for Appreciative Response*

The Negro is awake. He is awake to his rights and his wrongs, but he is awake to his duties and responsibilities as well. And although he feels these things keenly, he is not sulking in his tent during this most terrible crisis in the nation's history. He is doing his duty as he has always done it, all the way from Bunker Hill to San Juan Hill, and doing it willingly. He is also bearing his part of the burden; he is buying Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps and assisting in Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. work. In Kansas City the colored people have purchased nearly a half million dollars worth of bonds. The Negro is going forward to his duty.

Some may well wonder what it is that sustains these people. I will tell you, there are two things: First, the Negro is American from the soil up. He bears no reserved allegiance to any potentate either on the Congo or the Nile. Second, he has never lost faith in the spirit in which this nation was founded. He believes that spirit, though balked and thwarted, will finally triumph. So he goes forward to his duty, and he offers it as a plea and he flings it as a challenge for the nation to do its duty by him.

So I call upon Americans all over this land, north and south; I call upon you in the name of the high ideals on which this war is being fought and in the name of common humanity; I call upon you in behalf of the race whose three hundred years of labor and loyalty and patience and faith entitle them to just consideration; I call upon you in the name of the black men who are now marching by your side, they who have put aside memories of old wrongs and risen above thoughts of vengeance, who march to war with songs on their lips and visions in their eyes of peace through brotherhood; I call upon you to see to it when they come back, bringing that flag as they have always done, without a single dishonorable stain upon it, that they receive here in their native land what they are fighting for over there.

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### PENSIONS, INSURANCE AND THE STATE

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman, Edith Abbott, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy*

The first section meeting of the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems is nominally allotted to the subject of Pensions and Insurance. In view of the one absorbing national interest which we all share at the present time, it has seemed best to devote this program to the activities of the federal government,—possible future activities as well as present activities in this field. Miss Lathrop's discussion of maternity and infant care, so important in view of the Children's Year campaign, may not at first sight seem to belong to a program on Pensions and Insurance. But one of the questions that is puzzling the minds of some of the members of this Conference in connection with the great problem of health insurance is whether it is wise and practicable for us in this country to adopt the English compulsory contributory system or whether we should proceed along simpler lines by establishing a non-contributory system of state aid, following the precedent of the English old age pension legislation rather than the policy



of the National Insurance Act. The Fabian Committee of Inquiry into the workings of the health insurance provisions of the National Insurance Act reported in March, 1914, in favor of removing the care of pregnancy and maternity from the Insurance Act and making universal provision for the care for all mothers and infants under the public health authorities, on the ground that the public welfare demanded that every child should be "well born" no matter whether or not either its father or its mother happened to be an insured person.

In view of the further fact that provision for mothers and children through a system of health insurance is likely to come slowly through the laborious process of converting our state legislatures one at a time, it is worth while to ask if there is not some more immediate method of action in their behalf. Miss Lathrop's work, the work of the Federal Children's Bureau, in this field is well known. It is important not only because of what is done for mothers and infants but because we have held out to us here the hope that, through action by the federal government, the whole country may be reached, even the poor backward sections, where the need is greatest and the present resources most inadequate.

The further importance of this discussion lies in the fact that, with the precedent once established, the aid of the federal government may be extended to other special groups. The report of the Fabian Committee, to which I have already referred, recommended not only that the care of pregnancy and maternity should be taken out from the insurance system but that the care of tuberculosis and venereal disease should be similarly treated. The principle was laid down that there should be curative treatment provided for all in need of it without regard to the contributions collected in the form of insurance either from employers or wage-earners, at least for these three special groups. Miss Lathrop will deal only with the first of these groups, mothers and infants; but if the principle be accepted here, it may be almost indefinitely extended. Surely it is meet and proper that the subject of giving adequate care to mothers and babies should be discussed as a part of the program of Children's Year.

The other half of our program this afternoon deals with our great federal experiment in the field of insurance and pensions that is already an accomplished fact. The subject of the War Risk Insurance Act, and the speaker, Dr. Lindsay, alike, need no introduction to this Conference. It is, however, scarcely necessary to add that this discussion and Miss Lathrop's are both important at a time when we are looking to the federal government to do in some other fields of social legislation what has been attempted in the federal Child Labor Law. We are all impressed with the importance of having legislation that will apply in all our states similar remedies for similar needs, the same standard for all sections, rich and poor, North and South, East and West. Miss Lathrop will suggest one possible form of federal activity, Dr. Lindsay will discuss another.

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## STATE CARE FOR MOTHERS AND INFANTS

*Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington*

The natural function of child bearing causes more deaths among women between fifteen and forty-four years of age than any disease except tuberculosis. While the typhoid fever death rate has been cut in two, the death rate for causes incident to maternity does not show a decrease. What is the matter? The answer is plain. It is *neglect*.

Recent studies of the Children's Bureau show that an adequate income earned by the father of a family is a *sine qua non* of safety for babies. They indicate also the injurious effect upon infant life when women are obliged to leave young babies and go to work and when they are obliged to work immediately before the birth of their children. Laws to prevent such work are only an apparent remedy. They do not prove enforceable in practice, and the sheer forbidding of a woman's earning money to eke out an existence may simply condemn her and her family to greater privation.

With the economic aspects of this great matter I can do no more at this time than point out the persistent coincidence of fathers' low earnings and high infant death rates.

There is a question, however, now pressing for attention which affects not only the lowest income groups but the greater share of American mothers; it is how to make promptly and uniformly available for all mothers and children, irrespective of income, in town and country alike, the services of nurses, doctors, conference centers, and hospitals.

#### *Foreign Studies*

The study of foreign experience is especially timely here. Cash benefits to the individual mother have not solved the question in Australia, where the most liberal provision in the world exists. The report of the Australian Parliamentary Committee on *Maternal Mortality in Child Birth*, August, 1917, says: "Your committee is of the opinion that much greater benefit could be obtained from the large sum of money spent annually than is being obtained under the present system."

In the opinion of your committee, however, there is imperative need for the immediate extension of existing facilities for pregnant women to obtain skilled advice concerning their health before their confinement, and the Commonwealth Government might well provide financial assistance to enable women's hospitals and similar institutions to inaugurate or extend such branches of their activity, and might even undertake the provision of such facilities in places where they are as yet non-existent. The return to the community would almost certainly more than compensate for the expenditure involved.

The Local Government Board of England and Wales, in a 1917 report, emphasizes the necessity for increasing the protection of mothers and babies and describes the program now in operation, the chief features of which are:

1. The extension of money grants by the local government board to local sanitary districts under carefully specified conditions.
2. The notification of births to the local medical officer of health within 36 hours. (Registration may be made within six weeks.)
3. The establishment of centers for hygienic and medical advice for mother and babies.
4. Provision for proper care at childbirth.
5. Sufficient arrangements for hospital care when necessary.
6. Home visiting by health visitors.

The duties of health visitors are educational as well as practical. Many of the visitors are nurses. It is plain that their work is closely analogous to that of the public-health nurse in the United States.

It is of special interest to this country that the program of the Local Government Board covers rural as well as urban areas.

#### *A National Program for the United States*

Throughout the United States, in town and country, the protection of maternity and infancy is a national problem. Rural needs have been comparatively little realized, but the reports of the Children's Bureau and of the Department of Agriculture show their existence.

Is it not evident that the public must assume this responsibility, and that the duty cannot be discharged by cash allowances alone; but that a nation-wide program, which shall embrace many activities, is needed?

Such a program for the United States should include no less than—

1. Public-health nurses, who shall be available for instruction and service as are the public-school teacher and other public officers. Many hundred municipal nurses are already thus employed in the principal cities of the United States, a few are already at work in the country, and the specialization necessary for the protection of mothers and infants would only extend a system already approved.

2. Instruction in schools and universities, and through different forms of extension teaching, covering the field of hygiene for mothers and children, furnished at such places and times as to meet the needs of persons of varying ages and circumstances.

3. Conference centers at county seats or elsewhere, affording convenient opportunity to secure examination of well children and expert advice as to their best development.

4. Adequate confinement care.

5. Hospital facilities made available and accessible for mothers and children.

It cannot be made too clear that no one is qualified to state a reasonable infant death rate. Were justification needed for Dr. Newsholme's oft-quoted dictum, that if children were well born and well cared for the infant death rate would be negligible, it can be found in the report of the Local Government Board of England and Wales on maternity and child welfare, issued in 1917, to which reference has been made above. Figures are given showing for certain small favorable areas mortality rates markedly lower than those recorded for any district in any one of the cities thus far studied by the Children's Bureau; in other areas, where higher infant mortality rates ordinarily prevailed, considerable decreases are evident. They are attributed in large part to the government grants which have aided in the introduction of public-health visitors, infant consultation centers, hospital facilities, and education in the care of mother and child, and to the notification-of-births act which makes prompt assistance possible. In view of the recent reductions in the

English rates we may well be concerned by the high averages in American cities and rural areas.

Established precedent exists in the United States for creating a method of affording public protection for maternity and infancy with federal aid. The Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes laws for promoting agriculture and home economics and technical education show an approved way to get the money. A certain sum is allotted annually to each state and additional sums are provided, increasing annually during a term of years until a maximum is reached, to be distributed among the several states which shall comply with the terms of the act. No payment beyond the original sum shall be made "in any year to any state until an equal sum has been appropriated for that year by the legislature of such state or provided for by state, county, college, local authority, or individual contributions from within the state, for the maintenance of the cooperative agricultural extension work provided for in this act."

In like manner it would appear that the federal government might grant appropriations to states in aid of maternity and infant protection to be distributed in local areas where investigation shows need and where contributions are duly authorized from state and county funds in such proportions to the federal fund as may be determined.

In the effective work already going on under state boards of health having child-hygiene divisions, through the extension service of the home-economics departments of many state universities, and through the county agents of the Department of Agriculture and of the land-grant colleges a basis is already prepared for a nation-wide movement which would be made possible by an act of Congress permitting appropriations from federal funds for the public protection of maternity and infancy.

Must we not face the problem squarely now, with the war upon us, and set up the doctrine that the state will safeguard the lives of mothers and babies as the only sound public policy—that the expenditures shall be in no sense reckoned as charitable, but rather in the highest sense economic? On this foundation any sound and convenient plan of general health insurance may be accepted.

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#### THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' INSURANCE ACTS

*Samuel McCune Lindsay, LL.D., Professor of Social Legislation,  
Columbia University, New York*

The War Risk Insurance Act provides for soldiers' and sailors' insurance against death and permanent and total disability in addition to the benefits of allotments and family allowances and compensation for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty, on the theory that when the government calls men into a dangerous service in which they lose their insurability,



the least it can do is to restore that insurability. The insurance is voluntary and is offered in amounts of not less than one thousand dollars nor more than ten thousand to any one individual in the military and naval forces, at the peace rate cost, the government assuming the cost of the added war risk and of the administrative expense. There is no loading of the premiums for overhead charges or for agents' commissions, and the premium rate which may be paid by monthly deductions from a man's pay is therefore very attractive and is approximately \$6.60 per month, or \$80 a year, for men in the age group of the first draft, that is, 21 to 31 years of age.

The government has suddenly become the greatest insurance company in the world and has written in a few months over 16½ billion (on October 15, 1918, over 35 billion) dollars' worth of insurance. The probable average amount taken per man is nearly \$9,000 and from 90 to 95 per cent of all the men in the military and naval forces are probably covered by this insurance. It is not merely a tentative or temporary protection which they enjoy, as they may carry it at present rates for their respective age classes for five years after the expiration of the war and within that time it may be converted at new but attractive rates to be established by the government into any of the ordinary forms of life insurance.

Even more important than the insurance features of the War Risk Insurance Act, and doubtless of greater interest to the members of the National Conference, are the provisions for allotments and family allowances. These apply only to enlisted men and not to officers. Allotment of pay is compulsory for all enlisted men who have a wife, child or former wife divorced who has not remarried and to whom alimony has been decreed. Such relatives, or any of them, are known as Class A dependents. The amount of the compulsory allotment is \$15 per month,\* to which the government adds a family allowance of an equal amount or more, not exceeding in any case \$50 per month according to the number of Class A dependents, thus: for a wife but no child the family allowance is \$15; for a wife and one child, \$25; for a wife and two children, \$32.50 with \$5.00 per month additional for each additional child; for one child where there is no wife, \$5; two, \$12.50, etc.

A voluntary allotment of \$15 per month, where an enlisted man has no Class A dependents, or where he has Class A dependents, a voluntary allotment of \$5 per month in addition to the compulsory allotment of \$15 entitles him to a family allowance for Class B dependents, that is, for a brother, sister, parent or grandchild, provided they are dependent on him for support in whole or part and he has been habitually making contribution to their support, or that their dependency has arisen since he entered the service and may reasonably be supposed to be due in part to his absence and present inability

\*Since July 1st this is a flat allotment and does not vary with the number of Class A dependents or the rate of pay of the enlisted man or the amount of the family allowance, as it did prior to that date.

to come to their rescue in any other way than by making a voluntary allotment and securing a family allowance for them. The provisions with respect to allotments and family allowances are with minor changes the same for a woman in the military or naval service as for a man.

The administration of the War Risk Insurance Act has become by reason particularly of the allotment and family allowance features one of the most stupendous pieces of social work which has ever been undertaken in this country. The Bureau of War Risk Insurance has 4,000 employes (on October 15th, over 13,000), and it has had the greatest difficulty in securing and training, housing and providing equipment for the force necessary to handle this enormously complicated and difficult business. Some idea of the magnitude of operations necessary to guarantee to the people the benefits intended by this Act may be seen from the fact that, notwithstanding all of the difficulties and unavoidable delays, over two million checks, totalling more than seventy million dollars, were mailed prior to May 15th, and of this amount approximately one million dollars went for payment of insurance benefits and sixty-nine million for allotments and allowances. The average daily mail of the Bureau is not less than ten thousand letters and there is over 100,000 accumulated unanswered letters requiring investigation and adjustment which take time and clerks that the Bureau cannot get to keep its work current. Over 27,000 applications for relief of one kind or another are held at this time in suspense because of errors in filling out such applications or because of misunderstanding of the law or mistakes in handling thousands of applications that come from military camps or stations in all parts of this country or overseas. In the absence of full and exact details it is often difficult and requires much time to trace the record of a man in the service, and the records on file in Washington are not always infallible or easy to decipher with accuracy and despatch. The fact that there are over 100,000 persons in the service named Smith, of whom at least 140 have the baptismal name of "John" and exactly 200 "William A.," and scores of these have given the name of a wife who has no other means of identification than the baptismal name of "Mary," will indicate the nature of some of the difficulties with which the Correspondence Division of the Bureau has to deal.

Social workers may render the greatest possible service as they come in contact with the families of soldiers and sailors if they will study carefully the War Risk Insurance Act and see that accurate, simple explanations of its meaning and intent are given and that the dependents of soldiers and sailors who are not getting the service that the Bureau can lawfully render communicate directly with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in Washington, or its responsible agents, where there are local offices, as in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere, giving complete and accurate information concerning their status and needs, without which the Bureau is usually unable to act. The services of an attorney to press a claim are almost never

needed. Direct and frank dealing between the Bureau and the families is more to be desired.

There are now a number of district offices being organized to relieve somewhat the congestion in Washington and facilitate more intimate and direct dealing between the Bureau, through its responsible agents and field examiners, and the families and individuals who are, or think they are, entitled to benefits under the Act. Applications for exemption from compulsory allotment are numerous and many of them, upon investigation, reveal family conditions which will require the expert assistance and cooperation of social workers to bring to account enlisted men who are dodging their responsibilities, or to protect the government from fraud. Usually the sworn statement of soldiers and sailors is accepted, and of course there are heavy penalties for any attempt at deliberate fraud on the part of enlisted men or their families.

Many notable cases of self-sacrifice and of a splendid spirit of patriotism brighten the days' work in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. One woman recently returned a check for \$70 covering an allotment and allowance for two months with the statement that she felt that she did not need the money as much as the government did to prosecute the war. She was advised to invest it in Liberty Bonds if she wished to place it at the disposal of the government. A father recently returned his allowance which he had received for two months and had asked for on the basis of an allotment made by two sons in the service, while he was in the hospital, saying that though just out of the hospital and still unable to work, he can now manage to care for himself. The cooperation of families with that spirit, which is the true American spirit of independence and self-help, with the government in its efforts to do justice in the emergencies created by this war, and with the aid of all the social agencies of the country, especially that of the semi-officially organized Home Service Work of the Red Cross, will assure the ultimate success of all the great purposes of war risk insurance and will make these measures the very backbone of the morale of the men at the front and of those at home who also fight for the cause of freedom.\*

\*Note: A fuller descriptive account of the War Risk Insurance Act as amended to July 1st, 1918, will be found in my article entitled "Purpose and Scope of War Risk Insurance," published in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, in September, 1918, and reprinted with further revisions, October, 1918, by the New York office, Second District Investigation Service of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, at 280 Broadway, New York.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Miss Jane Addams* of Hull House, Chicago, in discussing *Miss Lathrop's* address, said in substance:

England, during the first year of the war discovered a sudden rise in the mortality of children. One reason for this increased death rate was found to be the fact that mothers were working in munition plants. During the second year of the war, the infant death rate fell below pre-war levels,

as the result of concerted action by the entire nation, roused by the seriousness of the situation.

Munitions plants in the United States are now arranging to take in mothers and provide day nurseries for the children. Fortunately these nurseries are being placed under the management of existing organizations of women familiar with such institutions. But is it necessary, at the beginning of the second year of the war for mothers to work in munitions plants? Cannot the heightened solidarity of the nation be used, now while the subject is up, to protect these children? Mothers' pensions have been provided in many states to enable widows to stay with their children. Why should the wives of soldiers not also be kept with their children? It should be easy to persuade the community that the children of soldiers should be protected. Such a movement would serve as a good beginning toward the solution of the whole question of taking care of mothers.

Some people contend that a large number of children are better taken care of in nurseries than by mothers who have spent their girlhood as factory workers. Let the mothers, it is urged, go back to the factories. After the day's work, the short period before the children go to sleep would not fatigue the mothers; indeed they would enjoy their children better for not having spent the whole day with them. Such is not the point of view advocated in America, urged by the Children's Bureau, nor embodied in the best legislation. America should insist that munitions work shall be done by others than the mothers of little children.

Our general but passive beliefs need sharpening, sometimes by acute experience. Leaving a meeting of the Chicago Board of Education one night at 2 a. m., I found a scrub woman wet from head to foot with the mother's milk which her work prevented her from giving to her nursing child at home. By an ironical coincidence, the city council had just been called back from its vacation to consider means of protecting the city from contaminated milk furnished its children from four states.

A biologist at the University of Wisconsin has said that a tadpole well fed produces a fat frog that can stand a good deal of starving without visible damage, while an underfed tadpole always produces a thin frog whom no amount of feeding will fatten. In respect to children, too, he argued, one can never make up in later life for the hardships of childhood. We must see what we can do to keep the mother with her children until they have made at least their first start in life.

2. In addition to those mentioned heretofore the following delegates took part in the discussion: Mrs. Kelley; Oscar Leonard, St. Louis; Rev. James Parsons, Kansas City; J. Bruce Byall, Philadelphia.

## SOCIAL WORK AND RADICAL ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman, Roger N. Baldwin, Director,  
National Civil Liberties Bureau, New York*

This program is the first upon which we are free to discuss under Conference auspices the relation between social work and radical economic movements. We shall make no half-way job of it. We have among our speakers representatives of the extreme radical view, who will paint vividly the contrast between the reformer and the revolutionist.

Such a discussion is particularly opportune when the world is



shaken to its foundations, when old institutions are challenged as never before. Scores of social workers in the Conference feel a need for closer contact with the larger social and economic movements of the world. This section is one expression of that need.

We are obligated to examine without prejudice even the revolutionary programs for abolishing poverty and economic slavery. President Wilson has made clear that necessity in his recent letter to the New Jersey Democrats. The British Labor Party has warned us to beware of patchwork in the approaching reconstruction. We must examine the foundations of our present political and industrial order in the light of the radical programs.

The issue is well put in a recent story in the *New Republic* entitled "On the Road to Amiens." An American soldier, in conversation on a train in France, tells a French soldier that he is doubtful about the efficacy of President Wilson's slogan "making the world safe for democracy." Democracy in America, he says, means only "the chance for each of the many to become one of the few." The real struggle, he maintains, is to make each of the few one of the many, if we are to realize the new political and industrial idea of equality. The remaking of the world for democracy and brotherhood cannot admit the existence of classes—"the many" and "the few."

We social workers often delude ourselves into a belief that we are important factors in the remaking of society. I think no debate is needed to characterize that as pure delusion. We have very little influence in molding the forces working toward great social changes. Our work is essentially for the existing economic order—not against it. We are either caseworkers patching up the evils and the miseries of the industrial system; or propagandists for reform legislation; educators; collectors of facts and figures; or neighborhood and community workers. In all these activities we work with and tacitly sanction the existing political and industrial system. We do not challenge, nor do we oppose, the underlying bases of that system, as do all radicals. Our work is undemocratic at heart—and the heart is its source of financial support. No work can be democratic which is supported by one class for the benefit of another. Even public funds raised by taxation are undemocratically used when applied for the benefit of a class. Only that work can be truly democratic which is financed by all for the benefit of all—only a group for the benefit of that group. Our radical critics are within the facts when they point out that we are as a group merely adjuncts of the capitalist system.

Now so much for ourselves. Who are the radicals? They are those who would reorganize the very institutions on which our present society is founded—private property, competitive business, representative government and the like. They are for the most part from the ranks of labor, with a few detached from the middle and upper classes who make common cause with them. Their common purpose is expressed in various

movements—radical trade unionism, political socialism, syndicalism, the I. W. W., the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, to mention only the larger organized forces here and abroad. Their common purpose is the abolition of the control of industry for profit by private capital, and the substitution of co-operative control by the workers, for service only. Their war is waged against exploitation, privilege, private capital, militarism, imperialism, autocratic authority in government and industry the world over. Our fight as social workers is only against the products of those institutions—namely, poverty, crime and industrial disease. We need the larger view that is theirs if we are to see ourselves in perspective—if we are to make our purposes count most in the greater processes about us. Those movements of the workers themselves are the only means to industrial democracy—the control of industry by labor. But we can help—those of us outside these movements. Outside our work, we can join in the radical political movement of socialism; we can get the facts of economic injustice, and talk and write them, helping indict the present economic system. We can help interpret to our public the purposes of labor. We can help socialize the public service by promoting more community activities to replace those run for profit. In social workers' clubs we can help among ourselves to make clean the purposes of labor and the radicals.

In this day of great challenge, let us fearlessly examine these radical programs born of the misery and the faith of the workers. Let us lift our eyes from the road before us and look forward to that great goal of human freedom, which we in our time may help a struggling world to reach.

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### THE CHALLENGE OF MASS FACTS TO THE SOCIAL WORKER

*Hornell Hart, Research Fellow, Helen S. Trownstine Foundation, Cincinnati.*

Living, as we do, in the midst of the greatest radical movements of all times, it is natural for us to discuss the relation between these radical movements and social work. To me the function of the social worker in connection with these movements seems not so trivial as our chairman has indicated. Rather, it is vitally important. "Radical" means going to the roots. Roots of what? The previous speaker has indicated that radical economic movements drive at the roots of poverty, crime, and misery. As social workers we have come to see that individual social maladjustments are not like a field of weeds, each with its own independent roots, but rather like a tree with several trunks, and a common set of roots.

Scientific statistics have revealed the entanglement of every social problem with a whole series of other social problems. Crime and de-

linquency are vitally connected with unemployment, poverty, feeble-mindedness, retardation in school, and alcoholism. Infant mortality is associated with poverty, bad housing, employment of mothers and unemployment of fathers. Failure in school is bound up with sickness, physical defects, feeble-mindedness, poverty, and lack of adjustment of school courses to needs of pupils. Tuberculosis goes with poverty, bad housing, alcoholism, widowhood, over-fatigue, and unwholesome working conditions.

*Interweaving of Social Problems.*

Tangled together as these problems are, it is a hopeless task to attack them singly, through highly specialized individualistic organizations, as is now being done. The only hope of abolishing or greatly reducing poverty, sickness and crime, lies in the working out of a comprehensive, unified program for going to the common roots of social problems—literally a “radical,” or rooting-out program. The character of such a program must be based upon the two conditions which cause the interweaving of social problems:

First, certain individuals are born with too little intelligence to face any of the problems of life successfully. The high grade feeble-minded person cannot resist temptation, cannot acquire sufficient skill to make a decent living, and cannot learn to spend earnings intelligently. Here such persons, left to themselves, fail in school, become low grade laborers, and are frequently unemployed, live in cheap and insanitary dwellings, have insufficient and badly cooked food, suffer consequently from frequent sicknesses, break the law and go to jail repeatedly, and raise children who do the same.

The second reason for the constant connection between various social problems is that the person who breaks down under one sort of social pressure loses strength to resist other forms of adversity. The unemployed workman is likely to economise on food and invite sickness through undernourishment. His need of money and his discouragement stimulate impulses to steal. When a family loses its father from tuberculosis, sequences often are that the mother goes to work, that the education of the children is cut short, and that expenditures for rent, food and clothing are dangerously cut. These factors lead to delinquency, bad housing, undernourishment, and sickness. In a similar way, any break in the normal living acts like the running off the track of one pair of wheels on a train; a wreck is likely to result unless normal conditions can quickly be restored.

The case-work method of dealing with these tangles of misfortune is to try to restore normal conditions in such suffering families as happen to come within each agency's influence. But case agencies reach only a tiny fraction of the families living under sub-normal conditions, and reach them only after a serious wreck has occurred. A far more comprehensive and preventive program is needed.

Misery can be practically abolished by a two-sided program: First,

all feeble-minded individuals should be located early in life and put in colonies where the strain and temptation of ordinary living could be removed, and the breeding of new incompetents prevented. For all normal people not so sheltered, certain minimum living conditions should be guaranteed by the government, so as to prevent the first break in resistance which leads to disaster.

Because all of the economic structure of society is now in flux, we have today a unique opportunity to secure the radical reforms which can guarantee these minimums. Indeed, the principles which we have already accepted for the peace settlement imply such reforms. President Wilson has declared that the United States stands committed to justice, democracy, and protection of the rights of small nations as our unalterable demands in the peace settlement, and he has outlined the application of these ideals to the international problems involved. Consistency requires that America shall face her industrial and economic problems in the same splendid spirit with which she fights the battles of international freedom. Political justice between nations must be founded upon economic justice within the nation. Political democracy must lead to industrial democracy. The rights of the victims of our economic and social maladjustments must be protected as well as the rights of small nations.

#### *Essentials of Economic Justice.*

Industrial democracy, economic justice, and the protection of the rights of the weak, imply as corollaries certain conditions which must be demanded, at the close of the war, as fundamental features of the new social order. Among these essentials are the following:

1. Every child must be assured, without his own gainful labor, adequate nourishment, wholesome housing, sufficient clothing, skilled medical care, and such education and recreation as shall develop his maximum capacity for joyous living, and his greatest serviceability to society.
2. Every able-bodied and able-minded father of a family must be guaranteed the opportunity to earn an income sufficient to assure such a standard of living to his children, and to their mother.
3. The opportunity to earn enough to maintain at least physical and moral health must be assured to all able-bodied and able-minded workers.
4. For workers mentally incompetent to earn a living, cheerful institutional or supervisory care must be provided, with provisions against reproduction of those whose defects are hereditary.
5. Catastrophes, such as sickness, injury, invalidity, old age, death, and unemployment, must be prevented by all the resources of medical and social science; and when they do occur, the resulting economic loss must be borne, not by the worker and his dependents, but by the community, under provisions calculated to encourage prevention, and maintain self-respect.
6. The conditions of production must be so adjusted as to main-



tain the largest product consistent with the maximum welfare of the workers.

7. The product must be distributed with a view solely to promoting maximum production, to protecting all workers against poverty, and to attaining the maximum possible psychic income for the whole community.

8. The control of industry must be transferred to the whole body of hand and brain workers.

The realization of these fundamental conditions of economic justice requires the solution of many perplexing problems. These problems should, in my opinion, form the basis of our discussions in future years. Sound progress can come about only by finding areas of agreement in the thinking of the people, and then seeking to extend these areas. The spirit of this conference has seemed sympathetic toward such ideals as these. If we as social workers can bring home to the leaders of our communities the necessity for fundamental reform along these lines, we shall accomplish vital service in the cause of economic and industrial justice.

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### A CRITICISM OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE REFORM PROGRAM IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMPLETE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION DEMANDED BY THE RADICALS

*Harold L. Varney, St. Louis*

In dealing with the lower strata of the working class, every social service worker cannot help but be struck by the fatuity of his task. Vast funds of energy and effort have been expended to no avail. Gigantic campaigns of uplift have collapsed in a sickening impotence of failure. It is as though all their attempts had been poured into a vast and exhaustless sieve which sucks in the myriad energies of the profession but leaves their object still unattained.

No one recognizes more poignantly than the social service worker himself this failure which has deadened all his effort. It has stung him into thought. It has shaken him forever out of the traditional attitudes of the past. In the consciousness of his disillusionment, he has sought a new method and a new orientation. He has groped in the limbo of social theories seeking new light for his future. He has ceased to be a mere alms giver. He has conceived a higher and weightier mission for his profession. Searching sincerely for the truth, he has swung a broader light upon his work. He has discovered that the poverty which he seeks to remove is inherent in the system of life as it exists; that it is the inevitable corollary to existing modes of economic production; that the feeble efforts of charity are like single rain drops in the parched dryness of a desert.

Armed with this consciousness, the social service worker of today is grappling more and more with causes. He is recognizing, increasingly, that social service, to have a future, must also have a program. That this program must supply some measure of economic reconstruction. That it must be fundamental enough to touch the very roots of poverty. That it must be sweeping enough to offer a self-insurance against the recurrence of the evil. That it shall have a freshness and a simple potency of appeal which shall assure it the momentum of a following. Thus the social service worker is becoming more and more the pioneer in the propaganda of economic reconstruction. And, searching for a creed, the overwhelming majority of the profession have found one in the program of *social reform*.

And yet, in fairness to the future, the question should be asked at this conference, have the social workers chosen wisely? In the great field of social programs have they selected the highest? Have they found the true vehicle to lead to their ends? Have they linked the future of their profession with that movement which is the most prolific in its offerings of social development and social growth? With the data of the day at my disposal I cannot but answer that *social reform* is not that program.

It is in the labor movement that the present-day economic solutions have germinated and developed. The war between reform and revolution, "revisionism" and "impossibilism," has long been traditional among the thinkers of the working class. It is right that such should be, for only by a living contact with labor itself can our labor problem be squared to labors' yearnings. By the intimacy of this contact we are pre-assured that these programs are not the mere hot-house imaginings of theorists, but that, on the contrary, they are practical solutions, sprung from the content of labor's experience and hot with all the humanness of labor's passions.

#### *Reform vs. Revolution*

In building the future, a sharp line of demarcation has ever been drawn between the reformer and the revolutionist. It is the struggle between two opposite points of view. It is a contest between two fundamental temperaments.

The revolutionist, in the working class sense of the word, seeks an abrupt and fundamental rupture with the *status quo* of the present. He believes that the existing individualistic, capitalist mode of production is faulty and he would extirpate it. His faith admits of no compromise. He sees capitalism as a wholeness and he would destroy it as a wholeness. No small segment of the existing order shall be carried over into the new to taint and pollute the future. And the new society (socialism, the co-operative commonwealth, industrial democracy, or by whatever name he seeks to style it), he visualizes as a completed and irrefragible entity. He is the foe of all that savors of the present—its narrow conventions, its petticoating shams, its commercialized arts, its vulgarized ethics. He

views capitalism as a vast tree—a upas tree of mephitic shadows, shooting out its poisonous branches and polluting every sanctuary of life. And his logic admits of no other solution than the obvious solution, that to destroy the branches we should first of all destroy the tree.

The reformer, on the contrary, while he accepts the same theory of ultimate reconstruction, while he derives from Marxism and subscribes to its economics, differs fundamentally in all of his attitudes. Capitalism is an evil, he reasons, but it is also a condition. We must accept that condition and work with it rather than against it. We must endeavor to mold the existing society gradually toward the new. We must saturate it without ideas and fertilize it with new viewpoints. And thus gradually, on the loom of time, will be woven the woof of the new society.

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#### *Social Work and the Reform Program*

But unfortunately, because of the very weaknesses of the reformistic school, the social workers have arrayed themselves upon that side. The very characteristics which vitiate reformism for the worker, seem to be accepted as recommendations for the social service profession. The attitude of conciliation; the easy tolerance of contradictory tenets; the tacit acceptance of capitalism and the effort to limit their program to its requirements; the placid and hypocritical legality of their tactics; all these inconsistencies seem to make reformism attractive to the social worker. Is it not an added commentary upon the unbridgable chasm between labor and the middle class, that the very qualities in a movement which repel labor, seem to make that movement attractive to labor's would-be friends?

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Entering the labor movement, the social service worker chooses that wing which reconciles him most closely to his previous beliefs. It enables him to cling resolutely to the framework of capitalism. It gives full play to the tinkering instrumentalities which he has been taught to use in his study at the university. He feels that he is groping for the new while his feet are still resolutely planted upon economic well-being under the old. He can accept with the least degree of risk and at the smallest cost of personal sacrifice. And so he can feel that he is doing his part, but what does he know of the broken, sobbing lives which cry out from a thousand slums for a socialism that shall come today?

#### *State Socialism vs. Industrial Democracy*

And so, after this first parting of the ways, reformist and revolutionist have drifted still more widely apart. At first, the distinction was one of temperament and tactics. Now, it has become a more serious one; it has become a contrast even of programs. No longer do the reformists and the revolutionists seek the same goal. Their aims have branched apart. And here again, I must attribute the cleavage to the meddlesome influence of the well-meaning middle-classer.

Reformism today stands fully committed to a policy of state socialism, or statism. The revolutionists stand, as ever, for a pure industrial democracy. And the conflict between them has shifted to these grounds.

The distinction between state socialism and industrial democracy is the most fundamental distinction that could be drawn. They represent the two polarities of economic reconstruction. It is the contrast between a survived enhancement of all the evils of the day, and a truly democratic reconstruction. It is the antithesis between slavery and freedom.

A brief summary will clear the point. State socialism, or state capitalism, as revolutionists love to call it, is merely a new form of the present system. The state becomes the capitalist; the individual owner fades into the background. More scientific perhaps than individual capitalism, it is far more dangerous and menacing. It establishes an impersonal bureaucracy and administers industry by a makeshift contrivance of a geographically elected political government. For the boss it substitutes the politician and it leaves no buffer government, as today, to hold the scales of justice in between. It penalizes unionism and throttles the hopes of a naturally developed democracy.

Industrial democracy incarnates the socialist ideal. It is orthodoxly Marxian although it is formulated with all the interpretative data of the day. It posits a condition where industry will be democratically managed, where life will be reconstructed on an industrial basis, where all mankind will be classified upon the spokes of an economic wheel. It would sweep away the political government in its entirety, with nine-tenths of the political functions. For the geographical form of government it would substitute an industrial parliament, representatively chosen by parallel economic groups. The one man autocracy in the factories would give way before a democratic control, and industrial unionism would constitute the vehicle of administration.

About such an idea there is nothing striking or visionary. For what is industrial democracy but the logical extension of principles already acknowledged? What rule of logic is this which accepts democracy as theoretically correct and then studiously proceeds to limit it to merely political functions? If democracy be feasible, why stop at the factory door? Why hesitate to allow to labor the right to elect foremen and bosses when you have already accorded him the right to elect presidents? Why say that labor can vote for beneficial legislation through the clumsy machinery of legislatures and referendums and then slam a refusal in his face when he attempts to pass a law to govern his long hours in the factory?

#### *Labor's Underlying Struggle*

And yet, even when this distinction between state socialism and industrial democracy is made plain, the social service workers rally overwhelmingly around the state socialistic position. Is it from failure to



sense the drift of the times or is it rather from some inner barrier which rises up and chokes the will to see?

The fact is that the social workers, like all the other *intelligensia* of the day, are blind to the real issues of the labor struggle. They are swamped by the materialistic camouflage which proletarian dogmatists have reared. What is it for which labor struggles? Is it for bread and bread alone? Are all their deathless deeds of sacrifice called forth by the hunger lure? Is it for this that men have played with torture and beaten out their lives behind a prison's clammy walls?

Search the mental hinterland of labor and you will find the answer written there. It is the old instinct, the primal instinct, the instinct which lures man to freedom. The meaning of the labor struggle cannot be read in terms of dollars. For back of all the interactions of the labor movement lies one supreme yearning, the yearning for democracy. The restiveness of labor is not the sole creation of poverty. Poverty is but the spur to the deeper impulse. Poverty is the temporary awakener which comes and goes with the flux of the economic market. But the motive which forever persists is the thirst of labor for industrial democracy.

Glimpse that truth and the labor movement spreads itself before you like a panorama. You see meaning in all its complexities. You see a golden thread of purpose streaking beneath the tempest of vagaries. Behind the repellent grimace of revolution you see an idealism which warms and softens the harshness of the picture. Strange that the slogan of all the world today should be democracy and that we should fail to comprehend that, of all the dreamers of history, organized revolutionary labor alone has discovered the secret which can make democracy real.

Leap forward a few more years in the future and then from the eminence of that day, tell us what, in the great scheme of nature, have mattered the paltry and feeble gropings of the reformists of today. What will they have done to change a world, they who have feared to even speak their belief? But the revolutionist of today—despised and imprisoned—is the true creator of the morrow. He speaks the longings of labor. He battles for the program of his class and though all the world, including the social service workers, stands out against him, his truth must prevail.

### *The Struggle Today Abroad*

We can see the forces lining up even today. What greater lesson of the relative value of reformist and revolutionist than that offered by Russia? There in a broad way, we have seen the reformist appear in the guise of the Menshiviki and the revolutionists as the Bolsheviks. The one vague and fearsome, toying with its opportunity in a black haze of doubt. The other strong and virile, fed by the exhaustless reservoir of proletarian genius. And when the reformist dropped the power from its quivering hands, the revolutionist seized it without a qualm of hesita-

tion. And they had a program, a program which epitomized all the yearnings of labor and, with ruthless indomitability, they put it through.

Again we can read the future of industrial democracy in the fearless demands of British labor. What a ringing challenge to the world! The strongest federation of trade unions in Europe swinging solidly to the revolutionary position. Demanding that this war shall mean the end of capitalism. Asking from the future, not state socialism, but industrial democracy. Certainly in the two great nations of Britain and Russia, the future of reformism is more than bankrupt.

Of France we need hardly speak. France is the home of industrial democracy, or syndicalism as they call it. The French labor unions have been controlled by the revolutionists for nearly a generation. And, at the latest convention they re-enunciated their position in ringing words.

Even the political socialists are leaning toward revolution. Although the program of political socialism has always been the false program of a conquest of purely political power, we find many of those who still cling to the decaying political parties, advocating revolution among themselves. The war has taught them the lesson of state socialism. They have learned sadly that by that way, no freedom lies.

#### *In America*

But in America the hope is dark. The trade unions, under the throttling hold of Gompersism, refuse resolutely to even discuss a program for their class. The American Federation of Labor offers no hope of becoming an instrumentality for the attainment of industrial freedom. That capitalism recognizes this truth only too well is evidenced by the firm support which it has ever accorded that organization. Only the other day one of the reactionary organs of the nation, the *Chicago Tribune*, published the following editorial comment:

"Under Gompers the labor organizations prove themselves the first line of defense for the present social organization against attacks from within, and every act of Mr. Gompers and every utterance indicates that he appreciates the danger and knows how to meet it."

Evidently Mr. Gompers knew well how to meet the danger when he refused to allow the American unions to even have a voice in the inter-allied labor congress on labor's war aims.

Of that other American labor organization, the I. W. W.—the union which has popularized the message of industrial democracy at the cost of all the horrors of outlawry—I will not speak today. I understand that it will be discussed at some other time. But certainly its future seems dark today, with all its leaders lying in prisons and with the American Congress passing unanimously a law to suppress it.

And yet, however feeble the organized manifestations of industrial democracy may be, the impulse, the momentum and the urge is certainly here. It is a worldwide tide and even a Gompers or an American Senate cannot forever check its coming.

To those of the social workers who seek a program, who wish to burrow down to causes rather than rake forever through effects, who are willing to go to the working class—not as teachers—but with the humility of him who would learn and understand, who are willing to pursue truth relentlessly and to face its challenge—cost what it may; to them I recommend the message of revolutionary labor.

### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

*Charles A. Sumner*, American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, in discussing Mr. Varney's paper, said: The paper just read is such an extreme presentation that I believe it has very little sympathy in the mass of organized labor. I do not know that I have any criticism of social workers. The American Federation is, in a sense, in the same class—engaged in case work and in propaganda. Labor knows social workers as propagandists, just as social workers know labor organizers as propagandists. When the American Federation was in disrepute, social workers gave us cheer. It was the only group through which we could find voice. Florence Kelley, Mary McDowell, Jane Addams, and Graham Taylor, who belong, I suppose, to you social workers, were our friends.

We ought to know each other more intimately. More insistence should be placed on collective bargaining. The force now being expended in welfare work and other substitutes should be devoted to securing the recognition of organized labor. More emphasis should be placed on industrial democracy. In the past, we have had more inspiration and co-operation from social workers than from any other group in society.

*James Eads How*, of St. Louis, organizer of the International Brotherhood Welfare Association, was introduced, and spoke substantially as follows:\* This is the most interesting period since the year one. We ought to be in large measure in harmony. One thing which social workers ought to help bring about is the organization of the women of the world with labor. We must have a permanent international committee to fight exploitation. Peace will come soon, and then the reconstruction. Shall it be in the hands of the secret diplomatists? We must *do* something. Let us have the international committee of social workers to bring about real democratic control of the future.

\*Notes uncorrected by author.

### WHY SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD STUDY THE NEED OF HEALTH INSURANCE

*James H. Tufts, Chicago, Chairman Illinois Committee for Social Legislation*

What constitutes, for the purpose of the social worker, a *need*? During the nineteenth century, as Havelock Ellis has pointed out, four great reforms, namely, sanitation of cities, factory legislation, extension of public education, and effort to guard the health of child and mother, corresponded on the one hand to pressing needs brought in by the growth of cities, rise of the factory system, and growth of political democracy, and on the other hand to the advances in chemistry, hygiene, and medical

science, and to economic and educational enlightenment. As Mr. Ellis well says: "There has been a process of mutual action and reaction between science and practice.

The social movement has stimulated the development of abstract science, and the new progress in science has enabled further advances to be made in social practice."\* Perhaps a working definition for our purpose may run like this: When there is a definite gap between the actual conditions of men in education, comfort, health or other good, on the one hand, and the available means for a better condition, on the other, there is a real need. To study such needs as are included in this definition, is not to explore Utopias, nor to be guided by the politicians' criterion of popular demand. The social worker is a worker, not a dreamer. But the social worker is making poor use of his education if he does not go further than the articulate demand of the group with which he works. As Mill put it long ago: "Men frequently need most what they want least."

### *Three Outstanding Needs.*

There are, in my judgment, three gaps in our present situation, between existing conditions and the available agencies and instruments of progress. These gaps are: First, between the advance of medical science and the actual extension of its results to people in general; secondly, between the methods of providing security and the actual extension of these methods to those whose condition is most insecure; and thirdly, the advance in expert administration, and the degree to which this has been utilized to improve economic conditions.

### *Extend the Benefits of Medical Progress*

As regards conditions of health, there is undoubtedly the insidious menace of occupational disease, which is met in one form only to steal upon us in another. New machine processes develop new diseases and, despite the figures occasionally presented to show that city health is no worse than country health, I do not think that we can by any means feel assured that the conditions of city life in which more and more of our people are growing up will not in the long run prove unfavorable to full vigor of constitution, to lasting ability under the strain, and to bearing and rearing a proper number of healthy children. Certainly, conditions of city life are so remote from those under which our physical organism was developed and to which it has been adjusted by thousands of years of life in the open, that even the layman may well be suspicious of the situation.

Yet it is rather the raising of standards of what we may expect than the actual presence of new diseases and new dangers to life which appeals more forcibly to the general student of social conditions. In the case of health as in that of poverty, the tendency has been so persistent

\*Havelock Ellis: *The Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 10-15.



to accept what is, that we need the frequent stimulus of better ideals to arouse us to a noble discontent. And it is just here that the great advance in medical science makes its appeal. It is difficult for the younger members of this Conference to realize the enormous advance in certain features of medical research and in the general field of medical education; but to one who has seen one child of a colleague's family die and the next one live when attacked by diphtheria, just because of the discovery of the antitoxin within the brief period of a few weeks, and who has in various instances marked similar advances in the treatment of members of his own household, it is easier to feel vividly the need of making all the advances of medical science, which we feel confident are just beginning, available to every member of society.

Medical education itself has changed almost incredibly. When one of my college class began his work as a teacher of chemistry in a neighboring state university, medical study there required no preparation except the grammar school, and comprised only two sessions of lectures of four or five months each, with no pretense of laboratory work in the modern sense. Today, all the better medical schools require from one to four years of a college course as preparation, and five years of medical study, making a total increase of about nine years of study. Further, the advance of medical research and study has brought new facilities for diagnosis and treatment which tend increasingly to substitute for more obscure ailments attention by a group of specialists with laboratory and often hospital facilities, instead of the house or office practice of the family physician.

Has this advance in diagnosis and treatment of disease been shared by all members of society? By the rich, yes; by the very poor, in many cases, yes; but by the ordinary wage worker or clerk whose income leaves a narrow margin over ordinary expenses—emphatically, no. There are great difficulties of many kinds in giving to every citizen of the commonwealth all of the opportunities and advantages of the increasing wealth and culture which are ours, but is not health the place to begin? Many things are possible to him who has health; many hardships can be endured if sickness and the discouragement which it brings are not added. If your ancestors were pioneers they did not have many of the things we call comforts, to say nothing of luxuries. Their hours were long, their books were few, their entertainments were nearly zero, yet as I have come to enter somewhat into the lives of our pioneer ancestors, I have not felt that they were wretched or hopeless. Sickness, it seems to me, is on a distinct level of its own, as compared with other external conditions, and we ought to direct our energies constantly to do away with this so far as possible.

Public health departments have as yet undertaken little beyond general sanitation, including regulation of sewage, water supply, milk supply, and provisions against certain of the contagious diseases—for the most part not presuming to deal with the most serious of these. Public

hospitals have done much for certain classes but, as one of my physician friends puts it emphatically, there is now no way in which a self respecting man of moderate income can get proper medical attention.

There can be, I think, no question of the gap between the advance in medical science and the extent to which this has been made available for the prevention and treatment of disease. How can this gap be breached? It would be a mistake to suppose that any one method is necessarily the only one. Since ill health and poverty go together, it may well be that the greatest single need is to raise the income of the poor. Surgeon General Gorgas has been quoted as saying: "Add to wages \$1.25 to \$2.50 a day and you will lengthen the average thread of life by thirteen years." Whether the exact figures can be defended or not, there can be little question that increase of wages is one of the most important factors in improving conditions of health. Better housing is another factor which is partly dependent upon income, but partly upon other causes. Extension of the work of public health departments, of hospital facilities, are other elements in the social program that deserve consideration.

But over and above these, there is certainly the serious question as to whether some form of insurance is not one of the most effective means of promoting health. It is no substitute for advanced wages; it is no substitute for better housing; and if employed it should be in co-operation with public health measures rather than as a substitute for them. Perhaps some of the measures formulated for consideration have been unduly optimistic that health insurance would of itself secure proper prevention. Nevertheless, this is certainly to be said: Whatever obliges us to take account of the actual facts of disease, of the actual need of better treatment, is likely to prove the first step toward remedy. The constant danger is that we too easily forget the presence of unpleasant situations. Even statistics which tell us of six days or nine days lost by the average worker in the year do not stir us greatly. This is but a week, we think, and a week is not a large part of a man's year. We so easily forget that the serious cases are not the average, but are those for whom sickness lasts several weeks and tends to crowd the family below the line of independence.

*Provide Security for Those Who Need It Most.*

The second gap is that between the existing methods of providing security and the unsatisfactory degree in which these are available.

By the advance in instruments for security, I mean the two ways of gaining power and distributing burdens which our generation is making so large use of. The first we may call the group principle; the second the time principle. We are familiar with numerous applications of the group principle. The city, which was one of the first corporations, is still one of the greatest examples of how many things people can do together which they cannot do singly. The army, which we had

almost forgotten, now repeats the lesson daily before us of group efficiency and organization. The trade union has been the most important means of evening up the discrepancy between the combinations of capital and the strength of the laborer.

The time principle is also familiar to us. Its greatest illustration is the power of credit. The railway is built because it can command the support of future generations. The governments which carry on war are mortgaging the activities of their citizens for decades, and it may be centuries to come. From the day of the savage who could buy and sell only as he could match what he had to give with what he wished to receive, and therefore was limited to the actual resources of the moment, up to the society of the present time which utilizes both the accumulation of the past and the expectations of the future, is a tremendous step. The group principle and time principle combined give to humanity weapons of enormous efficiency in its struggle for existence and progress. Insurance relies upon both these principles. It distributes risks over the group; it distributes risks over a period of time.

There is little difference of opinion as to the great value of this principle. The gap which calls out the interest of the social reformer lies in the failure of such a large part of our community to get the benefit of this principle. The well-to-do insure their property against fire, insure their lives, and very largely carry accident insurance as well. The poor in great numbers insure their burial, but the three great hazards for the poor man of sickness, unemployment, and dependency in old age, have largely been without his reach. The expense of commercial insurance companies is too great. Certain of the trade-unions have provided this security for their members; fraternal orders protect many; certain manufacturing establishments have insurance systems; but the vast majority of the people of the country have not the security which insurance would provide. Here then, is the problem of the social worker: how can the benefit of insurance be extended to those who need it most? Shall it be by an extension of the mutual groups—fraternal or trade-union? Shall it be by an extension to all establishments of the systems now provided by many establishments for their own workmen? Or shall the state, which is the group through which we now provide education, be given the further function of providing insurance?

This raises the question of voluntary *versus* compulsory insurance. No one objects to voluntary insurance in principle; the question is, can it reach those who need it most?

There is strong opposition to giving to the state this additional function. It comes from two opposite sources. One group tells us that it is not needed because the working man is now well off. Exceptional cases require charity, but treat these as charity.

Some labor unionists have questioned the desirability of any state system of health insurance for quite a different reason. They believe that the great need of the workingman is better wages, and that anything

which directs attention from this need is dangerous. They fear that health insurance may be offered in lieu of better wages, and thus be anaesthetic rather than curative. And further, they fear that a state system might, even if not so intended, operate to the disadvantage of the unions. In their view, the larger strategy of the labor movement requires that the laboring man should seek his good through the labor organization as such. Any rival is likely to diminish the strength of the organization. They believe, and rightly, I think, that their chief reliance for the education of their members in self-respect, and for bargaining upon equal conditions with organized capital, must be upon the organization of labor. They say to the social reformer: Turn in and help organize labor instead of working through the other organization, namely, the state.

If health insurance were to be regarded as in any sense a substitute for increased wages, it would justly be rejected by the working people. If it would tend to reduce wages by the amount deducted from the wages of employees or to keep them from rising, it would be of questionable value. If it diminished the bargaining power of organized labor, or if it discouraged the organization of labor, it would be a more than dubious proposition. Organized labor would certainly oppose it; and there is little hope for any method of social reform which would not in the long run command the confidence and interest of those who are chiefly concerned. Bismarck might introduce a system of social insurance in order to forestall socialism. America is not likely to put any system into force for such a reason. If it is to be justified, health insurance must make appeal on other grounds. I think, indeed, that the small amount to be deducted from the weekly pay envelope is more likely to be covered by an increase in wages, than to be a permanent charge to the wage earner. But this amount is not of great importance since a large proportion of wage earners now pay as much for much less protection. The need of health insurance, if there is such a need, does not stand or fall with the fact of low wages.

The standard of living under ordinary conditions will be set by wages. If a man gets twelve dollars, he lives on that scale and uses it all. If he gets twenty, he tends to use that. But when wages stop it makes little difference whether they were at twelve or twenty dollars a week. Wages that are not drawn pay no bills. And if, besides the stoppage of income, there are extra expenses for medical attendance, the man is gripped by both jaws of the vise.

Increase in income is almost certain to be used for immediate needs rather than in making provision for possible greater needs which are not immediately pressing. It is questionable whether, if most of us were given an advance of even a dollar a day, we should set apart five cents of that dollar for provision against sickness. There are a great many things to do with a dollar, from new shoes to better food; from better houses to a movie show. The tooth that aches or the eyes that are



unequal to daily work may take us to a dentist or oculist, but the other maladies which come upon us without warning are almost certain to find us unprepared. And unless there has been a surplus provided in some way, all the advance in medical science will help us but little.

Just here the ordinary frailty of human nature has been immensely reinforced by the great change in economic status which has accompanied the growth of the present industrial system. Formerly the great security against the vicissitudes of health and fortune was property. No wonder that our forefathers, in framing their declarations of natural rights, placed property along with life and liberty as among those God-given possessions for which they were ready to fight and if need be, to die. To the small farmer who made up the great bulk of our population in the early part of the last century, his farm yielded an income which, though meagre, was yet fairly certain to provide him with the means of life. The workman in the village was very likely to own at least the roof over his head, and to feel uneasy unless he had a little sum laid by. It is unnecessary to repeat, that the wage earner in the city can ordinarily not expect to own a home and has sometimes felt it a disadvantage to tie up his savings in this fashion. He has far less incentive to accumulate than had the farmer or independent workman of the former day. The most effective remedy for this insecurity of life seems to be a general provision by which the group stands back of the individual; and this, of course, is the principle of insurance.

As a recent investigator for the government found in visiting three states—two under workmen's compensation and the third under the older principle of liability—the situation in the latter state “presented a nightmare of suffering and destitution as compared with the other two states.” If it is possible to give to the great body of laboring people a similar degree of security for the more serious losses by illness, that surely is an advantage not to be easily rejected. The principle needs no argument. The great question is, how can this provision be extended to wage earners without involving prohibitive costs for administration and without interfering with the other means of securing or improving his condition?

#### *Utilize Our Increasing Administrative Efficiency.*

This brings us to the third problem, which has waked the liveliest differences of opinion: Is any scheme administratively possible? And here I venture to believe there is a third gap.

The third gap in the present social situation is that between organizing or administrative efficiency and the extent to which this has been applied to social problems. From the days of Plato and Aristotle, two methods for the improvement of human life have had their advocates. Plato would reorganize society with radical changes in institutions; He had great faith that laws devised and administered by experts could remake the individual. Governmental, economic and family arrangements should all be shaped for this purpose. Aristotle, on the other hand,

vigorously defended the thesis that the evils of society were not due so much to bad institutions as to frailties or evils in the individual man. In the centuries that have gone since this debate was opened, little has been added in the way of fundamental principles, but much has been worked out along the lines of actual administration, so that we are not compelled to act entirely on *apriori* grounds. The chief reliance of the two opposing parties on the question of health insurance has been the appeal, on the one side, to the success of social insurance in Germany; and, on the other, to the difference between German institutions and habits of mind and our own. On the one hand, it has been urged that in Germany it has been found possible to administer social insurance economically with little opposition, and that simultaneously with the system there has been a great lowering of the mortality rate. On the other, it has been urged that the American people have a different attitude toward governmental control over their intimate affairs, and that as yet we have no such respect for expert guidance or for careful communal supervision as has enabled the Germans to manage their systems successfully.

I venture to suggest that our present experience in the war is introducing new factors that need to be considered before accepting either conclusion. In the first place, the war has certainly startled us all from our complacent acceptance of the older American ways of doing things in so far as these meant a policy of let-alone. The economics of the past has gravely told us that any attempt to regulate prices by government would mean that people would eat the surplus and then come to want with no reserve on hand. All the warring nations have turned the leaf and written a new chapter, which reads: The older method of raising prices whenever there was scarcity doubtless stimulated production, but as a method of saving, it placed nearly all the burden upon the poor. In time of war which demands the united strength and purpose of the nation, a method which knows no other course than to starve the poor in order to maintain its reserve is unthinkable. If we must reduce our wheat and sugar and meat, let us share alike. Is it credible that after the war we shall go back without protest to the older regulation of life by the iron rule of price? Compulsion may be unpleasant, but compulsion by price is no pleasanter than compulsion by government if it takes butter and sugar and wheat from my table and shoes from my feet, and brings with it the added sting that my neighbor suffers no lack. Shall we be so anxious about compulsion which means cooperation for the common good, and so little concerned about compulsion of want and sickness based not on common good, but on accident or illness plus a price for expert medical service which puts it beyond our reach?

Insurance has indeed worked chiefly as a private or fraternal enterprise among smaller groups, but under the pressure of a great need the government has boldly written over fourteen billions of dollars of insurance for its soldiers and sailors at a minimum expense. Shall we

be willing to be content for our less fortunate members of society with systems of insurance which cost forty per cent. or more for administration and profits?

The successful appeals to the country for liberty bonds, Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. work have changed the habits and attitudes of millions who had before never bought a bond or given to any general public cause. Further, the necessities of war have called into public service experts of all kinds to a degree which would not have been tolerated a short time ago when the only type of efficiency was supposed to be the business man, and when democracy somehow connected efficiency of any sort with bureaucracy, and was suspicious of any official not selected by popular vote. Shall we take the position that we shall make no use in time of peace of the possibilities disclosed in time of war? Granted that our emotions will not remain at a high pitch of enthusiasm, will it not still be possible to maintain interest in public welfare of a more intelligent sort than before, and to utilize expert guidance when it is clearly needed?

On the other hand, it is equally suggested that the European way of securing united action and expert guidance is not necessarily the only way. Experts in education are now pointing out that our common school system was in its general plan of organization largely taken from the Prussian system. They say that its eight-year curriculum, with its separation from the high school, is a clear mark of its aristocratic Prussian ancestry, and that it is well adapted to a society based on distinct social classes and ill adapted for a democratic society which aims to give every child an equal opportunity. It is desirable, therefore, that in considering any system of social insurance we should raise the question whether a method may be devised more in accordance with our institutions than is the German system. The extraordinary results attained by the government system of war risk insurance stimulate us to raise the question at least whether some type of health insurance may not be so attractive as to bring us all in. Our system of public education raises the question whether any general system may not take the form of requiring all to make some provision rather than of framing a system for a specific group only. The California commission has made another suggestion which certainly deserves careful consideration: namely, that provisions for the health of the worker and his family are clearly a public responsibility and may well be undertaken and administered by the public, while cash benefits may be more safely and economically administered by the organizations to which the insured alone contribute, and which are likewise managed by them alone. I cannot discuss the merits of these various proposals. I only urge that our social workers should study the situation.

#### *Conclusion.*

In conclusion: while I have a great many doubts about details; while I am far from satisfied as to the efficiency of certain proposals, the

workability of others, and the desirability of still others, I can but feel that certain facts remain as a strong pressure toward study and activity.

First: A large part of our community gets little advantage from the great advances in medical science and nursing skill. Democracy does not mean merely sharing political power—it means the widest possible sharing in all good things. We are not today making medical skill and nursing attendance as widely available as we should.

Second: Human life measures its advance in part by the change from the casual to the secure. The savage is largely at the mercy of the failure of game or of crops, or of the vicissitudes of climate. Civilized man has gained security step by step. He has made the resources of all the support of each. Through trade, government, property, insurance, and education he has steadily brought the resources of past, present, and future, and of wider and wider groups of earth's inhabitants, to protect and defend each of us from the hap and chance to which nature made us subject; but at the present time a large number of members of our community are still imperfectly protected and supported by these agencies. Social insurance is not a panacea; it is not a substitute for better education or for better wages, but it is one of the important ways in which each can be helped by all. Further—and this is important: it is a way which does not involve charity with loss of self-respect. A properly organized system would more and more be a substitute for charity, along lines of self help and mutual aid.

Third: The great advances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been largely in the field of natural sciences, but we are at least beginning to seek scientific methods in political and social organization. Sometimes we have feared old world principles of dominance and of subjecting the individual to the rule and ordering of some one else; we have sometimes rather slavishly followed the types of organization constructed by older peoples. Is it not possible for social workers, under the stimulus of war time reorganizations, and under the stimulus of new energies, to plan new types of social activity which shall avoid our present inefficiency, our present hit-or-miss assumption of society's burdens by those who are most strongly pressed by charity's appeals, our present neglect of facing fundamental issues; and, on the other hand, avoid too ready acceptance of ready made schemes? These problems I conceive to be worthy of the most serious study and vigorous effort on the part of social workers.

## THE PROBLEM OF INHERITANCE

*Harlan Eugene Read, St. Louis*

The basis of despotism is the hereditary principle. Men are despots because we have made them so in the cradle. While the system exists whereby power is inherited, we shall have despotism; and the backbone of monarchy is the hereditary feature.



It is this hereditary feature that forms the hub of the wheel of monarchy, the center from which corruption is generated, the crater that is belching forth the destruction of the world. Inheritance of wealth is as bad as inheritance of thrones. Aristocracy is the sense of family superiority—blue blood—the rights of some children in the cradle against other children yet unborn—an artificial, man-created distinction, unearned by the favored, who receive bank checks in the womb and endorse them in the grave.

War, poverty, murder, Gott-partnership, the rape of Belgium and the devastation of Poland, are the results of an hereditary system whereby power comes without merit, reward without labor; and until the principle of inheritance is utterly destroyed there will be no peace.

Mark Twain's story of *The Prince and the Pauper* brought home to me as a boy the great injustice of having two people of the same ability and personality born, one to poverty, and the other to wealth and power. The time will come when no child shall inherit one hundred million dollars in the cradle. Children have been born in America with power exceeding that of the King of England.

The title to wealth is not labor, but the labor of the identical worker who is to own the wealth. A father cannot truly create a title for his child. The time has passed when men are allowed to give gifts dangerous to the community. The fact that knives may not be given to an insane man, nor poison without a prescription, illustrates the limitations of the right to give and receive. The giving of fortunes through inheritance, which was once a valuable social arrangement, has become injurious to the community. A father has no right to give to his child wealth which that child has not himself earned.

Small fortunes, of less than a million dollars, need not be worried about. We should start with the extraordinary fortunes. Neither should the wife, nor children under 25 years of age be cut off from support. Yet the state has the absolute right to prevent the passage of any money without service being rendered.

Marshall Field's will demonstrated the folly of the old saying that it is but three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves. Marshall Field tied up his fortune in trust for fifty years. The agitation resulting from this will caused Roosevelt to recommend a sliding scale tax on inheritances. Such laws are now in force in 44 states. Some have a tax giving, on the largest fortunes, as much as ten per cent to the state, in addition to the twenty-five per cent collected by the Government. Fifteen states collect a maximum tax of forty per cent. Missouri fortunes pay, including the government's twenty-five per cent, a total of fifty-five per cent in the most extreme cases. This is not, therefore, an untried theory. The war has rendered a great service in forcing this type of taxation.

The divine right of kings is the legitimate grandfather of the divine right of heirs to fortunes. Political kings differ only in theory

from money kings. Only the sentiment of the past supports the idea that the son should have the father's money—no inheritance right resides in the son. The public is not benefited any more than it is by the divine right of the Kaiser.

The objection is raised that the parent has the right to protect his young. This right is undebatable. It should be extended to all the parents of all the children in the world. We are too exclusive in our love for parents. There are parents all over the world to whom the well-being of their children is just as important as ours. The time is coming when every child shall be born free, and have an equal opportunity.

The passing of fortunes by inheritance, from father to son, is a custom that has come to us from past ages. That the son has the right to inherit power, in and of himself, no one has ever believed; but inheritance has been considered a civil convenience—men did not know what else to do with the money.

Today we know what to do with it. In fact, without it civilization cannot live. It is to pay the expenses of this war.

This is as it should be—as it must be. We must whip the Kaiser! And when the American soldiers come back from Europe with the Eagles of Victory perched upon their banners—when the world has been made safe for democracy, the limitation of inheritances must and will continue until we have a world in which no child shall receive in the cradle a hundred million dollars that he does not earn—for this is the ultimate goal and mission of democracy. This is the doctrine of **THE ABOLITION OF INHERITANCE**.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Professor Elwood Mead*, of the University of California, was called upon to present the subject of the relation of a government land policy to the redistribution of wealth.

He said that farms should be owned by individuals, but that if the distribution of farm land is left to individuals it will be badly done. The problem of buying land to be redistributed to individuals is a serious one. New Zealand found that the land which she needed for small farms was tied up in large ones. She therefore passed a law under which the owner fixed the value for taxation, with the provision that the state could buy it at the value fixed, plus 10 per cent. In one case the state bought a single piece including 85,000 acres. One thousand families were placed on this piece of land, with farm animals in proportion.

Australia found condemnation too slow for the acquiring of farm lands to be subdivided. It is therefore bought by private bargaining, or at the assessed value plus 12 per cent. Three competent valuers are appointed, who have access to the income from the land. The price fixed is twenty times the annual income. This system would not be possible but for the land tax system, under which no taxes are levied on improvements, the entire tax being levied on the unimproved land value. No commonwealth tax is levied on farms worth less than \$2,500. The rates increase

as the size of the holdings increases, until a tax of 4.5 per cent is levied for non-resident ownership.

This system makes large holdings unprofitable. One estate with an unearned income of \$60,000 yearly, under this system had all but \$10,000 of the income absorbed in taxes. Subdivision of this estate began at once. Thus taxation has a social as well as a revenue aspect.

In one instance, the state purchased a certain tract of land three different times. First it was acquired as sheep runs. Later the government bought it back and sold it to wheat growers. It was repurchased by private speculators, and the town which had grown up to supply the farmers, died. Finally, the community itself proposed to own the land. Individuals are permitted to hold the land as long as they use it. They may even turn it over to their children. But when they are through with it, they may not control the next holder, nor require him to pay them rent for it. They must live on it for eight months of the year. Improvements may be sold, under state supervision, to the new holder. Mines and water powers are owned by the state. All riparian rights are held by the state.

2. *Lawson Purdy*, general director of the Charity Organization Society, New York: Prof. Mead has had such experience in colonization as to know very well that when men are put upon the land and are successfully working a beginning has been made and only a beginning. He sees that the problem is much larger and that it is, in effect, the same problem in the country as that which confronts housing reformers in the city. The more successful colonization is in the country and the more successful the colonists, the greater is the certainty that the mortgage on the labor of the people of the United States will increase day by day. There will operate the inevitable tendency toward concentration of ownership. With concentration of ownership we have all the evils of tenancy. We commonly regard the increase in the value of land as both an evidence of prosperity and a condition of prosperity. It is an evidence of prosperity, but it is not a condition of prosperity. As the land increases in value, a heavier and heavier charge is imposed upon all the inhabitants of the United States. When we induce colonization with freehold tenure we merely lay the foundation for another mortgage.

Some of us have been interested in trying to establish what we call self-owning towns. We wish to give to the tenants in towns the opportunity to buy themselves free. It has been shown that under favorable conditions this can be done in less than thirty years by the payment of what would ordinarily be regarded as a moderate rental. If each tenant bought his house on the instalment plan and paid for it in full, we would be not one step further on toward freedom from the everlasting mortgage. Ground rent is like the interest on a mortgage covering the whole United States. As a town could buy itself free in thirty years, why could not the farmers of a whole county or even a state buy themselves free, and not only buy themselves free but buy freedom for all their successors?

Suitable changes in our tax laws can help along the process. "The less we tax the improvements of the colonist, the more money he will have to spend. The more we tax the land, the less will be the selling price that we will have to pay for. This change will go on, but why wait? The opportunities are many for cooperative societies which could buy vast tracts of farming land including town sites and hold them for the benefit of all those who live there or ever shall live there. Under these conditions, if values really rise and rentals rise, those rents will be spent for the benefit of the people that pay for them. There need be no taxes and such a community will enjoy a revenue greater than that of any community heretofore established.

3. *Others* who spoke in informal discussion were Louis Budenz, Secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis; Mrs. Kelley, and Mrs. Frank M. Warren of Minneapolis.

## THE WAR AND THE I. W. W.

*Harold Callender, Editorial Staff, The Detroit News*

I should like to begin by stating briefly four cardinal facts about the Industrial Workers of the World, which will constitute my thesis today. I shall ask you to accept them tentatively for the purpose of the discourse.

(1) The Industrial Workers of the World are not a syndicalist group, but a labor union, and they function almost solely as such in the industrial field.

(2) The leaders and the transitory adherents of the I. W. W. constitute two distinct types, confusion of which is responsible for a large part of the misunderstanding of the movement. The leaders often are very intelligent and commanding personalities, professing syndicalist dogmas which they preach in season and out. The followers are made up of the lowest economic class in our society: they are outcasts to whom the I. W. W. propagandists appear the only persons with the slightest solicitude as to their welfare.

(3) This movement of revolt is a phenomenon that is the inevitable product of the bitterest industrial conditions, fertile to the spirit of revolution, and will entirely pass with the passing of those conditions.

(4) The I. W. W. is basically a state of mind, a rather primitive but perfecting natural mental outlook, and is comprehensible only as such.

If you will keep these four points in mind as we consider the industrial uprising of Western United States last year, the whole question will be very much clarified, even though you've been reading the newspapers.

*Bisbee and Butte*

Let us consider in a very sketchy fashion the amazing story of Bisbee, Ariz., and Butte, Mont., the two chief centers of the great industrial revolt of 1917.

Bisbee, Ariz., is an outpost of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, one of the largest business organizations in the country engaged in mining. As you get off the Phelps-Dodge railroad at Bisbee you see across the street from the station the offices of the Copper Queen Mining Company (Phelps-Dodge subsidiary). Up the side street half a block is the Phelps-Dodge Mercantile Company. Immediately beyond the Copper Queen offices is the Copper Queen Hotel, owned by the company. A few doors from the hotel is the Y. M. C. A., reputed to be also a Phelps-Dodge property. Over the hills are the mines, most of which are Phelps-Dodge. The officialdom of the town constitutes, for all practical purposes at least, a Phelps-Dodge subsidiary; and the local tradesmen are properly respectful of the dominating influence of the region. The buildings and many of the homes and nearly all of the land are owned by the mining interests. Trade unions of any kind are



not tolerated, whether among the waiters in the few small restaurants or among the several thousand men in the copper mines. The community is pervaded through and through with the savor of copper. A single observation of the character of Bisbee lends unimagined force to the theory of economic determinism. Here is an economically determined community.

None dares challenge, even in the smallest way, the will of the directors of the mines and consequently of the town. Even the American Federation of Labor's miners' union has failed completely to flourish in this infertile soil. All the forces that commonly make for democracy and fair play are stilled in Bisbee. There is just one exception, just one set of men who dared defy the ruling forces of the Phelps-Dodge principality—the half dozen foolish daredevils of the I. W. W.!

The result? Within a few weeks they had gained a large following among the under-paid and ill-treated miners. These men were not syndicalists, remember: they were suffering working men, and here was a possibility of union and relief. A strike followed, and more miners tentatively joined the forces of revolt. They met in the little city park and marched the streets in an ecstasy of ephemeral freedom, whilst the middle-class tradesmen and the mining officials brought in a carload of rifles over the company's railroad.

Then in July in the early hours of a morning several hundred armed men gathered quietly in the center of the town. A leader handed out lists of names and addresses and divided up the band. It dispersed in the direction of the scattered homes of the miners and other undesirable citizens. One by one the miners were dragged from their beds, some beaten, one killed. Here and there a protesting wife was knocked down. About 1,200 culprits were marched under guard, many half dressed and bleeding from skull wounds, to the ball park which served as an improvised bull-pen. A train of cattle cars drew up and the 1,200 were put inside. Dropped in the desert of New Mexico, they waited until the United States army at Columbus went to their aid with food and drink. Bisbee praised itself, started a fund to erect a monument to a gunman who was killed while breaking into a miner's house, and returned to its work again. Meanwhile armed guards patrolled all the roads leading into the town, issuing passports to those they thought should be allowed to enter; and the business men's committee established a military law of its own and acted as its own court-martial.

Bisbee was inordinately proud of itself, and the action of the town was lauded in newspapers from Boston to Seattle. The *Boston Transcript*, overrunning with joy at the event, compared Bisbee's action to that colonial piece of sabotage, and called it "Bisbee's tea party." Making the common error of taking newspaper sentiment for public sentiment, the town heard the plaudits of the nation and considered itself remarkably patriotic. Typical of the spirit of the local middle class was the polite woman in a photographer's shop who, a few days later,

showed me pictures of the "round-up." She smiled gleefully as she pointed to one photograph and said, "See, there's a machine gun on the roof."

The secretary of the business men's league proudly told me how he carried a rifle on the notable day and expressed a desire to hang an I. W. W. He promptly conceded there had not been the least violence on the part of the strikers, but was convinced there would have been had it not been forestalled by violence on the part of the business men.

Out at Columbus, N. M., I found the 1,200 deported men and spent an afternoon with them in their refugee camp, where they were being fed by the army. Many were poor immigrants who had come to America to escape the military despotisms which we are fighting today. None but a few were I. W. W.'s, and hardly any knew what the I. W. W. stood for. But scores said they would proceed to join the I. W. W. just as soon as they could. There were among them three very capable I. W. W. men who related to me a very dispassionate and rational story of the deportation. They weren't even particularly bitter. For I. W. W.'s expect such things.

The governor made an investigation. He was there when I was and told me he didn't see how he could do anything about the action which was, legally speaking, a crime. He didn't do anything; but last fall the mediation commission named by the President of the United States went to Bisbee and made a report stating the facts substantially as I have stated them. And last Wednesday (May 15, 1918) a federal grand jury at Tucson indicted twenty men whom the dispatches called the most prominent men in Arizona.

Butte, Mont., is much the same type of community, except that it is larger. Instead of 1,200 miners there were 12,000, and that may be one reason why there was no deportation, though it was threatened. At Bisbee there first came the strike, and then the union of the miners, followed by peacefulness on the part of the miners and violence on the part of their enemies. It was the same at Butte.

Though leaders of the newly-formed union at Butte were I. W. W. members, the union refused to affiliate with the I. W. W. when Frank Little, a national officer of the organization, went to Butte to invite them. Little's first visit brought the chief piece of violence. Little was taken from his room one night, dragged five miles at the end of a rope and hanged. Nearly all the working people, men and women, of the town formed a procession at his funeral, and over his coffin was placed that strange and revolutionary slogan of the I. W. W.: "An injury to one is an injury to all." As I traveled through the copper and lumber regions of the Northwest, I found hundreds of workmen wearing a picture of Little on their lapels, bearing that same uncanny slogan.

*Leaders and Followers*

To return to my first thesis, there are not more than a few score of real I. W. W.'s in the country. They are the leaders who seize and direct the forces of revolt already existing. They preach sabotage and syndicalism on street corners and frighten the business men and shock the newspapers. Their chief business is making bluffs which they cannot make good. They assail the government and rail against the army and threaten to tie up the harvest and the industries. But their followers, who cohere from a sheer sense of common interest, don't practice sabotage and don't interfere with harvests. Sabotage is almost entirely a myth propagated honestly enough by nervous business men and unthinking newspaper writers. Scientific studies have uniformly failed to discover it to any appreciable extent.

There were in 1910 some 4,000,000 unskilled and migratory workers in the United States who, because they were migratory, were without home or family, without citizenship privileges, practically without legal and social rights. Many of them were immigrants, shifted here and there by the exigencies of unemployment and the activity of the police. They are the lowest social stratum, being below all the standards of comfort, out of reach of the fruits of civilization. They soon sense their isolation from conventional society and a resentment that is normally static develops, when a large number are mobilized by an oppressive industry, into a dynamic and inevitable spirit of revolt which is aggravated by their ability to read and learn of the state of the more fortunate classes.

What the few I. W. W. men do is to capitalize this spirit, inform it and direct it to ends that are very effective and often highly salutary. It is not the fiery agitator that makes what are called I. W. W.'s; it is the industrial condition exemplified in exaggerated fashion at Bisbee, but not confined to Bisbee. Conditions make the spirit of revolt: the I. W. W. leader uses it. He gives forcible and commanding expression to this voice from the bottom of a stratified society.

If he were not present as a mouthpiece, another would be. The complete failure of repressive measures against labor unions is eloquent of this. At Butte the strikers were largely Finns and Italians, brought into the mines a decade ago to replace deported union men. At Bisbee the strikers were foreigners who had been imported to break an earlier strike. The unorganized immigrant who took the job of the evicted Colorado miner in 1904 became, in 1914, the embattled unionist around Ludlow. First the strike, then the union. Oust the union man and bring in the lowly immigrant, and soon you've got another union man. The conditions bring the union as surely as the spring brings the leaves, and no militia or armed guards can prevent it. The really successful defeats of labor unions have been at the factories, notably the motor plants at Detroit, where there are high wages and comparatively comfortable conditions. There the I. W. W. organizer finds barren ground.

*The Mind of the I. W. W.*

The I. W. W. follower may be considered a psychological by-product of present-day industrial civilization. In no other way can he be understood. The absurd fallacies prevalent regarding him are due to the lazy, complacent method of viewing him from the standpoint of conventional morality and upper class preconceptions. But when you are examining a man who is outside the pale of the fortunate classes and consequently outside their point of view, you must study him in a different manner.

The I. W. W. adherent is not patriotic: he is not anti-patriotic. Engrossed in providing part of the physical necessities of life for himself, and encountering opposition in the process, he is naturally rather unenthusiastic about the state. We are prone to forget that patriotism rises normally according to the status of the citizen. And when the mine owners put flags on the staffs and chase union men out of town at the point of guns, the I. W. W. may be permitted to reflect a bit on the nature of patriotism. I don't believe he was against the government, but he entertained at times a suspicion that the government was, passively at least, against him. But the attitude of federal officials in the last year has tended to counteract this feeling. When the woodsmen in the Northwest were striking for the eight-hour day, Secretary Baker, intent upon getting spruce for airplanes, asked the employers to grant the eight-hour day in the interest of justice and the prosecution of the war. The employers refused, and the strike spread to the shipbuilding yards on the Pacific coast. And when the mine owners at Butte announced they would flood the mines before recognizing the union, the strikers began to doubt the patriotism of their masters, and urged the government to operate the mines, promising their co-operation on any terms.

Today the same I. W. W. followers who were striking a year ago are working steadily for the government, cutting trees for airplane wood in the state of Washington. They are working under the direction of Col. Disque, who won them to the support of the government by granting the eight-hour day and decent camp conditions. The result is that he has under him several thousand patriotic I. W. W.'s.

*Myths About the I. W. W.*

The utterly fantastic notions of the I. W. W. that are held by a great many people are a notable example of that singular trait of the collective mind which turns some ludicrous fancies into faithfully accepted truths. The basis of the prevalent notion is partly in the honest belief of many employers that any labor union strikes at the root of our democracy, and partly in the exaggerated susceptibility to hysteria that accompanies war-time conditions. The employers and the newspapers have adeptly taken advantage of this hysteria.

Most of the antagonism to the I. W. W. in the West has been by those who are equally opposed to the trade union. In fact, the pres-



ence of a large I. W. W. following is due chiefly to the breakdown of the trade union under onslaughts of highly organized employers; and the Western American Federation unions, recognizing this, have pretty generally supported the I. W. W. as a labor union to which they were in spirit allied.

In Arizona and other mining states trade unionists and all who sympathize with them are commonly designated as I. W. W.'s or "wobblies." This came to light eloquently at the President's commission's hearing at Phoenix, Ariz. W. B. Wilson, United States Secretary of Labor, remarked that he himself belonged to the miners' union, and the witness, aghast, stopped to ask if any other members of the commission belong to the I. W. W. It is this ignorance and stupidity that is being assiduously spread by the newspapers of the United States, large and small. Thus they are materially hampering the government's efforts to settle the war labor problems on a basis of common understanding and treatment with labor unions. The President's commission spoke very plainly on this subject when it said: "Too often there is a glaring inconsistency between our democratic purposes in this war abroad and the autocratic conduct of some of those guiding industry at home."

#### *Conclusion*

To meet this problem the federal government, for the first time, has evolved a constructive labor policy, and has set about obtaining a modicum of democracy in the industries in this country at the same time that we are defending European attacks on democracy. This is the hopeful note in the labor situation today, the result of the fact that we have for the first time in several decades a liberal-minded man in the White House.

When the world is made safe for democracy, industrially as well as politically, there will be no economic serfdom and consequently there will be no I. W. W.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

*Mr. James H. Dahm*, representing the United States Department of Labor, also spoke at this section meeting.

*Mrs. Florence Kelley*, chairman of the Division, in the discussion of Mr. Dahm's address said: Beside the varied activities of the Department of Labor enumerated by our first speaker, the recent admirable work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics under Commissioner Royal Meeker deserves mention. This bureau has published in its monthly Review the report of an inquiry into the cost of living of women in the District of Columbia. For this investigation the National Consumers' League helped to get the appropriation. The report became the basis of the bill for a minimum wage commission for the District of Columbia which is now on the calendar of the House of Representatives. If this bill becomes a law during the present Congress, this success will be due, in large measure, to the scientific work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Let me reinforce what the last speaker said of the outrage of enlisting young women to serve the public in the utterly unfitting occupation of car conductors. A bill was introduced in New York prohibiting employment of women at night, or over ten hours by day, and restricting ages, but public

opinion has been so perverted by the lavish advertising of the odious corporations, that the bill could not be brought out of committee. Women's votes, however, will for the first time count in the election of the next legislature. Leaders will recognize certain women's power only when they themselves are elected to stay at home. The records of the present legislators will be made an important part of the campaign next fall, and more cheerful tidings may be hoped for a year hence.

Experiments have been made over the whole country by transportation companies, and by building owners, to see what the public will stand in introducing young women to these occupations. In New York, a law was passed prohibiting girls under 21 working day or night in messenger service. An investigation by the National Child Labor Committee had secured a law years before, prohibiting boys under 16 by day, or under 21 by night, from messenger service.

For fifteen years the Western Union has experimented to see whether public opinion would tolerate girl carriers. In Cambridge 15 years ago, when girls were introduced in this service President Eliot found an eighteenth century rule excluding women from the college yard, and advised the telegraph companies that girl messengers would not be admitted to college property. None have been employed in Cambridge since. The community everywhere should decline to receive messages sent by girl messengers. Telephone delivery can be largely substituted, and where this is impossible old men, or soldiers having one arm, or one eye, but able to do the work can be employed.

### AN INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM FOR AFTER THE WAR\*

*Roger N. Baldwin, New York, Vice Chairman Division on Industrial and Economic Problems*

The challenge of the war to examine the bases of our entire industrial system makes it desirable to formulate what we conceive to be the essential features of a program for industrial organization after the war. Once before a similar division of the Conference presented an industrial program under the chairmanship of Owen Lovejoy in Cleveland, 1912. That report became the basis of industrial planks in the Progressive Party platform, adopted a few months later.

We now need to examine the effects of the war on industrial organization, and the new relations of government, capital and labor. Our statement should definitely relate the field of social work to the larger democratic movements in labor and politics.

Several preliminary outlines have already been proposed by various members of the division and many suggestions were made at division meetings. These will be submitted to a group to be selected to draft a carefully prepared program. A rough statement of their general character with the problems follows:

#### 1. *Industry During the War*

Only as the necessities of the war require, will changes in industrial organization be possible before the peace settlement. But the forerun-

\*This preliminary report is a summary by Mr. Baldwin of conclusions arrived at in meetings of the Division during the Conference, though not adopted by the Division or subscribed to in all details by individuals who participated in the discussions.

ners of greatly increased public control over the conditions of labor and the processes of industry are the present efforts to maintain and extend in government work, high standards of hours of labor, wages, union shops and sanitary conditions; the adjustment of labor disputes through the federal government; the new cooperative federal agencies for the control of industry; and the definition of a national labor policy. It is for social workers to encourage and promote these improved standards of labor.

### 2. *The Peace Settlement*

The war aims of the United States as formulated by the President, set forth the essential principles of a democratic peace on which a new social order may be constructed. The aspirations of those who would perpetuate a world organized for war and exploitation must be effectually defeated for all time. That can be done by the persistent support of the war aims of the United States and of the democratic groups throughout the world.

### 3. *After the War*

No better statement of the new day toward which we may look so confidently has been made than by the President in his letter to the New Jersey Democrats, March 20th. Mr. Wilson says:

Every sign of these terrible days of war and revolutionary change, when economic and social forces are being released upon the world, whose effect no political seer dare venture to conjecture, bids us search our hearts through and through and make them ready for the birth of a new day—a day, we hope and believe, of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women, and of greater safety and opportunity for children.

The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all more political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action.

A similar prophesy is voiced by the committee of the British Labor Party appointed to draft labor's program for after the war (Feb., 1918):

We need to beware of the patchwork. The view of the Labor Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself . . . . We of the Labor Party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor Party.

This British program, with the program of revolutionary Russia, forecasts a complete reorganization of our economic order. Both challenge the institutions of private property in land and socially necessary industries. Both challenge all autocratic or highly centralized government in their demand that the workers control the industries in which they work.

We may approach the new order by a consideration of the following basic problems:

### *1. Industrial Problems*

(a) The first essential is a sufficient production of goods to insure a decent living for every human being. This can be approached only by a complete reorganization of the ownership and use of land; by maximum production with the least expenditure of hours and energy; by the creation of only enough surplus wealth to care for contingencies and prospective needs of a calculable future; by the elimination of economic waste.

(b) The second essential is just distribution of the wealth produced, so that every man, woman and child may receive goods according to his needs or services. To this end, the competitive system of industry must be replaced by cooperative systems of production and distribution; all opportunities for personal profit through the labor of others must be eliminated; remuneration must be based upon service and need alone, to be democratically determined. Incidental to this and leading up to such an industrial order must be developed increased taxation upon incomes, inheritances and land; public control of all business and the creation of a national standard of living through the establishment of minimum wages, maximum hours of work and insurance to protect against the contingencies of illness, accident, unemployment, old age.

(c) The third essential is the solution of the problem of industrial control. The relation between capital, labor and the state will undoubtedly work out toward the increasing power of labor industrially organized. The approach of this will doubtless be through increasing public ownership of basic industries with increasing control of operation of such industries by the workers engaged in them. Only by such a development can there be avoided the almost universal tendency to centralization of control either in public or private hands which constitutes the greatest menace to industrial democracy.

(d. The fourth essential is the realization of an international programme which will make impossible the exploitation of the labor of one country by the people of another. To that end an adjustment of the immigration and tariff policies of all the nations must be effected in the interest of ultimate free trade and the ultimate free migration of peoples any where on the earth. Without such an international program worked out hand in hand with internal policies, no far reaching changes in the basis of industrial organization can be realized.

### *2. Political Problems*

Throughout the world after the war the age-old problem of the relation of the individual to the state will take on new significance. Military or industrial conscription, the extreme exercise of the power of the state over the individual, presents a problem that must be squarely faced. In the United States we will have immediately before us the problems involved in the relation of the federal government to the states and to the local political units; and the relation of the constitution and the



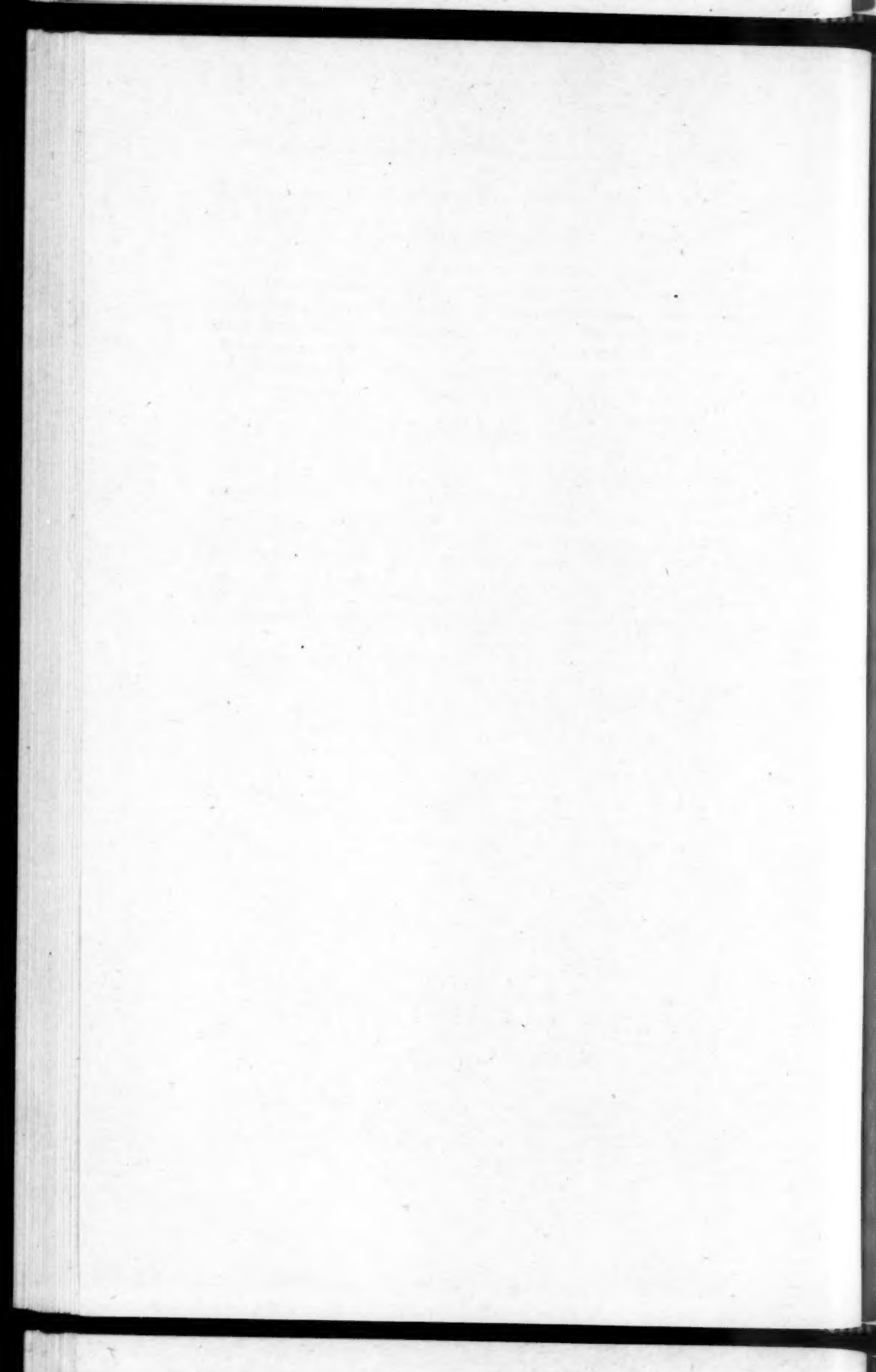
supreme court to the political changes necessary to secure complete industrial freedom.

*The Place of Organized Social Work*

This then seems to us to be the background on which the future industrial society is to be wrought out in detail. The share of social workers in creating such a society can be definitely helpful. Individual social workers have the opportunity to identify themselves with those labor and political movements which seek to achieve these changes. In their daily tasks there is an opportunity to contribute to a better understanding of the evils involved and the proposals advanced to meet them. To this end we suggest the following:

1. Learning the facts about industrial evils first hand and getting them across to the public.
2. Interpreting the purposes of labor and the radicals to the public.
3. Helping socialize and democratize the public service, by getting more social and industrial activities under public control.
4. Assisting in getting recognition for labor and radical movements by bringing them into all cooperative efforts for general community service.
5. Studying constantly the nature of our present industrial society, the conflict of interests between economic classes and the solutions which will make impossible both class and conflict.

These are not comparable of course to the efforts of mass movements of the workers. They do, however, represent a genuine contribution to the great cause of industrial freedom.



**VII.**  
**THE LOCAL COMMUNITY**

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

### *Chairman*

Charles C. Cooper,  
Director, The Kingsley Association, Pittsburgh.

### *Vice Chairman*

William H. Davenport,  
General Secretary, Maryland Prisoners' Aid Association, Baltimore.

### *Acting Secretary*

Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad,  
Department of Social Service, Margaret Morrison School for Girls, Pittsburgh.

George A. Bellamy.....Cleveland	Rev. M. H. Lichliter.....Cleveland
Howard S. Braucher.....New York	Mary E. McDowell.....Chicago
Prof. L. M. Bristol...Morgantown, W. Va.	William E. McLennan.....Buffalo
G. L. Button.....Red Bank, N. J.	Wilbur C. Phillips.....Cincinnati
John Collier.....New York	Clarence Poe.....Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. T. L. Harris.....Oxford, O.	Prof. Arthur J. Todd.....Minneapolis
Prof. George E. Haynes.....Nashville	Martha Van Rensselaer.....Ithaca, N. Y.
John Ihlden.....Philadelphia	Mary Workman.....Los Angeles
Francis Ingram.....Louisville	



## TRANSACTIONS

At the meeting of the National Conference at Kansas City, May 15-22, 1918, one hundred seventeen delegates registered as members of this Division. Eight meetings for discussion were held as follows:

	PAGES
May 16, 3:30 p. m., "Mobilizing the Local Community" ..	458
May 17, 9:15 a. m., "The Local Community and the Military Training Camps" .....	469
May 18, 11:00 a. m. "The Village Community" .....	473
May 19, 8:15 p. m., "Americanization" .....	435
May 20, 9:15 a. m., "The Negro and the Local Community"	481
May 21, 11:00 a. m., "The Rural Community" .....	485
May 22, 11:00 a. m., "Special Community Units" .....	495

The meeting on May 22nd at 9:15 was a joint session with Division IX on The Organization of Social Forces.

Two adjourned meetings for discussion were held.

On May 15th at 12:45 p. m. the Divisions met at luncheon, after which a business session was held.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Cooper, chairman of the Division.

Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad of Pittsburgh was elected secretary for the duration of the Conference.

On motion the chairman was directed to appoint a Committee on Nominations. The following were appointed: Elwood Street, Louisville, chairman; Corinne Fonde, Houston; Dora Berres, Los Angeles.

The exact definition of the local community was the subject of considerable discussion.

On motion a committee consisting of Sidney Teller of Pittsburgh, George Eisler of Cincinnati and Mildred Dyer of Galveston were authorized to arrange for a roundtable discussion of topics not covered by the published program, subject to approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was made directly to the general Conference at its business session, recommending organization according to the list printed in Part B, sec. 3, appendix of this volume.

(Signed) CHARLES C. COOPER, Chairman.  
IRENE FARNHAM CONRAD, Secretary.

## THE NECESSITY FOR CHANGES IN AMERICANIZATION METHODS

*Charles C. Cooper, Chairman of the Division on the Local Community;  
Director of The Kingsley Association, Pittsburgh*

Not long ago I heard an educator speak about the immigrant. He hesitated. He was afraid to express himself fully. Finally he said that he believed all speakers should be interned for the war, because in the present state of public feeling they were so easily misunderstood and misrepresented. For this reason I am asking your forgiveness for one personal note. I have not one drop of German or Austrian blood in me, and I believe this war must be fought out to a conclusion. On the other hand, I cannot accept plans in mass and I refuse to think by rote. I cannot substitute patriotic zeal for reason and judgment. I am not willing to give up the mental acts of discrimination and differentiation which I have been taught to consider so essential to right thinking.

I am somewhat afraid that those who are preparing some of the plans for our war-time Americanization know little of the social forces involved, and less of the history of the world that can interpret them. I do not believe that men *can ever be made into citizens through external compulsion*. Citizenship must come *from within*.

I fear there is a national danger threatening, the generation of fear in the hearts of our foreign born, their alienation, with consequent check to the all-important process of assimilation. Possibly a national tragedy may be averted by careful thinking and courageous speaking on the part of social workers who know the immigrant at first hand.

I hold no brief for the disloyal citizen, whether he be native or foreign born. If a citizen, he should take willingly his share of responsibility, and duty; if not a citizen, he should observe the duties of the guest. I do speak, however, for that mass of foreign born citizens who are suffering now in the general charges of treason, and who are *loyal to the core*.

### *How Americans Are Made*

The naturalization laws and regulations of the United States state that, "An alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States in the following manner and not otherwise." Then follow pages of printed matter relating to form and manner in which such alien may become a citizen—cold, formal, legal. Probably this cannot be otherwise, but in no place do I find an apprehension of the emotional stress with which the adult foreign-born seeks admission as a citizen; the psychological crisis of his life wherein he throws off allegiance to the old world and its forms of government and takes upon himself strange responsibilities of a new world and its government. I cannot forget the face of an Hungarian assistant in a little basement barber shop as he showed me

the paper which made him a citizen, and as he declared, with face all aglow, that he would not take \$1,000 for that paper.

Nor can I find in our legal procedure anything which shows appreciation of the culture and learning and ability of the races which come to our shores; no thought of a possible Galileo or Goethe, of the poet or statesman, artist or musician which these strains may bring to us.

Is it not natural, therefore, that the foreigner in large part should come to think of American citizenship as cold, formal, and *not shot through with emotion and sentiment*, as is allegiance to a foreign prince or ruler, not so hallowed by a wealth of tradition and folk-lore?

Some time ago it was felt that the formal legal procedure of Americanization was insufficient, and then began the educational classes in English and citizenship. Again, there was no apprehension of the emotional state of the foreigner. There was no attempt to lay before him the fact that he was to become a real and vital part of a new nation; and that his contribution to this nation, conscious or unconscious, would make for the weal or woe of the new country that his children would call "fatherland."

#### *How Foreigners Test in Life's Crucible*

How many of us view the foreigner as a creature of lower order, uneducated, dumb, necessarily living on a lower plane, a "wop," "polak," "hunkie," "dago" and "sheeny." We must come to view the foreign born as the one in *The House by the Side of the Road* viewed those that passed: "They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong, wise, foolish—so am I."

Recently a young Italian coal miner came to us at Kingsley House. I could not gather from his broken English what he wanted until I caught the words, "sweetheart in poor house." This gave me the first clue. His sweetheart was a beautiful young Italian girl who had found her way to our convalescent home in the country. There had been a slip, a mistake; you social workers know what I mean when I say there was not much moral turpitude in the matter—she was at our convalescent home with a three weeks old baby. We knew the man who had caused this condition.

We took this new-found, by-gone sweetheart of the girl out to the convalescent home and he met her.

"She my sweetheart in the old country," he said. "I find her now in new country. I marry her."

"What about the baby?" we asked him.

Here was a test, severe for any man, and yet we were placing it upon this ignorant foreign-born coal miner of Western Pennsylvania.

He hesitated a moment, and he considered the ways and customs of far-off Italy, the Law of the Knife which cleansed dishonor; the hopes and aspirations with which he had come to the new land to hunt his sweetheart and to found a home, the new country itself and its strange



ways. Then, too, he pondered that gossamer thing, the love of a woman, intangible and yet with the strength of the tempered steel.

The words came slowly, laden with deep emotion—"I love her in old country. She love me in old country. I love her in new country and she love me in new country; I marry her. I take baby and raise baby like my own; I move near Kingsley House so that you can see I raise baby like my own."

I do not know what you think about the way this ignorant alien man met this test, but for myself I felt like going out before him and calling to the passersby to bow their heads—the place was holy.

Throughout the length and breadth of this United States these alien born are living for the most part in neglected little slumped-off places in our industrial centers, as if land were so scarce we could not allow them more than tenement house space.

I had the honor to eat Passover supper with one of our Jewish immigrant families. During the services all at the table arose and held up a cup of wine and the old grandmother of the family went to the door and opened it wide. This, they explained to me, was the Messiah's cup and if he were outside he would find them awaiting him. I wonder, if the Messiah should come to many of our Russian Jewish American tenement homes, what excuse we of America could give to such housing?

We find often that the alien born are exploited further by company "pluck me" stores, which immediately draw back to themselves the wages or checks which have been issued. Some of the large corporations, I am informed, are now placing these company stores in the welfare department. This is as it should be and marks a decided advance that is bound to bring a large return.

### *Crude Exploitation*

We can never make real citizens of the immigrant when we forever lay down a line between the foreign born and the American born. Not long ago I was speaking at a small university in one of our industrial states. I came down from the beautiful hill where the college campus so proudly rested. Below was the ordinary business section, and then a deep ravine which separated the third section, where the foreigners lived. Those of us who have gone to college in small towns know how the baseball and football teams were the idols of these towns. In the college town I have described, the young men of that third group of residents, the foreign colony, took pride in going regularly to the college games and *in cheering for the outside team*. There had been no assimilation.

We find the foreigners in the lowest courts of justice, in the courts of our magistrates and aldermen, always seeking justice and rarely finding it, unless it be coupled with fidelity to this or that political party.

I found a foreign man holding a legal lease to a little shack in an alley way. The landlord desired to use this place for a house of ill-fame. He refused to receive the rent and then made his complaint in the

magistrate's court, of nonpayment of rent. The foreigner was doomed not only to lose his rights under the lease, but to have his few household articles sold out to pay court costs. This procedure had been almost concluded when our settlement house came in touch with the case. The magistrate's court was warned and desisted. The landlord not only apologized, but gave the foreigner \$10 for his trouble. This was not done, however, through any sense of justice to the foreigner, but merely to the fact that their "game was up."

Can we teach an adult foreign male some little English and civil government; admit him in a formal way to citizenship in the United States; allow his family to live a foreign life, eat a foreign food, speak a foreign language in a neglected and forgotten portion of our community; and then say he is Americanized?

I know a woman who passes Kingsley House with a huge pack of shawls and knitted wear, for she belongs to a group of foreign women who make their living peddling. Day after day I have seen her sit on the curbstone in front of Kingsley House wearily resting before she made the last part of the steep hillside. Across her brow is the black cloth band which betokens one who speaks the ancient Arabic. One day this Syrian woman plodded down the hill into the tenement house, which is tucked above the great boulevard, where thousands of Americans whisk by in their automobiles entirely unmindful of the simple folk that live and die in the motley group of buildings just above them. She went into her home-room. Later the door opened gently and our Kingsley nurse came in to her.

There was little response from the Syrian woman. She felt that she was at the end of things, and finally in anger and in a desire for expression that could not be further restrained she spoke in her crude way, which I can only paraphrase,—words more tragic than anything I have read in history or fiction. "What is this new world way of doing things that you tell me? Life?" and she shrugged her shoulders. "Life is but a pack upon my back, a baby in my arms and one yet unborn."

#### *Nationalizing Our Local Observations*

Curious enough, my own group of social workers have sensed this matter for a long time,—I mean the social settlement workers. They have sensed it, however, from a local standpoint and not from a national one. In this national crisis they are rubbing their eyes and saying to one another: "By good fortune we have laid well our foundations, although in ignorance of their national import."

While in the past the settlement house has endeavored to Americanize the *whole family* and while its fundamental creed has been that the *whole group* must partake of the common race life, now they must intensify their efforts because the work *must necessarily* be done (*if it be done at all*) where the foreigner lives, in the *local community*.

Two important groups in America have failed to grasp the problem of the foreign born, capital and labor.

Capital has needed cheap labor in order to build our railways, to man our mills, to work our mines and to do the other thousand and one great tasks that require manual effort. The necessity for Americanization was the concern of the government. The fact that these foreign groups were living on a lower plane than similar American groups was one that did not primarily interest them. In this national crisis, however, with the destruction of property, growth of sabotage and the rise of the I. W. W., the truth is being pressed home that something more is demanded than the paying of wages sufficient for the lowest standard of living.

I wish it were possible for me to turn now to the American labor group and paint the other side of the picture, but I cannot. Whatever may have been the academic attitude of the American labor group as to immigration, their attitude toward the immigrant (after he was here) should have been one of helpful, constructive effort. I fail, however, to see any indication of a serious desire on the part of American labor to make the foreigner share fully in the race life of this common country. Nothing has saddened me more in my settlement house experience than foreign skilled mechanics doing common laboring work because they could not get adjusted to their right work in the new country. The American labor group, however, in this present crisis, sees something of the national aspect of this problem and we may hope for a broader policy.

Coupled with the determination that this foreign element shall become a real part of our life, must be a less proud attitude with regard to our American culture, and a more willing disposition to receive from these foreign groups the contributions which they can make to our common life.

One social settlement worker in a Polish district was not successful. Finally she wrote to a Polish worker in another city and asked what she should do with her Poles. Three glorious words came back,—“Let them sing.” Can the poor dumb Polak make America a singing nation? The Italian immigrant in my own section will save up his pennies for months to hear grand opera. Can the Italian substitute good music for our own rag time? Can the German element give us thrifty, home-loving people? Can the Russian make us simple-minded and religious? Can the Norse give us singleness of purpose and sturdiness of frame? They all have prominent national characteristics which may perform a vital part in our new civilization.

I wish our government and our country knew, as we social workers know, the great asset in war and peace that our alien born can be to us.

#### *Example of Failure in Americanization*

A Russian came to America one day, with his old violin that had been handed down to him in his family. He played first violin in one of our large orchestras. He loved his work and was proud that he was carrying on the art that had been so long in his own family.

Difficulties caused the orchestra to disband, and he was left stranded

in a new country. He drifted about for a time trying to secure work and then went to New York city. Still he was unable to find work, and lacked sufficient funds and friends to join the musician's union. Finally he was reduced to poverty.

He came to my notice in our settlement house in Pittsburgh. I talked to him several times and was amazed to find that his love for music and pride in his own gift had gone. He told me simply that he had come to America with the fondest hopes, but there was not a chance for such as he. In America money alone counted. With money he might become a great artist. Without money, ability and talent counted for nothing. He told me that his love for music had turned to hate, that he never wanted to play again, and that if business and money were the ideals of America then he would follow such ideals.

He threw all his energy into the new work which was secured, although it proved of doubtful character. He was to take advantage of the foreign groups in any claims against the corporation that employed him—to obtain by one means or another evidence that would assist his employers in combating such claims.

Some time afterward I saw him. There was nothing of the musician about him. He wore a smart-looking, loud-checked business suit. He was quick and alert, full of slang, and exhibited the cock-sure manner of too many of our own people. He told me of his business success and he was proud—I hesitate to say it—that he had been Americanized! *America had failed*, and in this process we had changed a talented, ambitious young man with the gift of the gods in his hands to a creature of prey.

#### *Mis-education*

Next to the public schools, the two agencies in America that are doing most for the education of the foreigner are the moving picture shows and the public press. We have always considered these agencies from the moral standpoint. It would seem wise in the future for us to consider them from the standpoint of Americanization. What picture of American life are they presenting to the immigrant? Each week there comes to my desk the multigraphed copy of the film eliminations by the state censor. I have been amazed at the evident attempt to drag in, forcibly, the vicious and criminal and lewd. When one thinks of the thousands of foreign born and their children who are accepting such scenes and plots as typical American, what will the end be?

With respect to the public press, the same conditions obtain. The abnormal is written up in scare heads on the front page and cried out by newsboys on the streets. This is what is accepted by many an immigrant as the desirable and proper thing according to American standards.

The three living Americans who have occupied the highest position in our country are President Wilson and Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. They have different natures, they will necessarily advocate different policies, and yet the mass of American citizens know that all



three are earnest, sincere and patriotic. If, in our late political campaigns, however, the foreign born citizen should accept what was daily printed and said about these three men as the truth or as typical American, what would be the reaction with reference to his Americanization? What would he believe of America and American ideals?

### *The Way of Genuine Adoption*

My main thought has been to show the necessity for a change in our process of Americanization, and to leave to the speakers that follow me the expansion of our general theme of Americanization.

I should like to suggest the elimination from public and private use, of the term that I have employed so frequently in this paper,—the word *Americanization*. Americanization savors too much of denationalization. Many races have resisted for centuries, and resisted successfully, every effort at denationalization. The minute we attempt to Prussianize or Russianize a group, that group reacts with equal force against such attempt. The Poles, the citizens of Alsace-Lorraine, the Slavs of Austro-Hungary are examples well known today. Without external compulsion these races may become assimilated with other races, as in the United States. They thus *permit* what the force of centuries *could not compel*.

The term, Americanization, seems to me to be freighted down with the mistakes of the old world. Its elimination is a matter of wisdom.

I should like to suggest the word "adoption"; the American commonwealth shall *adopt* the immigrant as a citizen, and on the other hand the foreigner shall adopt this nation as his own country. Final citizenship papers should be given but once a year, upon the *American Adoption Day*, when everything that can intensify and hallow the process should be done. This American Adoption Day should be the greatest of our holidays. Pageants, music, oratory, all should lend significance to it. The old folk-lore of the immigrant should be carefully studied and festivals and pageants be arranged so that this same folk-lore shall extend and bear its fruit in the New World. America as the Promised Land of the Jewish immigrant is a well known example.

Across the fertile land of Africa they say the trail is marked by the whitened bones of the slave. Across our own beloved land we know there is another trail, the way of the immigrant, marked with lives wrecked by the work of the white slaver, the exploiter, the loan shark, the scheming politician, the rooming-house agent, the employment agency, the sweat shop, the conniving magistrate, and other beasts of prey.

This immigrant trail must be made safe, perfectly safe, for all time. And to this end the Immigration Service of the Government must be extended, broadened, and socialized so that it can fully safeguard and protect the immigrant. Under direct federal supervision must be placed all agencies that touch the immigrant. Justice must be had for the asking. The cheating and exploiting agents and agencies must be rooted out or kept within bounds,—so that all may know that here in the United States



the immigrant as a visitor is the *guest of the nation*; and as a citizen he becomes automatically and with all that the word implies, the *ward of the nation*.

Thus far I have spoken as an American; but there is a task before America with respect to the foreigner, greater than the domestic problem of his assimilation. The international neighborhoods,—*local communities*, which are scattered from one end of this country to the other, are not only of interest as experimental stations in American democracy, but are of world-wide significance.

God "hath made of one blood all nations of men." Brotherhood will not come from treaties, systems of economics or morality; neither will it be found in science, in art, nor in the pledges of fraternities—it is an attitude of mind. When in these international neighborhoods, within our settlement houses, and community centers, and school buildings, the folk of the different races *work and play together*, the way is being paved for the time when brotherhood will have an international significance. Jewish women have dressed dolls at Kingsley House to be given away at our Kingsley Christmas. Syrian boys of different faiths have fought battles going to and from our house and yet played and worked together therein.

*To work and to play together.* Ah! That is the basis of permanent peace. Possibly it is a dream—and yet I am thankful we still can dream in this age of war—that America, in solving the problem of democracy in her international neighborhoods may solve in a larger way the problem of democracy for the world, and may hasten the time when we may have, in peace and accord, "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

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## OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND THE WAR

*Edith Terry Bremer, New York, Executive of Department on Work for Foreign-born Women, War Work Council National Board  
Young Women's Christian Association.*

Whatever this country was before the war, it still is. The fact of war has only shown us sharply of what stuff we really are. Of all the revelations, the most startling seems to be that we are, above everything else, an *international people*. Our communities, from East to West, and North to South, are inter-nationality communities. Our great new American army is an international army. History and ninety-eight years of immigration statistics have long ago revealed it to a few, but it has taken an international War to prove it to the whole nation.

The realization of this stupendous fact is essential for any student of social problems. Too long have social workers been content with gross ignorance of the facts, and even now we do not adequately adjust our methods to act upon the facts we have. Up to the entrance of the United States into the war, "immigration" had quite dropped out of

mind, and consequently off programs, as a "problem" at all. Every one said, "Immigration has stopped," and gave a sigh of relief, as they said it. As the war has not changed the "foreign-ness" of the foreign, nor the internal internationalism of America, so has it also not changed the fact of migration.

*War Has Not Stopped Immigration.*

Immigration continues and new foreigners have been steadily coming, throughout the years of the war. Government immigration records show that from the outbreak of war, July, 1914, to January 1st, 1918, there have been admitted 978,275 immigrant aliens. For ten months of this period the United States itself was at war. The number includes 32 nationalities who are non-English speaking. The people scattered into 48 different states. And the whole number, of nearly one million souls, are immigrant-aliens, which means that they are not returning citizens nor the immediate families of citizens, and that they have come to remain and to make a home. Otherwise they would not be "alien" and they would not be "immigrant." The Commissioner-general of Immigration states that when non-immigrant aliens are included the numbers must be increased 20%. In the month of March just passed Ellis Island port alone admitted two thousand men and women, despite the winter, war and submarines.

The war has not only not stopped the old immigration, but it has occasioned new migrations from South America and from Mexico. The entire Southwest is becoming acutely conscious of fresh migrations up from Mexico. The government itself is taking a hand and bringing thousands over the border, and permitting their families to follow them. Socially minded men and women from Texas have visited us in New York to inquire how to organize *international work* and have stated that the biggest problem of the Southwest is going to be their *foreign problem*. Although Bohemians have lived in Texas for sixty years, and Italians and Russians have many colonies, it is the Mexican, the new "immigrant" they mean. From South America, also, emigration appears to have set out as it always has from Europe—the young men come first, then the young girls, and then the middle aged men and families, and after all the few old folks. In a few months the cities around New York harbor have become conscious of Spanish-speaking communities, although the migration is still in the young stage. The three "International Institutes for Foreign Born Women" (of the Young Women's Christian Association) in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Jersey City have each had to add to their staffs of foreign-language workers a Spanish-speaking worker.

But stranger than the continuance of old migrations, and the springing forth of new, is that the war has switched the established currents of old migration. No longer does Slavic immigration come through

historic Ellis Island in the East, but through the island of the future—Angel Island, on the Pacific!

### *The Army Situation.*

Whoever would look into the heart of our people to perceive what we are, let him visit the army. Just because it is a democratically chosen army it is a sure measure and an exact picture of our nation. Have you watched the departing draft units out of your own city or town? If you gazed into the faces of other boys than those you knew, then you know it is well named the "New American Army." There is not much of the "old" America in it! It is indeed the army of the new America and it presents the greatest international tangle the world has ever seen. Visit any cantonment of this army in the East, West, North or South. Khaki, can make all the world look brothers—at first. But if your gaze passes the uniform and studies the faces, you will be astonished to see that racial groups are clearly distinguishable. Provost-Marshall General Crowder reports that in the first draft there were 46,732 men having only their first papers toward citizenship; and 49,203 men belonging to allied countries; with 15,135 belonging to Austria-Hungary and other co-allies to the enemy; and 11,206 belonging to neutral nations. The Greeks proudly claim they have given 50,000 men to the American army. And any Pole will tell you the Poles alone number 100,000, quite apart from the Polish army under the White Eagle, which is busily recruiting throughout our cities.

More startling than the nationalities within our army is the remarkable fact that thousands of the men do not speak English at all! And more astounding than anything else is that the government continues to act and to run its machine as if they did.\* There is not a record form, thus far, in the camp system which permits the recording of any fact of man's education, language, or experience that has been developed *outside* of America. I have a friend who slept next a man in Camp Grant who was a Bohemian. He was a graduate of Prague University, had been a lieutenant in the Austrian army and had seen service. But he did not know English. He had *volunteered*, as so many fine Bohemians and Slovaks have done, to fight against their ancient enemy, Austria. But at Camp Grant he was kept at washing dishes and was slated to be

\*This was delivered the middle of May. Now at its date of print, in September, I am happy to be able to refute my own statements regarding the situation of foreign soldiers in the army. The conditions as described had become so acute that early in July the War Department entered upon a plan for meeting the situation which is so intelligent on the conditions, and so liberal in sympathy, that it must command the unbounded respect of social students. A Foreign Soldier Sub-Section is at work under the Morale Section of the Military Intelligence Branch of the War Department. Morale Officers are established in every camp. Foreigners are assembled in companies of their own, language by language. Petty officers are being trained who are of their own nationality, and as the Chief of the Foreign Soldier Sub-Section put it, "are corking good Americans." This is only the beginning of the plans contemplated for the development and education of foreign soldiers. The War Department is far ahead of social workers in its handling of the international problem. Write to Lieut. H. A. Horgan, Chief of Foreign Soldier Sub-Section, Military Intelligence Branch, Department of War, Washington, D. C., for a description.—E. T. B.

taught to cook. He tried hard to show that he did know something about military matters. He would try to demonstrate how Austrian soldiers are drilled, for he was keenly interested in the differences. But no—when the officer barked his orders the Bohemian could not understand and always got orders mixed. So he was classed as "a sloppy soldier" and transferred south as soon as his ambitious young officer could get rid of him. Thanks to this transfer system, the southern camps have an even larger proportion of non-English speaking soldiers than the camps near the industrial centers. The Bohemian ex-officer is in Texas now and is still being taught to cook. He writes, in French, that, heart-broken as he is over not being permitted to be a soldier, he has one comfort out of the situation. At least he will be saved from meeting his brother in the trenches in France, the brother who is compelled against his will to fight for Austria. In another camp another friend tells of a high class Persian, who is a Ph.D. and a poet; and also a volunteer and also in the school for cooks. A Persian!

There are in no camp, as yet, any official provisions for interpreters. Occasionally an officer has grown desperate and picked some bright, capable private who seemed to have a lot of languages, to talk for him. Naturally enough, it very often is a bright young Russian Jew, and the American officer wonders why he can't manage his "Polak" men. These interpreters are incidental, however. Mostly the officers just worry along and jump at the first chance to pass the foreigners on, for the whole squad hates the man who holds them back. I asked an officer from Upton what he thought the foreigners thought about it, and how in the world they got along without understanding anything. "Poor devils!" he said. "They don't understand. I just do the best I can, but I guess they don't know that!" Another officer from Camp Meade said he could not pronounce the name of a single one of his men. He said the first time he called them off he passed down ten names and not a man recognized any for his. Then he sneezed and ten men stepped forward! And another officer confessed himself deeply worried because he had numbered out fifty men to be sent overseas at once, and when he came to make up his records he could not be sure which men had gone and who remained. He had heart enough to know what tragedies lurked in those confused records!

In another camp I asked, "But how do these men get word back to their families? Who tells them how to instruct letters to be addressed? Where can they go to talk out their difficulties? And what do they do if the women cannot write at all!" And the answer simply was, "They *don't* send letters and they *don't* get letters and the families probably don't know where they are or how to learn about a transfer!"

There is no understanding of the differences between nationalities. A man who cannot talk English but can talk Italian is put with a Pole on one side and a Greek on the other. None of them can talk to any one but himself. If you ask a soldier clerk at the central muster office



about this and why it is permitted that men should get into such loneliness as that, you will be told, "We cannot make distinctions in the army. We have to treat them all alike." This means that the foreigner is not "treated" at all. He misses everything. From a New Jersey camp an officer reported, "We have got some Finns in our company. I don't know how they got there or where they came from. They are big, silent fellows who cannot understand a word of English. The other men have to kick them into bed and pull them out of bed, we kick them into mess and push them out again. I'm wondering how long they are going to stand it." It sounds amusing. But that kind of dog treatment cannot go on without doing something to those men! Either it will break their spirits; or it will fill them with the bitterness of the wretched.

*The Beginning of Understanding.*

As yet there is no official provision whereby the men may be taught English. The Y. M. C. A. organizes volunteer classes. In California the state commission and local authorities near the camps are doing their best. They do teach hundreds. But the problem is one of thousands upon thousands! The United States Bureau of Education has tried to get an appropriation through Congress for an adequate system throughout the army. But Commissioner Claxton telegraphs in reply to my recent inquiry, "There is no definite development yet. The matter is still under consideration by the War Department." And we have been raising an army for eleven months and these "poor devils" of foreigners are already going overseas!

Also in the social and "morale" work of the camps the men who do not *think* English get very little. There are no special provisions. They are just "included with everybody else," which results in their being left out completely. In the hospitals they can talk to nobody. At a mass meeting they do not get the least idea of what it is about. And they have been continually denied any move to have meetings of their own, with a speaker whom they could understand. In one camp the War Risk laws could not be distributed in languages the men could read because "some of the officers felt strongly no language should be recognized but English." Thus far the only agency within the camp that makes a point of interpretators is the *hostess house* for women visitors to camp. The foreign hostess there is to help the foreign wives and mothers. In one camp, the Italian hostess from the hostess house discovered about five hundred Waldensians in one regiment, who pined for a religious service of their own, in their own Italian. After much discussion and gaining of permits they were allowed to gather for their service. There was no one to speak but the little Italian woman who had discovered them. In a drenching rain they came and lined up along the walls of a regiment hut. She gave them a simple talk upon the ideals which should uphold them in times of stress, and with hats in hands they listened with earnest intentness. They sang two Italian



hymns, though they had neither music nor words, and the meeting was over. But the boys did not want to stop. A young sergeant stepped forward and asked if he might say a few of the words which had come into his heart since he had come to camp. Permission was quickly given and in Italian he told them to remember, "It is a fine thing we are in the American army. You must not stay off by yourselves. Accept every invitation you have to be with the Americans. We hope there may be a chance to learn English. We must have the food for our thoughts and our spirits in our own beloved Italian tongue. But that is as far as it should go. This is an American army. And remember first and foremost and always to be *fidele* Uncle Sam!"

Those foreign boys are deeply, passionately loyal to America! To them America stands for something great and strong and new in the world! If any American needs convincing, he need only read letters like this to get at the truth. It is one of hundreds. This young man had received his honorable discharge from the army and refuses to accept it.

I received the civil clothes sent me from Cleveland, and at the same time a thought occurred to me, which never left me—that I should feel ashamed to leave the army and go back to civil life. Indeed, how I love my young, healthy life; how I long to be free again, going on my own ways without hearing the command of another. But alas, am I justified to think of my own liberty and happy life, when the moment is here that calls on every young man to bring liberty to others? Away, you selfish thoughts! On into the battle! I am a Slovene myself, and my fathers and grandfathers never had any opportunity to fight for liberty. Indeed, they fought for hundreds of years under the command of the Hapsburgs to continue slavery and tyranny. . . . Goodbye, my beloved young life, I shall not return to my happy home until the day has come when I can proudly see the liberated Yugoslavia in a liberated world. Then I shall return, conscious that I have done my bit. If I shall perish—I am afraid I will—let it be so; the only thing I am sorry about is that I don't possess hundreds of lives, giving them all for liberty.

Dear brother, the suit of clothes you sent me I sold today to a man for thirty dollars, who thinks less than I do.

S—

Here is another from a Russian, who hopes to belong to a Russian unit, the better to fight to the end:

I read your article in the Russian Daily and feel that it will show our Russian brothers a better way to take the necessary steps; and I am glad to see that we will have a chance to fight our common foe under the American and the Russian Flag. That Russia will not be left abused and that the Allies will sign the Peace Treaty in Berlin and not in Brest-Litovsk.

I am a Russian serving in the 80th Artillery Division of the American Army. I entered it as a *volunteer* on June 13, 1917, in New York, I liked it and was at once placed as a first-class private in the stable artillery. I am quite satisfied with my work and I do it well, but it is very hard for us Russians here, as everybody ridicules and laughs at us, even at the intelligent ones. All of them, and at every opportunity they look upon us as ignorant and illiterate; I doubt that this attitude is known to the higher authorities, but may I tell you that up from a sergeant and down to a common soldier everyone is laughing and joking about us Russians, notwithstanding the fact that we, also, are defending America and that many of us entered the American Army as volunteers in order that we may be able to prove our courage even here, and that we are of some value everywhere. We are not responsible for the shameful Peace which has been signed by the Bolshevik and we do not accept or recognize this Peace. We insist upon fighting to the end; we want to see the fate of Germany to be such as that of Belgium, and that the Allies go out of this war victorious.

We Russians would be very happy to go as a separate unit to fight at the front. Awaiting your reply.

#### *Army Reflects Conditions of Civil Life.*

I have taken my illustrations from the army in order to show

you what has been going on in the international communities from which the army has been drawn. As it is in the army, so and worse is it in the country. It has taken the War to prove to us that the most normal thing about America is its internationalism; that international communities are everywhere: and that an international community is nothing more than a typical "American community." Every one of the twenty-five biggest cities of the country possesses a high percentage of foreign-born residents who are non-English speaking and non-English thinking. An international community is a normal abnormality of American life.

Do not think I am criticizing the administration of the army. It would indeed ill become us to throw stones at our overworked government. They have but continued a state of affairs which we citizens have permitted to exist back home in our communities for years. In the face of facts any one will say that to allow such a proceeding to continue in the army is to waste rich resources of idealism, of spirit and of manhood. And yet just such destructive conditions are going unchallenged in your community and mine.

We do not know one nationality from another. The average social worker does about the same thing the officers are doing in camp. To the questions, "What do you do about the Poles? Do you make special provision for the Armenians?" we reply, "Oh, no. We treat them all alike, just as we treat everybody else." That answer has been given me a hundred times over. And yet any social worker knows that if we do not make special provision for groups that are utterly different from the "average," we simply miss the group.

We not only do not know one nationality from another, but we fail to *really know* the rank and file of individuals of any one. Whenever, in the process of our social business, we run up against the foreigner (and what form of social work does not?) we are content to meet him everlastingly at second-hand. We have never gone direct to him, as man to man. Nor to the women, as woman to woman. No! We get a feeling of impatience about it and pick up the easiest way for "interpreting" we can. Our favorite short cut is the nearest small boy, regardless of whether the matter in hand could be passed accurately through a childish mind, or whether the transaction will win you the respect of the man you are talking to, or whether it is at all good for the child itself. Would we go to Italy, or France or Russia today without workers who know the languages? Social workers are constantly entering and passing out of sections of the life of Europe, little Italies and little Russias, and yet do not try to break through the barrier of language nor to train up leaders of their own people to take charge of the work. When it comes to finding a "representative" of a foreign section, we accept any individual who sets himself up as the leader, and the one who interprets. In failing ourselves to provide trustworthy, disinterested people who, knowing the language, can really know the bread-and-butter people of a nation, we are forcing the people themselves into a sort of bondage

to the "great man who can talk," that flavors of the corruption of ancient Rome! Too many social workers take their estimate of a whole people from the opinions of some self-appointed "representative" who has no more ideas about social service or democracy than the Kaiser. The training he has had back home in Europe makes it impossible for him to be any judge of the possibilities for good in his own untutored people.

Not only have we failed to meet our foreigners in their own languages, and on their own particular ground, but we have failed to perceive that the teaching of English to them is a social problem and one absolutely necessary to the solution of other social difficulties. Teaching English has been left to the schools, or to the commercial groups. The teaching of English to adult foreigners is 80% a problem for the social worker, and 20% a problem for the educational worker. When we inaugurate socialized English-teaching we shall see much progress toward good will and understanding. We must get behind this enormous problem which is a universal one to this country. Put recreation into it, put community spirit into it, use it as a means for mingling American and foreign, for drawing out the power for self-expression of every group, and so introduce them to each other.

#### *Growing Consciousness of Nationality.*

The war has acted upon our international communities like the wrong kind of acid dropped into a solution. It has suddenly started a reverse action. As a Polish teacher expresses it, "people had begun to forget their feeling for nationality; and then the war! And the differences have all reappeared." Everyone is sensitive about his nationality now. I believe this resharpening of nationalistic prides is a good thing for all of us, so far. We can no longer step so blunderingly all over our patient, voiceless foreign peoples! If we rise to the challenge of these international times, this sudden emphasis upon the kinetic life of America will continue to be good.

This reverse action has compelled us in spite of ourselves to know who and what these different peoples are. It has injected into our international communities the old vivid feelings, and differences and prejudices which have kept the peoples of Europe in a fever of suspicion and hate against each other, but not heretofore against America. In a mining camp in California, the manager began to notice a restlessness among the five thousand South Austrians. They were Croatians, but he did not know that. The unrest grew. He could discover no real cause for it and began to fear real trouble. He thought the I. W. W. had been at work somehow and he sent for the United States marshal and asked that help be ready on call. The Immigration Commission office up in San Francisco heard of the stir and wired to wait, for they would send down an interpreter who spoke the language of the men. The interpreter arrived and announced he intended to live among the

men and find out just what all the noise was about. The office objected on the ground that it was dangerous and his life wouldn't be worth a cent. He answered, "But you forget these are my own people. And I understand them." He found a bunk in a lodging house. At the end of the second day he reported back to the office that the row was the result of a feverish debate, in which the whole camp was involved, as to where the new capitol for the new republic of Jugo-Slavia should be located! That man went about explaining to them the United States' part in the war. At a mass meeting he spoke of the Red Cross, and every man present joined. And later he sold \$60,000 in War Savings Stamps. The men were eager to give. They bought Liberty Bonds, too. The management said, "What we needed was not the United States marshal to keep order, but an interpreter to help us understand the men." That firm began to see daylight.

This reverse action has also shown us that among these foreign peoples there is a rock-like devotion to the things for which this country stands. They want to be a part of it. They want to share. And we do not help them. In Cleveland, recently, there was a convention of Hungarians. There were three hundred men who came from all parts of the country. Only fifteen could speak much English. The main discussion was as to how they could ally themselves closer to America. One said: "See how the Americans regard us. It is our fault. We have done nothing to teach our people about America. Especially we have neglected female education. If we do not educate our women, our homes are not going to be American homes." Another said: "Nonsense. Everybody in this room knows we have it in our hearts to be Americans; but we do not know how, and cannot do it unless the Americans help us."

This silhouette of nationalities has also taught us that these peoples have borne a double burden. We have no more than just entered the war. They have been deeply in it for four long years already, and yet now cheerfully take up more funds and more relief and send their boys into a new army over there. Do you know that the Greeks have sent over \$40,000 to widows and orphans in Greece, and \$32,000 for relief of Greeks in Asia Minor, and have subscribed \$4,000,000 to the United States Liberty Loan? The Serbians sent over 25,000 soldiers in 1916, and have kept up relief and equipment for them ever since. There is a Women's League of Serbians, and Croats, and Slovenes, who work evenings and Sundays raising money for the forgotten poor of Serbia. On top of that they gave Uncle Sam \$1,456,000 for Liberty Bonds. The Poles? Fifty per cent of all the relief the entire world has sent for Poland came straight out of the pockets of American Poles. And they keep up their army of the White Eagle over in France. The Czechoslovaks! Thirteen thousand are in our first draft. Thousands more have volunteered. In Russia there is an army of 100,000 who, as a Bohemian friend said to me, "are of our very best. They are the cream



of the manhood of our people. Many of them have been in America, too." Italians, Lithuanians, Finns—the roll is long, and to each nation America must show her appreciation of their splendid spirit.

### *A Solemn Responsibility.*

This reverse action is teaching us, at last, that these peoples *demand* to be *understood*. Nationality is a burning question to them. When Americans fail to distinguish, do not know who they are, it hurts and the hurt goes deep. Italians go to patriotic meetings and hear orations upon "Five Flags" with their glorious flag of united Italy left out. "Say—donna guy know Italia is in it?" demanded an Italian soldier in camp after one such patriotic meeting. In a Sunday paper recently there appeared a picture of a long line of very handsome Armenian boys in Uncle Sam's khaki. And underneath, the legend read: "It is interesting to know we have such splendid young Turks in our army." *Turks!* The Armenians were wild with indignation and grief. For Americans to take them for *Turks—Turks*—the fiends incarnate who had massacred their own sisters and mothers! We Americans from our protected lives simply cannot realize the white hatred of these tortured peoples toward their conquerors. Even should we born-and-bred Americans tire of the war, and be ready to cry quits before it is seen clear through, our own foreign peoples would never let us stop! An Armenian worker told me that at the draft boards she counseled the boys not to let the word Turkey pass their lips. "I tell them when they are asked where they were born, just say *Armenia*. And if they ask what country is it, say *Armenia*; and if they say where is it, say in *Armenia*." And this method did succeed in getting the Armenians of one district registered right for the first time.

We cannot afford to let this power set loose by the War, move in the wrong way. So far, it is directed toward America. One of the greatest assets of this international democracy is the good-will our immigrants bear to us. It is marvelous! I attended a conference of Slovaks in New York city. They were all working men and women. Their chief speaker was a young man who had just stepped off the ship that morning and he had come straight from the Zecho-Slovak army in Russia. He told of their adventures. He told of the hardships. He told of what they are fighting for. He seemed alight with his passion for liberty and freedom. I could not understand exactly what he said, but his message was so clear it thrilled us all. As I watched the faces of those working men there, I knew this country had no fear to invest its chances for democracy in their hands. They want democracy as badly as we do—the real democracy of the future! It is the America of the future we really love, and in the struggle for it we cannot *afford* to lose out of our national wealth the help of these peoples who already love this country and who know better, some of them, than do we born into it, what democracy ought to mean!



## FOREIGN BORN CITIZENS AS POLITICAL ASSETS

*Graham Taylor, Warden of Chicago Commons*

The war is registering the birth of a new American consciousness—national and international. Hitherto we have been more conscious of having a country than of being a nation, of having a cosmopolitan population than of being one people. We thought of immigrants more as industrial assets or liabilities than as the fibre entering into the warp and woof of our national fabric. Foreign-born voters have been considered less as constituent elements of our permanent political life than as the temporary gains or losses of our political parties. We knew that there were Poles, Bohemians, Russians and people of many other nationalities among us, but as a nation we knew little and cared less about Poland, Bohemia, Russia and the other oppressed countries whose exiled people were our neighbors, employes, business associates, fellow citizens and friends. We have been self-conscious, but nationally only semi-conscious and internationally almost unconscious.

But the world war has suddenly awakened us to the consciousness that many nationalities living in the land do not constitute one nation and that our nation is only one of many peoples having to do with each other in the family of nations. Thus our world consciousness is dawning upon us. As the discovery of America awakened Europe to the extent of the world by disclosing the other third of the earth, so the threatened destruction of Europe awakened America to the intent of the world.

The life and death struggle of free peoples abroad has intensified our consciousness of the liberty we have at home, but only to awaken us to see that our freedom cannot stand alone. As Abraham Lincoln reminded our fathers that this country could not exist "half slave and half free," and sent them into the struggle for the union of the states, so Europe's war for freedom shocked us into realizing that liberty cannot survive on earth with the world half enslaved by autocracy and half free in democracy. Thereupon we made common cause with all free peoples. Then this war became our war for our own and for the world's freedom.

Against the secret diplomacy which we are fighting with force of arms abroad we must now maintain an open diplomacy at home. Most of all should we be more democratically diplomatic in our relations and dealings with the foreign-born peoples among us. Hitherto in our thought of them we have massed them all together as "foreign" to us. Now we need to recognize the distinct asset which each one of them is or may be in our national life. While referring only to those with whom I have had neighborly fellowship in local politics during nearly twenty-five years of settlement residence at Chicago Commons, what I say of them is equally true of others with whom some of you have had as intimate acquaintanceship.

When the settlement provided incentive and common ground for non-partisan citizenship, Scandinavians, Irish and Germans united to rescue their ward from boss-ridden and corrupt partisanship, and for fifteen years they continued to return to the city council the best type of aldermen, superseding some of the worst that ever disgraced the city council.

*Patriotism of Foreign-Born Americans*

One Lincoln's birthday four hundred or more foreign-born workmen gathered to observe the patriotic holiday. Community singing of national songs, led by an English-speaking chorus, at first elicited little response from the crowd. Few were found who could sing the English words or who knew the melodies. But they fell in with the suggestion to hum the tunes in their own tongues. It sounded like Babel, but it felt like Pentecost. After awhile notes familiar to most of them were struck. And when the Anvil Chorus of *Il Trovatore* invited the response of these Italian peasants, they rose en masse and sang, as no other nationality could have joined in the theme of any opera. Their love of family, sometimes all too passionate, yet affording protection to their girls unusual in other races, creates a home life affording strong rootage for the citizenship of both man and woman.

Around the monument of Kosciuszko in a Chicago park, forty thousand Poles gathered to celebrate the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the constitution under which Poland enjoyed its short-lived freedom, but registered its undying hope for independence. As the standard-bearers of each organization of men, women and children approached the statue of the Polish hero, who served with Washington as the engineer by whom the defenses of West Point were designed, they halted before the American flag. Three times they made their own standards bow in obeisance to the Stars and Stripes and then stacked them like a color guard around the flag above every flag. Those of us who saw scores of Polish young men go directly from the draft headquarters to get their first naturalization papers and come straight back to be drafted, or after they had to be classified as alien enemies, come back from camp to enlist and march away in the Polish national army, cannot doubt their love to their adopted country as consistent with their love and hope for their old fatherland.

Our liberty-loving Bohemian fellow citizens show their loyalty both to America and Bohemia in following their great parliamentary leader, Prof. Masaryk, who while in exile and under Austria's sentence of death, rallies his countrymen both in Bohemia and America to fight for the liberty which he and they love better than life. Through the Bohemian Legion at the front and through their own patriotism for America, the Bohemians among us are sure to bear their share of the cost of victory.

The Russians, too, bring with them the ancient heritage of their

village community, their democratic experience in local self-government, which like the old New England town meeting, furnished an experience and training in citizenship such as the knowledge of books could never give. The Russian idealism, both Slavic and Jewish, prompts radicalism. But a people who could overthrow the Czar and his corrupt and treasonable bureaucracy by the united effort of their two thousand soviets or councils of peasants, villagers, townsmen, and industrial workers may be trusted to establish the republic of free Russia, if only now in their supreme trial the whole American people and their allies, with President Wilson, "intend to stand by Russia as well as France." How loyal such Russians may be to America when they are understood and are made to understand, was demonstrated in one Chicago manufacturing shop where five hundred Russian workers subscribed \$11,000 in the first Liberty Loan campaign and \$33,000 in the third. One of their number known as a Bolshevik, as soon as he was convinced of German duplicity, bought a Liberty Bond when no campaign was on and took out membership in the American Red Cross.

Rich and varied are the heritages which all the foreign-born bring with them from the old world to the new. Short-sighted and foolish we have been and still continue to be in discouraging and even repressing them from cherishing the value of their speech and song, their folklore and their folkgames, their love of liberty and their patriotic passion to free their fatherlands and to enjoy and defend their American freedom. Invaluable to us as to them, is this old world heritage of which they have made our new world heir by so largely helping to people America. The potentiality opening before our international nationality with its cosmopolitan population inspires the hope of a new and world-wide internationalism.

#### *For an Open International Diplomacy*

Meanwhile, it will be democratic diplomacy to recognize and utilize our foreign-born men as a military asset, and their kinsfolk in America as direct aids and abettors of the revolt of their oppressed kinsfolk abroad against their German and Austrian oppressors. Although classified as "alien enemies," they are enemies only of our arch-enemy. The hour has struck which summons the people of the United States to declare for an open international diplomacy with the people subject to our enemies and theirs, through the representatives of their races now sharing the freedom of the American soil. To the end of disrupting Prussia's only real ally, we can and we must inspire the Poles, Bohemians, Jugo-Slavs and Russians with confidence in and loyalty to the allies' common cause as their only hope of liberty. Their spirit of revolt may be stirred to action by the patriotism of their American kinsmen who are loyal to the armed defense of liberty for their fatherlands and America alike.

More just and far-sighted diplomacy in dealing with such patriots would not only concede but covet their right to be American soldiers,

and to mobilize them into small army groups of their own blood in order to spare them the depression following their separation from their kinsmen after enlistment and to increase their morale. To this end these sharers and defenders of our freedom, who are the most dangerous enemies of our enemy, should be freed from the misrepresentation and depression of being classified as alien enemies. The hopelessness of a separate peace with Austria is evident since the Hapsburgs have become vassals of the Hohenzollerns. The spirit of revolt among all the peoples oppressed by Austria grows apace. The day of their declaration of independence is dawning. When they get their place in the sun, Austria's sunset will occur. To assure and hasten that day may be the surest and quickest way to win a victorious peace.

To that end America has these three ways of making good her declaration of war against Austria and of helping the peoples oppressed by her to break her yoke. The United States can make common cause with the representatives of those nationalities among us in attaching their loyalty more firmly to the allies' cause here and abroad, as the only hope of the emancipation of their fatherlands; in rallying their sons to the colors of their adopted country or of their native lands; in thus aiding and abetting the spirit of revolt among their kinsfolk abroad to strike for their freedom when the time for action is at hand.

The loyalty of the Poles, Bohemians and other Slavic peoples to America is so bound up with their passionate patriotism for the freedom and independence of their fatherlands, that neither we nor they have occasion to challenge it. The liberty they find and prize here is the freedom which they seek for their kinsfolk across the seas. The union of independent states in America prompts and exemplifies what they hope for and are willing to die for in realizing a united Slavia.

But it has perplexed and confused all aliens to be dealt with as they have been during the war. At first all their men of military age were compelled to register. Those of them who had only declared their intention of becoming citizens by applying for their first papers became liable for the draft. Their own surprise should not be surprising to us at being drafted for the defense of this country before they were allowed to release themselves from their present allegiance by taking out their second papers. Some of their consuls protested against the inconsistency. To the men it seemed still more inconsistent to be enough of a citizen to fight and die for this country and yet not fully enough naturalized to be considered a voting citizen. This seemed doubly unjust because on the one hand, as so many of them said, they might meet their fathers and brothers in the trenches where they were compelled to fight for Austria, and on the other hand, if captured without evidences of being American citizens, they would be shot as deserters or traitors by Austria.

After the United States declared war against Austria many of these



young men who had bravely taken their places in the ranks of the army as American soldiers were classified as "alien enemies." Some of them were temporarily interned at camp and many more were discharged and sent home, after having lost their jobs and the wages they might have earned. But worse still, for us as for them, they had their patriotic self-sacrificing spirit dashed by this experience.

*Naturalization and a Policy of Assimilation*

New amendments to the immigration law recently passed by Congress offer some clearance of the inconsistent situation with regard to aliens classified as enemies who are really friendly. The process of naturalization will be facilitated thereby for such aliens who have been resident in the United States for two years and are now in the military or naval service of the nation. These amendments are sure to be the initial act of a new immigration policy, toward the formulation and enactment of which social workers should contribute their experience and influence. The League for the Construction of Immigration Legislation may afford a clearing house and leadership for such voluntary co-operation with congressional legislators.

But our war experiences, especially those developed by the draft, call for a consistent and effective national policy for naturalizing, educating and assimilating the strangers within our gates who seek the right to live and labor with us. It is unjust, both to the individual alien, to this country and to the country whence he came, to allow a man to expatriate himself without declaring his intention regarding his citizenship. He should be required therefore within a reasonable period either to qualify as a citizen of the United States or give good reason to the government why he should be permitted to remain in this country as an alien. The justice of such a requirement has not only been demanded by native-born and naturalized citizens, from among whom an undue proportion of drafted men had to be drawn, but also has been affirmed by not a few of the foreign-born who neglected naturalization or were neglected by those who should have represented the nation in inducting them into citizenship. But this may be done, far better without the compulsion of the boycott or the blacklist, by due process of law, which must draw more than it drives, if aliens are to become good citizens, especially during the war.

Every incentive, facility and urgency to learn English should be brought to bear upon every foreign-speaking inhabitant. But to do so with the avowed or implied intention to suppress the use of their native speech is sure to meet with failure and resentment. How else can we at first impress them with their interest and ours in becoming English-speaking American citizens, except through the only language which they understand? How can we avoid arousing their suspicion that they are being subjected to the same cruel suppression of their natural instincts

here in America as they have suffered in the suppression of the Polish language by Germany and of the native speech of the Czechs by Austria? What could make them more reluctant to become citizens with us than the threats of employers to make speedy knowledge of English a condition of employment, or than the menace of extreme measures to prohibit the public use of any language but English in the press, on the platform and in the pulpit?

Surely the settlements, other social agencies and the schools are setting the types of more reasonable and effective ways of attaining the common aim of good and loyal American citizenship. By the amended immigration law, appropriations from the naturalization fees are authorized to publish *The Citizenship Textbook* prepared and to be distributed by the Bureau of Naturalization to those candidates for citizenship only who are in attendance upon the public schools; to issue a monthly naturalization bulletin and to secure the aid and co-operation of official, state and national organizations, including those concerned with vocational education.

Moreover, \$400,000 is appropriated to the Bureau of Naturalization for the ensuing year to enable it to carry into effect the provision authorizing the President of the United States to except from the classification of alien enemies natives, citizens, subjects or denizens of any country with which the United States is or may be at war, or any individual or class thereof who thereupon shall have the privilege to apply for naturalization. If in line with this hopeful and just change in policy toward our loyal foreign-born people, the government would correlate and unify the many official and more voluntary agencies now dealing with them under one competent and authoritative head, we would have an Americanization policy worthy of the name.

To this end let us fraternize with our foreign-born neighbors and affiliate their great racial organizations. Let the widest and most sympathetic hearing be given by English-speaking Americans to the expression and interpretation of the spirit and aspirations of all foreign-born and foreign-speaking peoples among us. Let the press give widest publicity to their struggles here and abroad for liberty and progress. Let their best spokesmen be invited to speak at American patriotic meetings to interpret them to Americans, while America is being interpreted to them. Thus through our own and their own speech and song may we best impress and be impressed with the worth and glory of American citizenship.

#### *Creation of Special Division of Conference Proposed*

That the widest publicity may be given to our sympathetic support of these subject peoples, and that we may more intelligently fellowship their sons and daughters among us, I move the reference to the Executive Committee of the proposal of those here present that a special division of this Conference be organized for the ensuing year, having the purpose to unite native and foreign-born in America for war and reconstruction.

## A COMMUNITY STORE IN A NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

*John L. Elliott, Head Worker, Hudson Guild, New York*

A Co-operative Store was opened at Hudson Guild, New York City, more than a year ago because of the distress of mind and body brought about by the price of food. While the success of the undertaking during the first year has by no means been brilliant, it still continues and is likely to continue as an experiment in group activity. Being an experiment, it is too soon to proclaim results. There are, however, certain indications that may be of interest to other experimenters. The store is truly co-operative in spirit and in method, although the form is not that of the Rochdale store. It is hoped, however, that before long the point will be reached where it is possible to incorporate, making the form as well as the spirit co-operative.

The manager of the store is appointed by the Hudson Guild and not elected by the purchasers. This seemed to be necessary at the beginning for the reasons that no one available to take charge of the work was familiar with the business of buying and selling groceries and because it did not seem fair to ask people living on a narrow and sometimes invisible margin to risk their money.

The backbone of the organization is a group of twenty-eight women from the neighborhood who have worked in the store and who have become deeply interested not only in the experiment of a store but in the methods of co-operative buying and selling. The work of this group and the education which they have had in the social and economic methods I believe to be the best result of the work so far.

The store just about pays for itself now, except for the salary of the social worker. Rent, clerk hire, etc., are charged against the sale of the goods. To summarize the advantages, besides having sold a large quantity of groceries at a cheaper average price than the other neighborhood stores have done, there has been a steady education in the quality of goods and in substitutes for various expensive foods. There has been an effective war waged on the system of buying on credit. Our neighborhood is one in which large numbers of families are in debt to the grocer and "run a book." Against this miserable habit of thriftlessness a great deal has been done.

It has helped the women to plan their expenditures and has led them to think about budgets and chiefly it has been educational in the matter of getting a large and continually increasing number to think and work, not only for themselves but for the community as a whole. This is illustrated by one incident. We had decided not to have volunteer clerks but to ask one of the women to take entire charge of the selling. She was asked if \$15.00 a week would be enough pay. Her answer was that she wouldn't think of taking more than \$9.00,—that the store was something she wanted to see grow and her main interest

was in doing something, not in getting something. While she was not allowed to work for \$9.00 a week, her willingness to do so shows the attitude of herself and many others.

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## A COMMUNITY KITCHEN IN A NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

*Frances Ingram, Head Resident, Neighborhood House, Louisville*

In January the food administration order that with each purchase of wheat some other cereal should be bought went into effect. Soon it came to our ears at Neighborhood House in Louisville that many of the neighbors of the settlement were making no use of the cereals so bought. One woman threw away the unfamiliar cereals she had bought; another said her stomach could not digest such things as corn meal; another conserved hers by giving it to a colored woman, who no doubt was able to use it. Another neighbor, more provident, had stored on her shelves all the packages unopened. An Italian woman said "me maka da corn bread; it coma no good."

So here was our problem. We knew, of course, that our immigrant neighbors cooked each in the fashion of her own people in the old country. To attempt to teach them to eat our American food would be to them like our attempting to co-operate with Mr. Hoover by eating—oh, say snails or bird nests! Besides, they would probably revert to the simpler method of ignoring all strange cereals. Our neighbors are Jewish, American, Italian and Syrian. Their food and their methods of preparing it are as distinctive as their manners. Each nationality has a decided preference for the dishes peculiar to that nationality. It seemed reasonable to conjecture that if a study were made of the flavorings and seasonings peculiar to each nationality that the wheat savers and the meat savers or substitutes might be used with these flavorings and seasonings with a result gratifying to each particular group. For instance, rice which has no flavor of its own, could be satisfactorily combined with any native seasoning. The neighbors were asked whether they would come to a community kitchen to learn to use these strange cereals. The response was eager, and plans for a community kitchen at Neighborhood House were begun.

### *Co-operation in Government Plan*

Just about this time the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense and the demonstration committee of the State Department of Agriculture were considering the establishment of a central war kitchen for Louisville, where housekeepers might learn the principles of the preparation of food and the use of the substitutes recommended by the Food Administration. As no funds were forthcoming for



the equipment of such a war kitchen, they cast about in the city for centers already equipped where they might send trained instructors.

Neighborhood House has a domestic science department where all last year it conducted demonstrations in conservation and canning of foods. The women in the neighborhood came through the summer to do their canning, at Neighborhood House, by the cold pack method of the government. We expect not only to can next summer, but also to do much work in drying of fruits and vegetables. But at this time it seemed wise to enlarge our scope of work at once so we asked for the services of one of the trained domestic science instructors in the employ of the committee.

The neighbors were invited. A different time was assigned each group. A program was arranged for the first lesson of each series. Besides musical numbers, an inspirational talk was given. The women came with their whole families, as they have been accustomed to do on special occasions at Neighborhood House. After the formal program, the mothers were invited to the room where the demonstration was held. The fathers and young people either danced in the gymnasium or amused themselves in the game room or on the playground, and, as is the custom at Neighborhood House, the residents cared for the small children. For each of the following demonstrations several musical numbers were arranged for the pleasure of the early comers.

In order to work out the Jewish group which was mainly Russian and Orthodox, the committee on Immigrant Aid of the Council of Jewish Women gave valuable assistance in visiting and urging the Jewish women to come to Neighborhood House community kitchen. A special set of dishes were purchased for the Jewish demonstrations. These dishes are washed only with Kosher washing powder and are kept in a closet which was given over to them. The chairman of the Immigrant Aid is a Jewish woman of orthodox extraction, whom the orthodox trust. She is present at every demonstration to see that all the dietary laws of the orthodox kitchen are carried out. The rabbi's aid was enlisted through the president of the Council of Jewish Women, and in his pulpit he urged the women of orthodox faith to do all in their power not only for the boys "over there" but for their families over here by assisting the government in learning to prepare properly the wheat and meat substitutes. To help advertise the community kitchen, bill heads were printed stating the time of the meeting and also saying that dietary laws would be observed in all cooking lessons. These dodgers were left at Kosher butcher shops and grocery stores frequented by Jewish women. Both the shop keeper and the grocery man were glad to distribute these bill heads because the women had been coming to them for advice and information about their food problems. In establishing a community kitchen it is well to enlist the interest of the grocery keeper because it is he who first hears the complaint if the substitutes do not work out well.

*Demonstrations in Foreign Communities*

Although the idea of a community kitchen is that the demonstration shall be followed by practice in the kitchen afterwards under supervision, so far the work at Neighborhood House has been mainly that of demonstration, the housewife carrying away with her the government leaflet containing the receipt whenever it is possible to obtain this leaflet. When this cannot be secured, a typewritten receipt is given each woman. At the demonstration the receipt is written in the native language along side the English receipt. The room in which the demonstration is conducted is equipped with a small, two-lid stove with an oven. We are also investigating to find out whether slides on foods or moving picture films on foods can be obtained to supplement or enhance the demonstrations. Neighborhood House is simply making an experiment and so I come to you with only a suggestion of what I hope has great possibilities. It is too soon to proclaim results.

We collected receipts from the women of the various groups—Jewish, Italian, Syrian. Aside from being necessary to us in our effort to adapt the substitutes to their receipts, there was a subtle compliment in this to which the women responded enthusiastically. At the next Syrian demonstration the women are going to prepare a Syrian dish in exchange for an American receipt. At the last meeting of the mothers' club a Jewish woman made a contribution of *strudel*, a delicious Russian dish which was made of a substitute flour and served with coffee for refreshments. When the receipts were collected, they were turned over to food experts for suggestions as to the best methods of adapting to the war program. Mrs. Maury and Mrs. Tachau, who have charge of the penny lunch department of the Louisville public schools, were the experts called on for advice. They were delighted with the receipts. It was most thrilling to discover that the women living in the most congested district of the city had excellent receipts to contribute. These foreign women have a real knowledge of cookery. They follow scientific principles without knowing it. They can make a real contribution to America. We found that, more than in anything else, the women are interested in bread. This is because the amount of wheat flour bought is reduced by the necessity of buying other cereals with it. The women are taking pleasure in experimenting with the cereals. One Jewish woman made noodles out of barley flour and boiled them in milk. These she gave to her husband for breakfast. Unconsciously she had gotten the highest food value by combining milk with noodles. Most people boil noodles in water. From the scientific standpoint, the Kosher food of the Orthodox Jew is an ideally balanced ration. In their receipts, the Jews do not accumulate the tissue building foods. For instance, milk or butter is never combined with meat. They use milk with cereals, and meat with vegetables or cereals.

*Syrians Are Natural "Hooverites"*

Many interesting facts were discovered in this collecting of receipts. The Syrians, we found, had much to show for the long centuries behind them. Due doubtless to the hardships of ages, they have eliminated the frills from their cookery and have gotten down to the nutritional value of feeding, so that a single dish contains all the elements of a well-balanced meal. For instance, here is a typical receipt called *loubie*: "Onions, green beans, potatoes, tomatoes, olive oil."

Here are represented protein, carbohydrates, minerals, cellulose and condiments. Among our Syrian neighbors "cubie" is the favorite dish. No Sunday passes without "cubie," if the Syrian is able to prepare it. "Cubie" contains a number of ingredients strange to American cooks, such as "kernel of pine, green peppermint, sweet majorem, sweet mazadam combined with the quite familiar leg of mutton, grits, mixed spices, peppers, chopped onions, butter and olive oil."

Their receipts require less adaptation than those of any other group. They use rice and mutton mainly with many condiments. Rice and mutton are the foods which the government encourages the use of. As the government asks curtailment in the use of beef and pork only, the Syrians are in line with government requirements since they use mutton in preference to other meats. In their own country they were able only to get mutton because sheep were the only animals that grazed on their hills. For their favorite wheat grits, corn grits may be substituted easily. One Syrian woman said that she was very anxious to learn how to cook as the Americans do, "because the Americans use milk and eggs which are so good for the children while we, very early, give our children all kinds of fried foods and mutton to eat." The fact that the Syrians in their native land do much of their cooking over a single brazier and have a scarcity of fuel probably has caused them to combine many ingredients in one dish.

The Italian also has developed many single, one-meal dishes. Spaghetti is an excellent example of a well-balanced meal in a dish. The *polenta*, mush with grated cheese and butter, corresponds to our mush and milk. Both the Italian and the Syrian formerly used olive oil in their cooking, to the exclusion of other fats. Who will question their use of oil when they behold the wonderful complexion of the Italians and Syrians. On account of the high price of oil at present, they are experimenting with different American oils and fats. The Italian accepts any food substitute more cheerfully than the American cheese. This he prefers to do without rather than use. He considers it fit only for a rodent. Let us hope that at this time when so many foods are being improved that the American cheese may receive the attention necessary for its improvement.

The maximum cost of a demonstration so far has been 67 cents, which covered the cost of two receipts,—one, *Calcutta Rice* containing

rice, tomatoes and cheese; the other, *Hominy and Cheese*—both meat substitutes. The minimum cost of a demonstration has been 24 cents, which covered the cost of both spoon bread and corn meal muffins. The majority of the women have tried the receipts in their own homes and have pronounced them good. At first the foreign women did not like corn bread but now after having learned the proper way of preparing it, they like it very much. Even the woman who said her stomach would not digest such a thing as corn meal, now sings the praises of corn bread.

#### *Lesson for American-Born*

Not only the foreign neighbor is receiving attention in the community kitchen at Neighborhood House, but the American women and girls as well are being drawn into the classes. We hope that one outcome of our community kitchen will be not only an exchange of receipts but a finer appreciation of the characteristics of our foreign sisters on the part of the American women. The open-minded American woman not only can learn a new art of cooking, but can gain much from the frugal methods of the foreign housewife. The old saying, that the English can live on what the Americans waste, that the French can live on what the English waste, but that a mouse would starve on what the French waste can be carried still farther. It would take an animal smaller than the smallest mouse to live on what the Jews, the Italians and the Syrians waste. So many Americans are bakery or can-opener cooks. They eat only the food prepared at the bakery or that which comes in a can from the grocery. Food experts today are proclaiming aloud the fact that it is necessary for Americans to change their eating habits to build up the nation.

Just as America has gained much by encouraging the immigrant to preserve his native songs and dances in this country, so the immigrant has become a better American by keeping his traditions and adapting them to his new home. Pride in native background has made for self-respect and good citizenship in America. We all know that, cut adrift from his old moorings, the immigrant, and especially his children, are a prey to faddish and vicious ways. Happy as we are to help these women in their desire to co-operate with the Food Administration, there is greater gratification in the thought that in helping them to adapt their traditional receipts to the present war program, we are helping in preserving to them the old background, and in the making of them Americans "up-to-date"—proud of being American, not ashamed of having been European.



## ORGANIZED LEISURE AS A FACTOR IN CONSERVATION

*Carol Aronovici, Social Service Director, Amherst H. Wilder Charity,  
St. Paul*

(The general character and outline of this excellent address are indicated somewhat by the following extract. The body of the paper consists of an explanation of the relations of the seven factors named in the last paragraph quoted, to democracy, industry and conservation. The paper is expected to be published soon in its entirety in the *American Journal of Sociology*).

I have been asked to talk about community organization for conservation and other purposes. May I venture the suggestion that we are already organized, perhaps over-organized, for conservation in its narrowest conception. We are conserving food, metals, building materials, labor, in a word, everything that may be of use in winning the war. What we are not conserving are the economic and social resources which exist in our midst and which in our ante bellum days would have been no less valuable in preparing for the war than they are likely to be in the post bellum days, in making the achievements of the war permanent and efficient in the perpetuation of democracy.

All social movements and philosophies of state must be translated into emotionalism if they are to survive, but they must first bear the test of science and justice and good sense. Let us not emotionalize democracy before we have given it the full measure of the test of science and justice and good sense which comes from a common understanding of the people affected and let it be a real democracy.

An active, intelligent, progressive democratic state depends for its existence upon the leisure of its people. In other words: civilization begins where leisure as a class privilege begins. I believe with Edward Carpenter that "the faster the wheels of production are turning the faster they throw off a parasitic leisure class on the one hand and an unemployed, leisure labor class on the other." Production cannot achieve the high degree of efficiency that modern inventions are capable of without an intelligent and equitable distribution of leisure that is intended to conserve and create.

I shall not limit my discussion to the utilization of leisure as a means of recuperation of one's productive power, but shall venture a bolder classification of the aspects of leisure even at the risk of appearing technical or even visionary. The classification I venture to propose is as follows:

- |                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Recuperation. | 5. Education and culture.  |
| 2. Recreation.   | 6. Esthetic and emotional. |
| 3. Conservation. | 7. Social synergy (Ward).  |
| 4. Sublimation.  |                            |

## THE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

*LeRoy E. Bowman, War Camp Community Service, New York*

Given the local community with its streets, homes, vacant lots, public buildings, its many groups, and its lack of organization; given the people that compose the real community, with their prejudices and predispositions, their inertia and their conservatism, also their love for broad fellowship and their capacity for cooperation when once they are brought together rightly; given the local customs and the historic individuality of a certain locality; given the larger governmental agencies—given all these and a desire to lead, the problem of the neighborhood association is to mobilize these resources and human forces for the whole social welfare of the entire community.

*Mobilizing the Local Community*

Eight years ago the first neighborhood association began on just such a program, began to mobilize not as a militaristic nation by calling all its prepared army to dwindle gradually in the struggle and finally to announce its aims at a peace table, but began by first announcing its intention to fight certain social problems with a small group of community lovers and to gradually increase its ranks. That association followed a procedure that has been the plan of the other five similar organizations now federated in New York city, of including in its governing council leaders or representatives from the main social groups in the community. It must be emphasized, that they were representative "from," not "of," the social groups and organizations; for a neighborhood association is not a federation nor a combination of forces; it is an organization based on the principle of neighborhood unity.

However, the bulk of the population is usually represented in the existing organizations and despite their differences there is a willingness on the part of established societies to utilize their machinery to present the appeal of the common welfare. Hence the churches, the fraternal orders, the philanthropic societies, the educational, the political, the social and practically all organizations present means of communication if not actual facilities by which a program can be put in motion. The neighborhood associations have universally utilized all existing agencies wherever they can be made to serve a community purpose.

Mobilization involves questions of boundaries, and neighborhood associations have begun their campaigns for civic righteousness by mapping out the territory they are each to cover. The territory should be big enough to include leaders and forces sufficient to put into execution big projects of cooperation and yet not large enough to be unwieldy or to get away from the neighborly group. Organization ceases to be deservedly called community as soon as the territory covered is so large that all members cannot readily get together in face to face groups. Boundaries are set according to local traditions that give certain dis-

tracts local names and sometimes trace back to historical causes that make for unity. No arbitrary government district is sought but rather a territory that for some inherent cause promises to be capable of acting as a unit. For instance, the territory described as "back of Old Trinity" seems to form a district rather naturally by the geographical boundaries of the river and the more artificial boundaries of business. With its foreign population it presents a number of distinctly neighborhood problems with which the Bowling Green Association is very successfully coping. The population of neighborhood associations varies from ten to one hundred fifty thousand.

### *Executing the Campaign*

Because I am talking to social leaders who have worked the show behind the scenes while full-fledged committees and fine appearing chairmen's names appeared before the footlights, I can tell you in full confidence something that my innate modesty and long training as a neighborhood association secretary makes it hard for me to say: the most important element in "putting across" a community campaign is the actual leader, namely, the secretary. Detailed and extensive knowledge of the district must be his, as well as real sympathy with all its "folks," ability to meet and lead the best and most capable men and women who determine its welfare as well as the greater ability to inspire a community of sympathy and confidence with the meanest and the poorest. In order to get things done he must work hard night and day; in order to retain the "big ones" on his organization he must give to them and to the community in general all the glory; and because he is working for the common welfare and in a new cause, he must work for small remuneration. He must be able to raise money, to elicit volunteer service, to direct activities and a diversity of specialists, to be very practical, and philosophical enough to take his pay in seeing a good task well done.

But a sound campaign is as essential as a leader to direct it. It is necessary to find out what are the actual needs of the community, and no matter how well the prominent ones in the movement may know the district, it is well to have a careful scientific survey made. It gives facts and silences mere opinion; it gives opportunity in its broad scope to appeal to the interests or hobbies of various groups and individuals; it turns attention to the community needs not so much in the spirit of revealing traditions that must remain, as of diagnosing ailments that are to be treated—and cured. It gives a chance to get publicity for the neighborhood with facts as a basis. If manipulated well it unites the practical man, the scientific person, and the emotional ladies who want to do "community work". It gives maps for the office, figures to quote for years in speeches and articles and, best of all, does actually give an accurate, unbiased, comprehensive view of the community and a basis on which to present a financial appeal to a hard-headed business man.

The neighborhood associations have undertaken surveys to initiate

their work and other surveys at intervals for various purposes. Out of the host of problems presented by the initial survey a practical program is adopted and committees formed to deal with special parts of the work. While a number of activities and departments soon develop, one phase of the work is kept in the foreground at a time and public attention is kept on one subject primarily for a few weeks and then switched to another, while the activity of first attention is kept organized and well directed under a department staff of the association.

### *Activities and Organization*

Our war has been fought in France, but it has been thought, felt, and supported in local communities. Hence the activities of a neighborhood association in time of war are predominantly war activities. The secretary becomes local representative of the Food Administration, he advises or directs in the distribution of coal. The neighborhood associations send boys to the farms, stimulate back-yard gardening; they engineer recruiting rallies and patriotic mass meetings. They have taken entire charge of the state military census in their districts. Local committees for various war purposes are committees of the associations or often organized by them.

Americanization is a large item in every neighborhood association program and often includes Americanization celebrations, teaching English to foreigners in classes and securing attendance for the classes of the public schools, forming Americanization Leagues with representatives of all foreign strains, holding civic missions with health and civic talks to foreigners. Recreation takes another large place on the program: every association maintains community centers with dancing, gymnastic and table games, clubs, etc.; large playgrounds, back-yard and also street playgrounds are maintained. Public health presents many practical projects that neighborhood associations have universally maintained; dental clinics, housing investigations, infant welfare stations, baby contests, mothers' contests, monthly health chronicles. Ill-famed dance halls have been closed, community choruses organized, exhibits held of art and crafts produced in their respective neighborhoods, lectures and entertainments given, parades and civic celebrations organized, employment offices maintained; health and civic exhibits shown, and charity work aided or conducted by neighborhood associations. The associations have cooperated very intimately with various city departments, especially those of health, education, police and park.

The plan of organization of the neighborhood association is in brief as follows: All officers and committees are subject to the vote of the entire membership which meets but occasionally and to which are eligible all the reputable adults in the neighborhood. The council or executive committee is in immediate charge of the work of the association and dictates policies to be approved by or carries out the wishes of the general electorate. The financial committee in each case is responsible for the



raising of funds for the organization. The executive secretary, responsible to the council or executive committee, is in charge of all the work of the association carried on by the aid and counsel of standing committees, through paid and volunteer workers in each department.

Associations admitted to membership in the Federation comply with the following set standards:

1. Membership in a neighborhood association is open to all reputable citizens of the district.
2. Membership dues include a fee sufficiently low to admit practical representation from every social group so desiring and are sufficiently varied to allow each member to contribute his just share.
3. Each organization is non-partisan, non-sectarian, and so far as the boundaries of the association are concerned, non-sectional.
4. Each association is so organized as to give practical and real representation on the governing board to each recognized civic and social group working in the neighborhood.
5. Each neighborhood association endeavors to look after the whole welfare of the entire neighborhood so far as it is not attended to by previously existing organizations.
6. Each neighborhood association endeavors in every manner possible to cooperate with all public or private agencies for the social welfare of the community, to standardize neighborhood work, obviate duplication of effort, centralize and unify all efforts looking toward the welfare of the whole community.

By strict adherence to such principles, by an appeal for subordination of personal desires and group prejudice in community welfare, and by efficient but self-effacing leadership the neighborhood associations have begun at the very bottom to help build up a sound democracy. The response of their communities has been extensive and genuine; it has been hearty and lasting. There have been made communities and neighborhoods out of districts that before were but places where people lived without much common interest. A nation of such communities would surely be what every neighborhood association has tried to make its community—"a better place in which to live."

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. On discussion the plan of the store at Hudson Guild was criticized by one speaker, who said that business interests would not cooperate unless all the service rendered was paid for. Another speaker advocated the discussion of problems of communities of from 200 to 400 population.

2. *Sally Lucas Jean* of the People's Institute, New York, described the teaching of health during leisure hours in one public school in New York. Twenty thousand girls, members of a garment-makers' union, use this building from six to eleven seven nights a week. Most of these were reached by lectures on such subjects as patent medicine frauds. A trained nurse, who was available for private conferences,

advised on matters of hygiene and diet, referring all cases to a doctor where symptoms of disease existed. The popularity of this service proved the importance of it. In the food conservation campaign, the People's Institute found it possible to interest groups of the most ignorant and obdurate mothers in cooking classes by seeking out the malnourished children and appealing to their mothers to come to the school and learn how to cook food to make their children into strong men and women. As 83 per cent of the school children of New York city are classified as belonging to the second, third or fourth groups of nutrition, this reaches a large proportion of the mothers. A national committee—the Child Health Organization—has been formed, with office at 289 Fourth avenue, New York, under the chairmanship of Dr. L. Emmett Holt, the purpose of which is to spread health information to children of school age.

3. *Sidney Teller*, head resident of Irene Kauffmann Settlement, Pittsburgh, said that in the neighborhood of his institution the settlement had kept check on food prices in local stores and had given demonstrations of food regulation to mothers and children. Mr. Teller also described the joint action of 4,000 different Jewish organizations in New York city in popularizing and widening their support. In the beginning they had only 9,000 members and supporters. The campaign closed with 75,000 members paying \$10.00 each.

4. *Manuel C. Elmer*,\* University of Kansas, Lawrence, described the Agenda community of his state, consisting of less than 200 persons. All are engaged in farming, although some are business men. Four of the churches have formed a federation with a single pastor. There is a rural high school and a newspaper—of which the pastor is editor, and the superintendent of schools is publisher, and a commercial club with ninety members.

5. *Cyrus F. Stimson*,\* War Camp Community Service, New York, told of the activity of the superintendent of schools of Westchester county, New York, in conducting recently the third annual play festival for the county. There was an attendance of 6,000, and 900 registered in the various events. Public school teachers and county farm agents aided.

6. Other speakers on informal discussion of this topic were J. M. Thompson and Fred C. Middleton, of Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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\*Uncorrected notes.

## COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS

*Edward L. Burchard, Secretary-Treasurer, National Community Center Association, Chicago*

The settlement movement which first "discovered" the Neighborhood as a social unit and demonstrated the need for reconstituting it as a social whole on a sympathetically human basis, and its successor the Playground movement, which first definitely organized neighborhood public forces into official form and established recreation as the normal basis for cooperative effort by citizens during their leisure time, were two movements that suggested and almost created the School community center movement. The civic efficiency, and city club movement, another necessary outcome of the revelations of these neighborhood social

experiments, has made very clear to the inner circle of investigators and planners what kind of city administrative machinery would best develop and enrich neighborhood life.

Results of elections in many cities, from New York and Chicago down, however, prove that this information has not been disseminated to and grasped by the people as a whole. The civic educational opportunities of the public school class room, evening school, forum, social center, adult clubs, lecture courses and picture shows, health and welfare exhibits, and extension of education generally to the entire neighborhood—in short a school community center, as a civic agency in city or country—has either not been appreciated or adequately utilized.

Here is where we were when the war began! Then all eyes turned to Washington. A hundred and one new forms of local cooperation were demanded—food conservation, Red Cross, loan and war stamp pledges, child welfare, War Camp Community recreation, to name a few—all more or less demanding the formation of new social habits by the individual; in other words, education. Local war organizations multiplied into a dazzling array. One thousand such have been found in New York city alone. Manifestly people would become confused by such a multifarious insistence of wholly unrelated appeals. The Council of National Defense and President Wilson himself decided there must be team work.

The President, in his address at Madison in 1911 on *The School Center*, had previously said: "Liberty as now expressed is unsatisfactory in this country and other countries because there has not been a satisfactory adjustment of the parts of the community. . . . This movement is intended to contribute an effort to assemble them, bring them together, let them look one another in the face, let them reckon with one another, and then they will cooperate and not before." In other words, coordination of neighborhood forces is education.

A call to organize Community Councils of Defense, with the school as the recommended center, issued by the Council of National Defense, was sent by personal letter last February from the President to the chairman of each State Council of Defense, who referred to the school as an "apt" center for this local organization. Forty-six states have responded, many have appointed state community organizers, and in some cases 100% membership of the local community is reported. It has gone like wildfire through the West. Oklahoma has 750,000 members in its school district community councils. In the East splendid progress is being made. New York city's Mayor's Council of Defense has an organizing committee for establishing these Community Councils of National Defense in each neighborhood of its five million people, and a superintendent of schools as the organizing director. The Women's Councils have joined in whole-heartedly and the County Councils of Defense in a large part of the 3,000 counties are now striving to make these local community organizations 100% complete and 100% effi-

cient team work for all kinds of local war service—"all for each and each for all." 20 states are from 75% to 100% organized on this basis.

Let us look at some of the social work possibilities of this new movement!

Think of the increased social and cooperative power—one set of centrally-located records available, one set of publicity workers, one set of block and home visitors and one set of occupational advisors available to all, at one great educational central plant supported out of tax funds paid by all and without the divisive factors of church, labor union, grange or other industrial class group, social or fraternal body or other exclusive private neighborhood group. The economy of such a local community arrangement is no less appealing than is its community-wide democracy inspiring. Its gathering up of community force into one powerful creative national unit is as menacing to any bureaucratic, despotic foe as it is hopeful for our own future social reconstruction with intelligent popular support.

Here, then, is an established neighborhood social unit under the aegis of the American government, used by direction of the President as the channel of decentralization for government administrations and bureaus at Washington, so far as they need to create local agencies.

This is the present status and condition of the neighborhood movement,—not a theory, then, that confronts the social worker. How shall his service be related to it for it must be since he is the chief professional advocate of social cooperation?

The recreation movement, transformed into the War Camp Community Service has given its answer and by agreement with the Council of National Defense, is increasingly correlating its activities with the council system. So is the Red Cross, the food conservation and home economics movement and others. Some, however, among reformers, philanthropists and social workers do not yet understand the efficiency, the scope, and the possibilities of this new, comprehensive, developing, social community tool. The National Conference of Social Work is of course a potent means for making it better understood, for preventing the social waste of spontaneous, native, neighborhood, local force that even yet goes on in duplicated war service, a force dissipated in local corners of the community that ought to be assembled at its center for the reasons the President has pointed out in his addresses and proclamation on this subject.

Think of the almost virgin field: a social worker for every larger school community center on the public school staff, and social worker "circuit riders" for smaller schools and for the staff of the county superintendent of schools; the social work of special schools for defectives or abnormals added to the friendly visitors work of the visiting teacher, becoming a social service help for every normal school group and community. Think of the physical director of the school transformed everywhere into the play director; or the school nurse and physician as



the preventive public health workers of the neighborhood. Think of 550 settlements in the United States doing what some of them are already doing: giving practical experience in their "social experiment station" to future social work teacher's helpers,—definite by training the educated youth in neighborhood and school community secretary leadership that may some day function in tens of thousands of school community centers.

Private philanthropy may "lose its life," or its old prestige and leadership, in such an ocean of public social resources, but it would attain a permanent and unique service by thus finding its place in the completer and more democratic local community public life.

### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Hermann M. Morse*, Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, New York: From my point of view the real question at issue concerns not where the center of the community council will be, but where its circumference will be. I agree that in the average instance the school offers a convenient institution around which to center the organization, but so far as the open country is concerned a school district is not an adequate unit. A consolidated school presumably serves a community, but as yet a very small proportion of country schools are consolidated. The one-room school is still typical. The objections to using the one-room school district as a unit of community council organization seem to me to be:

First, the district is too small. At best it is only a neighborhood institution. Every effort in the direction of community organization in the last few years has had the express aim of breaking down the narrow provincialism of the country neighborhood and substituting the larger consciousness of the community.

Second, a one-room school district in the average instance has no social significance whatever. Its boundaries are arbitrarily determined. Moreover, the average country district cannot provide adequate leadership. The teachers, for the most part untrained, cannot furnish it and the district itself does not possess it.

Third, it is desirable that community council organization to meet a war emergency should be on such a basis that it will serve our permanent as well as our temporary needs. The unit which promises most for the country is the natural trade community. This is the unit which actually is the social and business habitat of the farmer. It is large enough for effective organization and leadership and to initiate and carry out a really large and effective program. It will tend to overcome the unfortunate division between the village and the open country which now maintains, and moreover, it will be built on permanent lines, with the backing of permanent forces. School progress will inevitably rearrange school districts and combine them in larger units, thus cutting the ground out from under your community councils, if organized on the basis of school districts. But, in the main, progress will tend to accentuate the outlines of the larger trade and social community.

2. In the foregoing statements by Mr. Burchard and Mr. Morse, and in the address of Mr. Stimson are incorporated statements representing a discussion which took place concerning the relative values of the school, the trade center, and other bases of coordination for community center activities.

3. *Miss G. L. Button* of Elizabeth, N. J., described her experiences in county work with four small communities in Monmouth county, New Jersey, in which it proved impossible to use the school house as the center of community work.

4. *Carol Aronovici* of the Wilder Charity, St. Paul, expressed the feeling that the exceptions stated by Miss Button do not prove that the school would not be the best center; that more was involved than the question of adequate equipment and building, and that there was a strong sentiment in many communities favorable to the use of the school as a center.

5. In answer to questions, *Mr. Stimson\** gave the following additional information in regard to the War Camp Community Service: that it is the intention to cover with this service the communities where reconstruction hospitals are located, as well as war industries; that in respect to soldier dances the practice is to give cards to women invited, in case of small dances the women usually being groups of friends; that after dances men are not permitted to take the women home.

6. *Mrs. W. E. Fischel* of St. Louis described the dances for the shifting population of the barracks. For this purpose the other girls in patriotic leagues were the most helpful. They were accustomed to go in their own group to the barracks under chaperonage, where they received introductions to men by card, and afterward the young ladies went home in a group.

7. Other speakers at the morning and afternoon discussions were: Agnes Murray, Denver; Mrs. A. H. S. Reid, Salt Lake City; Gertrude Gogin, New York; Kate Kendig, St. Louis; E. O. Bradshaw, Chicago; Mrs. Burris A. Jenkins, Kansas City; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York.

#### SECOND INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Among the speakers on informal discussion on Saturday morning, May 18, and Monday afternoon, May 20, were: Edward L. Burchard, Chicago; E. O. Bradshaw, Chicago; Cyrus L. Stimson, New York; Mrs. Burris A. Jenkins, Kansas City; Miss G. L. Button, Elizabeth, N. J.; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Carol Aronovici, St. Paul. The character of the discussion is reflected somewhat in the summaries of similar discussions on Friday morning, May 17.

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### THE VILLAGE AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

*Paul L. Vogt, Superintendent, Department of Rural Work, Methodist Episcopal Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, Philadelphia*

The full discussion of the topic assigned for this period would require far more time than that available. It would require a survey of the position of the village community in primitive life and the relation of its organization to the advancement or retardation of given groups. It would involve the study of village groups in all countries and under all conditions with the hope that such study would reveal certain laws applicable to all village groups and to the general progress of mankind. Conclusions arrived at from the study of American conditions and ten-

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\*Uncorrected note.

dencies might not be applicable to those to be found in Europe and on the other hand developments that have taken place across the water may not be of great significance here. Under the circumstances it is proposed to limit the present discussion to the American village in its relation to the progress of our own people.

Limitation of time also compels us to take largely on faith the concept of social progress. Without attempting to be exhaustive in making a definition, for present purposes we may accept the popular concept that social progress means advancement toward that stage in which the human race has a maximum of control over the conditions of its existence, in which there will be a maximum degree of permanent material welfare and economic justice, in which the forces which tend toward social disintegration are redirected or controlled and in which socialization is carried to the highest degree of efficiency. This enumeration of elements in or characteristics of social progress is not intended to be complete but merely to suggest what is generally thought of when social progress is discussed.

In like manner the term *village* is a very vague one and does not have the same meaning to each individual. Because of the lack of a better principle of classification the term will be understood to have reference to those small groups which lie between incorporated communities having a population of 2,500 or more and those which are popularly thought of as open country, or agricultural. In this group are to be found many communities which for most purposes should be included in city groups because their inhabitants are economically and to a large extent socially interested in the great urban centers located in their environment. With this modification in mind, it may be said that in general communities under 2,500 inhabitants have characteristics and problems that are quite similar. With the exception of small manufacturing, mining and lumber villages, most of the smaller groups have a closer relation to their agricultural environment than they do to the neighboring urban centers.

#### *Importance of the Village*

Data as to the comparative numerical importance of village communities in American life is not available from the United States census reports. The census records give a separate classification only for incorporated places of under 2,500 inhabitants and do not take account of hamlets that have a village consciousness, but have not risen to the dignity of separate political entity. The incorporated places under 2,500 inhabitants represented in 1910 a total of 11,784 places with a population of 8,118,825, or 8.8 per cent of the total population of the United States. Other rural territory comprised 44.8 per cent of the total population. Thus because of the fact that the village is becoming the center for open country life in addition to its own we may consider that the village as a factor in social progress is related to the welfare of approximately 53 per cent of the total population. The number of people living in un-

incorporated hamlets may be indicated by the fact that, according to the population records given by the Rand-McNally Co., there were in the state of Ohio about 206,000 people living in over 2,750 unincorporated places of sufficient dignity to be mentioned by name and to have their population mentioned separate from the agricultural environment. Thus in this state about 15 per cent of the total population lived in villages or hamlets of under 2,500 inhabitants.

The importance of the village as a factor in rural social progress is indicated by the abundant evidence already collected from all parts of the country that the open country community is tending in general to merge its life into that of the village as the center of the life of the entire country side. The improvement of roads and means of communication and transportation has widened the area touched by the village, not only as a market center, but also as a social, recreational and to an increasing degree religious center of rural life. It is unnecessary at this time to present the evidence for this statement. The surveys that have been made by various agencies throughout the country are already familiar to those assembled here. The stability of political boundaries formed under a different social environment, the prejudices and group interests in religious life, and the provincial class consciousness of agricultural groups still delay in many places this natural movement, but cannot prevent its ultimate end of making the village the center of the life of the rural community.

The marked tendency of people who live in great urban centers to move to suburban towns as rapidly as their incomes will permit, as well as the tendency of those living in the open country to move to the villages when the income from their farms will permit them to do so, indicates that the village is a permanent and possibly an increasing factor in American life. Apparently large congested urban centers are unavoidable at junction points between water and railway transportation, at political centers, and where affairs of national or international importance must be directed. Motives of national economy make it practically impossible, with means of communication and transportation now available to distribute interests such as these so that people can live in less congested environment. It would appear, however, that were railway rates and interrailway relations so adjusted that the small community would not be discriminated against, manufacturing enterprises of many kinds could be shifted to smaller communities so that village life could be at least approximated and the welfare of millions of our citizens enhanced. But little has been done so far toward planning for such distribution and for the time being our problem is that of considering how the village as now organized affects the social progress of the nation.

#### *Nature and Effects of Village Life*

The popular idea of the village has been that of a place occupied by a relatively non-progressive, stable population of middle class tradesmen



and their families, living in a social environment noted principally for its stagnation and small local factionalisms and petty gossip existing principally because of the utter lack of contact of the people with live interests of national importance. In spite of apparent democratic organization these little groups afford most marked illustrations of the tendency of humanity to strive for social stratification; and probably nowhere else in all American social organization can be found better examples of exclusive group organization, especially among women than in village communities. Villages have also been characterized as places of idleness, where vicious conditions are likely to develop to an undue degree, and where storebox philosophy is the height to which the mental life of the community rises. This characterization is doubtless largely true of the village as it has existed; but the popular characterization fails to note some of the fundamental forces of progress that lie within this type of grouping, forces that have a real contribution to make toward the attainment of the goal of ideal social organization toward which we are working.

In considering, then, the village as a factor in social progress it will be in order to note first some of the relations of the village to urban life. The urban resident is likely at first thought to maintain that the village has had no influence on urban life and that the trend of influence has been in the opposite direction. It is true that the city does influence the village to a profound degree. The village is controlled very largely by the fashions and by the economic standards of the city. Small manufacturing centers, especially, are potential cities and tend to conduct themselves accordingly. The life of these villages is largely dominated by economic motives which make them lose sight of some of the more important aims in life and to subordinate real living to wealth production. But on the other hand, cities in this country are still so new that one can see on every hand the working of small town ideals in city government, in social and religious life. It is only in recent years that the cities of this country have been attempting to develop their own lives in accordance with ideals in harmony with conditions existing in large urban centers.

The village with its agricultural environment offers moral standards that have already brought the nation to a higher state of efficiency. The movement toward the elimination of the saloon has been largely a rural movement and the villages have had their share in influencing public opinion in the control and elimination of the liquor traffic. Extended experience on the part of operators of large industrial concerns in urban centers has later verified the position taken by the smaller communities and has brought them into line as ardent supporters of the anti-saloon movement. But to the small communities must be given credit for leadership in this task and of fostering its growth when it was still unpopular in the great urban centers.

The village still retains in common with its agricultural environ-

ment a wholesome respect for family life. The city has tended to break up family organization because of the pressure of economic demands upon the time of its members and because of the greater complexity of social interests and living conditions. In its worst, most unregulated expression the village has possibilities of developing most serious pathological moral conditions. But this tendency is due to unregulated life instead of to inherent weakness of village organization.

There is considerable evidence that the village and the open country have been influenced by the economic standards of the city in respect to the size of family. In times past the small community had to provide not only for its own natural increase, but also for the renewal of the life of the urban centers. Families in the smaller communities have been rapidly decreasing in size so that there is reason for alarm that unless present tendencies are overcome, the natural increase will come largely from the recent immigrants who have settled in the great cities and that the next fifty years will witness not only a marked change in the ancestry of our great city populations, but that even the smaller communities and the open country will be made up of those who have been coming in recent years from southern and southeastern Europe. This change is affecting vitally not only the social life, but also the religious life of many sections of the country. The smaller communities should insist that standards of living shall not interfere with the normal biological development of the type of manhood and womanhood which has made this country such an important factor in general social progress.

The relatively less strenuous economic existence of the village offers possibilities of more normal life than that in the city. The pressure of city life tends to reduce the great masses of people to the inevitable grind of long hours in the factory or in the office, with but little opportunity for the development of higher interests. Village life undirected is likely to be dull and unattractive. But the possibilities of creating a home environment there with plenty of house room, yard and garden space and close contact with nature, together with the advantages of personal relationships aside from business considerations, gives the village an immense advantage over the city as a place for the development of ideal living conditions.

The opportunity for the conservation of close personal relationships in village life deserves special consideration. The complexity of city life renders social life, except that founded on business considerations, very difficult to develop. The one who is compelled to live in the large city because of business necessity misses the companionship possible to those living in the village. The village should endeavor to conserve this vital element in its life and the city must work toward the renewal of the neighborhood if it hopes to make true social progress.

As has been pointed out, the village is becoming the center of agricultural social progress and thus is the key to the advancement of the social welfare of over half the American population. The direction of

this progress has been indicated in the discussion of the relation of the village to the city. It remains to make some suggestions as to next steps in the scientific organization of the village, not only in relation to its own life but also in relation to the life of its agricultural environment.

### *Planning Village Development*

In the first place the time has arrived when over a large part of the country it is possible to determine with a high degree of certainty what the permanent centers of rural life will be. It is possible that the development of the aeroplane and of motor trucking will materially change conditions in some places; but in all probability these developments will merely enhance present tendencies instead of changing them. The next step to be taken is a comprehensive survey of rural communities to determine what the natural centers are. The way has been pointed for this task by the excellent work done by Professor C. J. Galpin of the University of Wisconsin and reported in his *Social Anatomy of a Rural Community*. Such a survey on a material basis at the present time is as justifiable a subject for the expenditure of public money as is the expenditure of money for making soil surveys or crop production.

When once natural and permanent community centers are determined then the organization of a scientific program of social progress can be formulated and carried out. This will be a long, tedious process involving educational work in the development of public opinion and the overcoming of local prejudices. But when once such a study has been made by trained sociologists and a program of social progress outlined orderly teleological advancement will take the place of patchwork progress incident to the disorganized competitive struggles of limited groups. Conflict between essential agencies and weakening of social solidarity because of lack of unity in areal boundaries of group interests and of lack of agreement upon principles of advancement due to lack of scientific basis for agreement will be lessened if not altogether eliminated; and communities will develop a strong local interest and solidarity that will do much toward strengthening popular interest in public welfare. It will also prevent the economic waste due to misplacement of material equipment for social, educational and religious purposes now so often arising out of the fact that interest boundaries are not coterminous.

The community program should provide for all the essential interests of the entire group. It will not interfere with limited group organization for special purposes, but will insure that the community as a whole is provided with a definite community life. The political, social, educational and religious interests will be strengthened and conserved thereby.

The principal difficulty presenting itself at the present time in formulating a program which will include both the village tradesman and the farmer, is that they are, as it were, on opposite sides of the counter and it is apparently very difficult to get people to associate with

one another whose economic interests are opposed. The farmer thinks the retail dealer is taking advantage of him, and is inclined to patronize the mail order houses. The retail dealer thinks the farmer unjust when he fails to patronize home industries. It has been found difficult to get those who are thus economically opposed to mingle freely in social life. Differences in dress and point of view have also tended to keep the villager and the farmer apart socially.

The solution of the difficulty lies in the unifying of the economic interests of the farmer and the village resident through the development of co-operation. In England and in other countries where co-operation has developed to such a wonderful degree it has been largely a movement on the part of consumers in the large centers and in its growth has tended to reach out and take over agriculture. In this country, the co-operative movement in its recent rapid and solid development has been largely one of farmers taking over as rapidly as standardization of business methods would permit, the activities formerly controlled by other groups. They have organized their co-operative elevators, located in villages; their livestock shipping associations, fruit marketing organizations and supply buying agencies, including the development of warehouses to enable them to control the sale of their own products; creameries and cheese factories; and in some places have demonstrated that they can operate continuously and successfully their own co-operative stores, banks and other village industries. The movement has so far won its way that today instead of having to fight unaided the powerful organizations of urban business men, it has the encouragement of the United States government and of the more progressive state governments. All this indicates that the village of the future is going to have an economic unity under the control of the farmer that will do away with the counter and put the entire community into harmony in its economic life. "Each for all and all for each" is gradually becoming a reality in the smaller communities. The employed groups have their due representation as a part of the organization through profit sharing as employees and as consumers.

When the village community attains this goal of economic unity of interest the way will be cleared for the wholesome development of all other phases of its life. The natural community, determined largely by economic interest, will have its economic equipment; it will have its equipment for social and recreational life, controlled by such agencies as are most representative of the community at large; its educational life will be developed in the largest interest of the group; the health of the community will be conserved by agencies working in the interest of and in the employ of the community instead of by those motivated by an antiquated fee system; and it is to be hoped that the religious life of the community will be based on essential principles that will do away with what is today one of the most serious handicaps to its progress, that is, the competition of religious groups. This is a picture which, it must be



admitted, is largely Utopian; but it is drawn from concrete tendencies to be found in village and rural life on every hand; and there is reason to hope that before many years shall pass such communities shall be the rule rather than the exception in American life.

### THE COMMUNITY ADVISER AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

*R. E. Hieronymus, Community Adviser, University of Illinois, Urbana*

Congestion is the problem of many overcrowded cities. Isolation is the problem of most rural communities. Both need help from without and both must be developed from within. But the sparsely settled country district is usually looked upon, both from within and from without, as helpless, unless somebody beyond comes in and does something for it. And when this is done the neighborhood often thinks somebody has done something *to* it. What is really needed, of course, is for somebody to do something *with* the community. This the *community adviser* seeks to do.

It is the working together of forces, each for the other, that brings tangible, lasting results. Until the people of a community are busy in their own behalf there is nothing doing really worth while. Genuine social betterment must be evolved from within, not laid out from without. When a community seriously sets itself about the development of its own resources, it has entered also upon the solution of its own problems.

And yet this is only half the truth. All of us are familiar with places in which it would apparently take a thousand years to evolve out of themselves anything further than the circle within which they have long been rotating. Until some help from beyond is given, they must continue going round in the same old circle. A force from without is necessary to assist in organization, in control and direction of activities. But only such communities can thus be helped through the community adviser as are ready to help themselves.

The University of Illinois stands ready to aid such communities by bringing them into touch with the proper expert at the university or elsewhere throughout the state. To this end agricultural colleges, for example, send out men to meet and discuss with various groups the problems that are causing them trouble. The State Water Survey gives directions as to water supply and disposition of sewage, so essential to the public health in many parts of the state. The state entomologist is able to help those communities troubled with chinch bugs, Hessian flies, and various other pests. The household science department, through its extension activities, is bringing new life into many places hitherto inactive. The College of Education is helping constantly districts that are trying to adjust themselves to the new conditions under which they must work.

The College of Commerce has been helpful in the development of a new spirit in many commercial clubs and civic leagues. Such statewide organizations as the Rotary club, federation of women's clubs, parent-teacher associations, association of commerce, state teachers' association, school masters' club, the Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations, the state Sunday school association and the churches, the state bankers' association, the building and loan league—all of these and many other organizations—commercial, social, civic, educational, religious—have shown not only a willingness but a desire to cooperate with the community adviser in helping to make better communities in which to live. The normal schools of the state and the state federation of colleges are all vitally interested and working together for the common good. Such state agencies as the state board of health, the welfare department, the library commission, the superintendent of public instruction, and the department of education and registration, join no less heartily.

It will thus be seen what a few of the many forces are, that are available for whatever form of help is most needed in communities that are so organized and that really can be helped. That general form of help is best which helps a community to help itself. "To him that hath shall be given," etc.

The community in a very important sense is the unit of action in a democracy. The number of things that can be done only by cooperation are increasing from time to time. Until the people living close together in united action bring the worth while things to pass, a *locality* has not yet fully become a *community*. The war is stimulating many communities and is leading them through service and sacrifice to unselfish action for their common good. One of the chief functions of the community adviser in his relation to rural communities during the period of the war is to encourage and promote every wholesome movement that unites the people in a common, worthy cause and that quickens their spirit. This war is calling out both at home and abroad the best there is in us, and not the worst. We must not at this time of national peril fail to emphasize the social significance of working together for the common good.

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## THE NEGRO'S PART IN RACIAL CO-OPERATION IN THE COMMUNITY

*Kelly Miller, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Howard University, Washington*

The contact, attrition and adjustment of the various races and nations of mankind constitute a problem which is coterminous with the ends of the earth. The problem of race adjustment is not limited to any country or continent or hemisphere, but is world-wide in its range and

scope. On final analysis it will be found that the problem of races is the greatest issue which the world to-day is called upon to solve. Economic and political questions may, for the time being, convulse the world in the bloody flux of war, but long after the war drum has ceased to beat and the battle flag is furled, the issue of race will survive in all its complex and perplexing phases.

In the United States we have but an infinitesimal fragment of the universal race problem, and yet our domestic problem possesses certain unique and peculiar features which cause the student of social subjects to bestow upon it a degree of attention accorded no other point of race contact throughout the world. Among the many peculiar features of the American race problem may be mentioned the fact that here we have the most gigantic instance in history where the weaker race has by force been brought into the midst of the stronger and insists upon insinuating itself into the life, character and destiny of its proud and powerful captors. In the second place, for geographic and economic reasons the Negro element is limited mainly to one section of the country, thus causing an unbalanced pressure upon the attitude and feeling of the white race. As a general proposition, it may be stated that the generous sentiment of the white race towards the Negro varies inversely as the square of the distance of its removal from the mass. In the third place, American institutions are based upon the proposition of the equality of all men under the law. The race question must therefore be solved in harmony with this fundamental basis of free institutions.

Voltaire has somewhere stated that it is more difficult and more meritorious to wean men of their prejudices than it is to civilize the barbarians. Here we have expressed the dual aspect of the race problem in the concise terms of a French aphorism. How can we wean the white race of its prejudices and at the same time lift the Negro to the level of American civilization? Either of these undertakings is sufficient to tax the highest human ingenuity. But when we roll the two into one we stand appalled at the task.

#### *First Principles of Racial Understanding*

But even if we are not at present able to make a full and satisfactory solution of the race problem, yet there are certain well understood conditions which must be fulfilled if the problem is to be solved at all. Our method of approach must, therefore, always be guided by these fundamental conditions. First, it is a universal principle that all peoples who must perforce dwell together find a *modus vivendi* and accommodate themselves to it. Indeed, this is true of the animal of the forest. The moving picture camera set up in the heart of Africa faithfully portrays the *modus vivendi* among the denizens of the jungle. In a region where there is but one water hole in a radius of many miles, the elephant, the lion, the tiger, the goat, the fox, the jackal, the fierce animals and the mild ones, all use this common fountain. They come and go with as

much orderliness and decorum as prevails at a well-ordered breakfast table. We may, therefore, rely upon the inherent propensity towards human adjustment and face the race situation without fear or trembling.

In the second place, there can be but one ethical standard to be applied to human beings, irrespective of race or color. The laws of science are absolutely uniform in their operation. The force of gravitation takes no heed of distinctions among men, and so the ethical laws admit of no variation to accommodate racial arrogance or pretension. It would be as disastrous to treat the two races by different moral formulas as it would be to adopt a double standard of weights and measures. The physician who would treat the Negro patient afflicted with the same ailment by a different method than that applied to a white patient would violate the integrity of his profession. The merchant who would mete out his goods to Negro customers by one yard stick and to his white customers by another would very soon acquire the deserved reputation of dishonesty. The merchant, the physician, the druggist, the lawyer, the business man, the man of practical affairs find that they must apply one invariable formula to white and black alike or stultify their own consciences and dishonor their professions.

In the third place, the Negro is a human being and is endowed with all the potential faculties and powers of humanity, albeit he may be belated and retarded in their development and exercise. The white race at present represents the advanced section of the human family and are trustees of human culture and civilization, a trust vouchsafed to them not for themselves alone or for their sons and daughters after the flesh, but for all the children of men. Those who entered the vineyard at the eleventh hour were received on terms of compensatory equality with those who had borne the heat and burden of the day. Other men have labored and we have entered into their labors.

#### *Integral Relations of White and Black*

With these fundamental propositions in mind we may approach the question of race co-operation with assurance that our efforts will not be in vain. It is not necessary that men should agree on all issues in order that they may work effectively together for certain definitely understood objects which promote the common good. Men differing widely in religion may work together in politics, and those with divers political views may be of the same household of faith.

There are certain general advantages which apply to both races alike, and numerous ills which afflict them both. Character, intelligence, industry, thrift, economy are virtues of universal value. There need be no apprehension that as the Negro advances in the scale of excellence he will become more menaceful to the white race. But vice is a menace to virtue, disease to health, ignorance to intelligence, and degradation is a menace to the decorum and decencies of life. The germs of disease gnaw with equal avidity at the vitals of white and of black alike, and have an



unobstructed passage from the one to the other. Ignorance, sloth, inefficiency, moral turpitude, by whatever element manifested, impair the standard and tone of the community in which they prevail. The two races should co-operate to the fullest extent to wipe out the evils and promote the good which are universal in their scope and application.

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." Pity and need make universal appeal to the human heart. The Negro makes the greatest demand upon social endeavor, because for the present his need is greatest and a Good Samaritan will rise up to bind his wound and sooth his bleeding heart. The very presence of the Negro, with his wide circle of needs, is indeed a benediction to the people among whom his lot is cast. It will serve to free them from that pharisaical *hauteur* which vaunts itself.

"I thank the Lord that I am not as other men." The priest in the parable who passed on the other side to avoid too close contact with the unfortunate victim who fell among thieves and robbers, in character has kinsfolk in the world of to-day. To his mind his own conduct was amply justifiable. He reasoned thus to himself: the poor victim who had fallen among robbers was not a member of his own race; he did not belong to his own religious cult or social scheme; he could not afford to become involved in a brawl among thieves and murderers—and besides, he was on his way to a preachers' meeting where he had to deliver a discourse upon some topic of great theological moment and could not afford to have his train of thought upset by such involvement. One is reminded of the good, pious lady in the antebellum days who became so deeply interested in the cause of foreign missions that she sold one of her slaves in order to increase her contributions to the cause.

Indeed, the Negro's presence, with his needs, imperfections and delinquencies growing out of his state, should lead those who are more fortunate, not to harden their hearts against his lot, but to increase their feeling for human awakening and improvement. Let both races through their best representatives join hand and heart in this field of human service, and if we do not succeed in solving the race problem, we will accomplish that which to us is of infinitely more importance; we will have done our duty.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. The informal discussion was preceded by an address by T. Arnold Hill, secretary of the Chicago League on Urban Conditions among Negroes on "The Problems of Racial Cooperation and Negro Newcomers to Northern Centers."

2. Another leader of the discussion was Mr. Albert Sidney Johnstone, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of South Carolina. Important desiderata in the settlement of the Negro question insisted upon by the speaker included: (1) that proper allowance of time be made for threshing out the issues; (2) that mutual confidence be maintained between leaders of two races, on a high grade, Christian basis; (3) that white leadership be provided. The difficulty

the speaker believed lay chiefly in the direction of competition between elements of each race, and insufficiency in the leadership provided by each.

3. The informal discussion, which took place chiefly at an adjourned session on Tuesday afternoon, May 21st, was carried on almost exclusively by Negroes. It began with an evaluation of an address made the evening before by James Weldon Johnson, in which it was generally agreed that the speaker had expressed what was in the hearts of his race. A second stage in the discussion was the consideration of the cause of the Negroes' failure to secure justice and advancement. With the exception of one speaker who was from the West Indies, all insisted that the Negro had ample capacity for organization. The deepest racial feeling was in evidence. The problems of the Negro were discussed in an unusually intimate and personal way. Mr. Cooper, the chairman of the Division, who presided, said: "I have never seen a meeting of such intensity as this."

4. Those who participated in this informal discussion included among others: Lester Riley, Springfield, Ill.; Josephine Pinyon, New York; Mary E. Jackson, New York; Mary B. Belcher, St. Louis; Blanche Bass, St. Louis; Mrs. R. T. Brooks, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. Myrtle F. Cook, Kansas City, Mo.; Amy Smith, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Parsons, Chanute, Kan.; Mr. Ervin, Lawrence, Kan.; Mrs. Dwiggin, Kansas City, Kan.; Mr. Jenkins, Kansas City, Mo.

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## RURAL CENTERS OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

*Warren H. Wilson, Country Church Work, Board of Home Missions,  
of the Presbyterian Church, New York*

There are many signs of the formation of an agrarian class in the United States. The latest of these is the proposal to organize the rural community. The country community will be the end of the chain of organizations and the last link in the structure of a national agrarian mechanism. In Lincoln's administration the Homestead Act and the Land Grant Act; in the last decade of the 19th Century the popular movements culminating in Mr. Roosevelt's Country Life Commission; the past eighteen years with their rapid organization under the Smith-Lever Act, the Smith-Hughes Act, the rural free delivery provision, the parcels post service, the creation during the past twenty years of the Department of Agriculture, with corresponding state departments, the development of good roads, telephones and of the rural service of automobiles and auto trucks, are all part of the structures which will serve an emergent class of farmers, specialized, peculiar in their needs and national in their thought and ambition. Recent radical movements, such as the Non-Partisan League, the Dairymen's League, Farmers' Union, and others less successful, show that the farmer in some respects has over-run the provision for his self-expression. But the materials provided in this list have tended to satisfy and exhaust the desire for self-expression on the part of the growing farmer class.

The war has brought to many the realization that the country com-

munity needs to be organized. This had been advocated by a few for a long time and recognized in an academic way; but now there are three departments in Washington, each with local correspondents in the state and county, demanding and insisting upon community organization in the country. The Department of Agriculture, through its States Relations Service; the Bureau of Education, through a special section; and the Department of War, through the Council of National Defense, have established offices and employed experts, with graphically outlined plans, for the purpose of organizing every rural hamlet. Their reason given is that the country community needs "civic form" such as the city has. The reasons given do not satisfy the inquirer fully and it is evident that this proposal from Washington, to be carried out through state and county officials, paid or volunteer, is the culmination of a long growth in opinion. The war has made it acutely necessary for the national government to function in the place where the farmer spends his life. It has become plain that the agrarian resident is a nationalist; also, that the United States needs the farmer. Hence we have the proposal, which teachers and propagandists have long cherished, of a rural organization which will nationalize the rural resident and give him an outlook upon the whole country. For however the city may be a place of international interest, the country is the home of patriotism and nationalism.

This community organization has obvious practical value. Adequate schools can be had only through the consolidated unit, which is a community unit. Public health service can be given only by resident nurses and sanitarians. And the area to be reached by such a worker is a community area. Resident ministers are needed in the country and the parish served by a pastor is the same thing as the community.

#### *The Farmer's Radius of Contacts*

There is, however, such an indefinite character to this agitation, and so many of those engaged in "community work" are new, that a distinct service will be rendered by defining the country community. It is, of course, a social population having no center larger than twenty-five hundred who have things in common. By the conditions of their industry and by the nature and contour of the land they will meet for economic, social, educational and religious experience. Geographically, a country community is the habitat of a farm family. Upon this land, the community includes the roads, property, buildings and people who are located within an easy drive of one another. The rural community, which is usually agricultural, has its radius fixed by the conditions of farming; especially by this fact, that the farmer is the producer of food. There is no way to produce food save through the co-operation of domestic animals and domesticated vegetables. The grouping of man and his domestic animals and plants we call a farm. Some of these creatures which dwell with man on the farm live no longer in a wild state. All of them are dependent upon man's care and without them food cannot

be made. Therefore, to be a farmer requires daily presence on the farm. The farm operator must be home at night, or at least by the second night. This gives him a short radius. It intensifies his knowledge of everything within his short tether and it makes him alien to everything outside of it.

There are communities in such a state as Kansas that have a wider radius, because the farmer does not work on the wheat crop more than a few months of the year and he enjoys the use of the automobile, so that he can range afar. But the tendency of these western grain growing states and of the southern cotton growing states is toward a diversified farming, which more and more keeps the farmer at home.

The community is further defined by the experience of the marginal people, by whom I mean those who are barely able to survive, whose attachment to the industry is weaker than that of the farm operator. Among the farm people, the women, the old men and women, the adolescents, the children, those who are sick or about to die, the immigrant, the farm hand, the farm tenant—all these are confined to the community. Their radius of action is shorter than that of the farm operator. They cannot go far from home. The community exists for them and its institutions must be provided in their interest.

There are very few consciously organized communities. In some sections it is difficult to trace the outline and draw the boundary between communities. The New England states did it in creating their town government pretty successfully. Their example has been imitated with diminishing success, as one goes west from New England. Even the Massachusetts town is nowadays unsatisfactory as a community organization and the State College of Agriculture at Amherst is trying to form community councils in which the social life of the town shall be as perfectly embodied as the civic life has been in the town meeting. Western states which imitated the New England town in a stiff academic way by surveying the map instead of surveying the people now discover that their country people are without citizenship. Professor Galpin has shown in his studies of *Social Basins* in Wisconsin that the farm operator in that state belongs to no community. He is laid hold of by all and naturally reacts in an evasion of all social, educational and humanitarian responsibilities. In the South the community is supposed to be identical with the county because in the past the influential people lived on horseback and enjoyed a wide radius of action. But the marginal people, the aged, the sick, the poor, the Negro, most of the women, the children, and other essential members of the household group always lived in the South in a narrow habitat. With increasing diversity and intensification of southern agriculture and with the emergence of the poor white man into importance, with the growth of Negro farm ownership and operation, the southern country community appears to be, if anything, smaller than that in the North and much smaller than the western community. In mountain and retarded sections of the South the country community



is a mere neighborhood, sometimes only a cove or peninsula half a mile wide and a mile long, outside of which the resident will not go to church and within which alone his acquaintance and confidence are extended.

### *Rural Community-Wide Agencies*

In all these cases diseases spread to the boundaries of the communities and stop there. The range of the epidemic is the boundary of a community. Inter-marriage with its consequent effects in degeneracy or in high intellectual levels extends to the boundary of the community. The areas studied by the investigators of rural degeneracy are always community areas about the size of a township. The range of specific criminality in the country is community wide. The region affected by a leading citizen, a talented teacher or a devoted pastor is a country community.

In spite of the lack of consciously organized rural community centers in the Middle West, farmers meet monthly or more often in the grain elevator, which they own co-operatively; and every meeting of farmers has a discussion of community matters. The grange, organized generally throughout the country, is a community organization. Indeed, it has given up many of its original economic purposes in order that it may survive as an agency of social interchange, discussion, recreation and acquaintance. The country store has always been recognized because of the variety of errands which bring men to its counter as a favored meeting place. There men and even women spend some time. All the news of the community is exchanged there and every interest of the countryside is discussed. The old-fashioned store-keepers, of whom, alas, there are few survivors, were community leaders, for it takes high ability to manage a Marshall Field emporium in a small population. The sifting of the country population by the attractions of city business has resulted in inferior men who have no business ability succeeding to the old store-keepers. But so long as the country store is managed by a man of ability his precious executive traits gather around him the whole business of the countryside and his store serves as a satisfactory community center; until an organization has to be provided for modern scientific government and public service.

The chautauquas have been and are community centers. These strange and interesting enterprises, projected over the whole country on the example of certain great central assemblies, are universally popular. It is enough to hang out a sign over a village street, "Chautauqua August 10th to 20th," and every country resident will prepare to attend. The discussion covers the elements of all community organization; but so far the chautauqua has not put its hand to the local problem which is the essence of community life. It has not paid to do so.

In many county seat towns rest rooms are provided for women, very often in the court house, sometimes in a conveniently located church. There is a town in Illinois which has a rest room for women attached

to a meeting room for men where the daily market quotations are displayed; the newspapers and the agricultural journals are on file; and a competent woman is in charge. The farmer is so practical that I venture to believe that a community center will amount to little until it has a physical and material form. A good instance of this is in the town of Vernon, New Jersey, in Sussex county. There is a board of trade that has all the value of a community legislature. It has a membership extending to all classes of the community, with a fee of \$1.00 per year. It has representatives, I am told, of every society in the town except one church. I have been unable to get back to the original move which has resulted in this happy combination, but I believe it was occasioned by the discovery that the town had at its use a building well fitted and well located for a community meeting place. The use of this pleasant building has accustomed men to working together and little by little a fine and effective organization has grown up, in which one can find no single leader. Four influential families have equal share in the leadership. The community house which has occasioned and sheltered this "civic form" is the property of St. Anne's Episcopal Church. The forbearance of this parish may be the explanation of the happy community organization.

The consolidated school is an educational attempt to serve the community. Its boundaries are the same as those I have described. It has as large a district as it can for those who are to assemble daily for school, while living at home. No better community organization is so widely extended. As soon as we have high school and grammar school teachers who are animated by the community spirit we will have in the consolidated school the desired community center.

There are a few community churches throughout the country. Those that are Roman Catholic or Lutheran, while their number is small, are successful in a larger proportion of cases in bringing the people together in the church for community enjoyment. The Protestant churches have a stiff, academic distrust of a connection between the church and popular life which forbids them to house or to promote recreational or economic enterprises; so that usually if a Protestant church has a community spirit it builds a parish house or secures its erection. Sometimes there are two such parish houses competing, as in Kinderhook, New York. Sometimes the parish house is quite independent of the church, though promoted by the same people, as in Locust Valley, New York. The story of the Locust Valley movement is told in the fine book which appeared last year, *"Fear God in Your Own Village."*

The city is a rural center, but it does not belong in this topic. The agrarian class arising in this country has this characteristic, to distinguish it from the mining population and from the fisherman who also produce raw materials, that the farmer has a definite relation to the city. Indeed, the city is the real dynamic center of country life. The health work for the country extends out from cities, as a rule, under the clear recognition of the mutual dependence of city and country upon one another in the

matter of health and disease. The most of diseases, though not all, which we fear in the city or in the country, are urban-rural. Their causes and effects are distributed between the city and the country.

The college is a rural center, but it may be excluded from this paper because of the title. During the past one hundred years the American academy and college, as appears plainly enough in older sections, as East Tennessee, are throbbing hearts and brains of the region in which they are located. Nowadays the agricultural college and the normal school are rural centers ministering to a large area and maintaining a lively interchange of the peculiar function that is theirs.

### *A Civic Form of Activity*

So far, I have tried to array the centers of community activity which are instinctive and traditional. There are parts of the country in which no community exists and there are mere neighborhoods where families just tolerate one another or possess only that in common which emergency or passion requires of them. The most of the United States, however, is still in the enjoyment of instinctive community organization like that of the country store. What we are discussing nowadays is a "civic form" for *activity*. Those collective activities which now express themselves in voluntary associations are public health nursing associations, women's clubs, farmers' clubs, pastors' associations, granges and other isolated societies. What we are seeking under the pressure of this war is a form of self-expression for the common life of the people.

We recognize that the community must provide the essentials of living on behalf of its marginal people. We recognize, for instance, that there must be health service, co-operative organization for fairness to the poor man, rural credit associations for helping the tenant to buy land and the mortgaged farmer to get out of debt. There must be activity for the young people to help them realize their moral relations to one another. They must have opportunity to play, to do "project work" in common; the young men and women must get normally acquainted; and there must be educational provision, within reach of every home, adequate to the training of young men and women until eighteen years of age in the business of farming and of home-making, while they sleep and eat at home. These are essential provisions that require that the community be organized. Every one is a provision for marginal people who are in jeopardy, whose attachment to the community is slender or whose temptations to leave it are strong.

This is the reason why the *community council* is proposed by such far-sighted men as Thomas Nixon Carver, E. L. Morgan and C. J. Galpin; and this is the reason for the national government interesting itself in country matters. The keystone of the bridge whose foundations were laid in Lincoln's administration in government provision of land for the farm owner and of education for the farmer's son, and in the administration of Mr. Roosevelt and his successors in economic and

social organization for better business in the country, is the country community, consciously organized in a group of authoritative men and women, who shall promote the interests of the organized neighborhood. They shall represent in this group, according to the best experience we have to date, every organization of the community, the co-operative elevator, creamery, or produce exchange or store, the churches, the schools, the public health nursing association, the women's club, the grange, and every organized society of the community. This community council shall be formed, we are advised by the experts at Amherst Agricultural College, as a result of a dignified and thorough public discussion expressing itself in two mass-meetings several months apart, and the community council. This group, thus deliberately appointed, shall be like a commission government whose business it shall be to run the town.

### *A Plan of Action*

What is needed, therefore, for community activity during the war and after is:

*First.* United action between the bureaus in Washington which are promoting community organization; namely, the Council of National Defense, the farm bureau system in the States Relations Service, and the Bureau of Education. The national government should speak with one voice. It is the belief of the present writer that the Department of Agriculture, taking things as they are, should be the responsible agent, because it has in nearly every county in the country a farm bureau and a county agent, in many counties a woman agent as well. These persons, as one of them not long ago confessed, while trained for their work in agriculture and home economics, are really sociologists. Their business is with the people rather than with the cattle and with the vegetables. They are social organizers. As soon, therefore, as the national government speaks through one agency and as one voice we may progress toward country community organization.

*Second.* A clear-cut program for the rural community should be decided upon. It should contain instructions as to typical community organization for the country. It should be advocated by state and national government men, in a uniform way, that all people may understand; and its objective should be the statement of those essentials which the community should provide for its marginal citizens, whose needs and limitations are the occasion of community organization.

*Third.* With these things done, it is necessary that leaders in each community be enlisted by the county agent in the defined task of providing these essentials. The whole force of the government, state and national, should now be put behind a united program, and it should be demanded of the country neighborhood that it perform it. The reason is evident and the need is obvious. The opposition of conservative minds can be overcome by national authority under war pressure. The county agent, under the Department of Agriculture, is on the job and he, with



his woman associate in service, may be reinforced by extension workers from the state colleges and state universities, who are the best trained persons for this work. Soon we would have by this method in each community those "community boosters," as Americans would call them, who will see to it that the neighborhood serves its marginal members. Then there shall be a consolidated school for the adolescents and other children from the seventh grade upward. There shall be health service for every member of the community equal to that which is now provided for the hogs and the colts and the calves in important cattle-breeding counties. There shall be rural credit associations such as the government has promised in the Federal Farm Loan Act, and there shall be one church in the community with a resident pastor, however many preachers there may be. It is not difficult to prepare such a plan. One might name a half score of well-known men who, if assembled at Washington, could agree upon the plan which the government should now propose.

What we are facing is the creation of machinery for the rising agrarian class in America. We do not want to have either peasants or Junkers, and we are in great danger of the one in Illinois and of the other in North Dakota. In either case we cannot evade having a farming class in America. We must provide the machinery that will make unnecessary the radicalism to which the farmers are prone and will dissolve the conservatism which is their usual state. We must provide means of discharging the surliness and sweetening the suspicion which arise out of the conditions of country life. These constitute national dangers. The ignorant peasant and the Junker are big factors in the European struggle. We have the making of both these distorted forms; but we have made great progress in the past twenty years in providing the economic and social and educational materials for an American farmer class to use. The next step is the organization of the rural community which will bring all these arrangements, prepared since the administration of Abraham Lincoln, within the reach of the resident in the country—the farm tenant, the old men and women, the adolescents, the sick and the little children.

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#### REFORM IN LAND SETTLEMENT METHODS

*Elwood Mead, Professor of Rural Institutions, University of California, Berkeley*

Perhaps I may best introduce my subject, State Aid and Direction in Land Settlement, by a comparison of the American methods—we shall hardly call it a policy, of settling the lands with the well-defined policy adopted by the Australian States.

For seven years I was fortunate enough to have the privilege of working for an Australian government that has shown great wisdom

and sagacity not only in dealing with its land and water, but indeed with regard to all its social and industrial problems. All of my previous experience in the United States had taught me that neither the states nor the nation had shown much regard for the human or social side of land questions. The disposal of the public domain and the later development of irrigation in the West furnish abundant examples of how utterly the essential factors in the whole scheme, the settler, his farming and the communities to be created, were ignored. No better plan could have been adopted for building up immense land monopolies and their correlative peasant-like tenant systems than those embodied in the federal and state land legislation of our country. Under this legislation the best part of the public domain was turned over to railroads, the states, the cattle interests, and American and European land combines.

Here in America, especially with regard to rural affairs, we seem to have no genius for social engineering. We have great ability to manipulate materials, we have abundant commercial enterprise, but when we undertake to develop social organization and to link it with material situations through the mediation of government agencies to the mutual advantage of all, there we have been naive and unskilled as children. We not only have been unskilled, we have deliberately believed in and sanctioned the exploitation of the public land in a way that has not only often placed an unbearable burden upon settlers but handicapped all the federal and state undertakings.

The Australian States, in handling their land problems, began by giving away the land, which speedily fell into the hands of big holders, speculators and all their kind. Like us, they began through the Government to stimulate agriculture and irrigation and to settle people upon the public land that remained. They speedily ran up against the obstructions of private rights and property created by the older free alienation policy. But unlike us, they did not stop there. By methods pronounced by their courts to be just and equitable the public welfare was made to take its way against private interests. If there is any one thing which distinguishes the Australians above other people it is the power to see the *ensemble* of factors in a national situation. Material, financial, legal, social, and national interests receive their due consideration. Government is the only agency that can assimilate and utilize these diversities in the communal interest. With us, an enterprise of the character we have under discussion is pretty sure to split upon one or another of these inhospitable rocks which rise in independence from the floor of our common institutional origins.

I shall not weary you with details, but suffice it to say that when an area, irrigated or not, is proposed for settlement it is seen through to the finish. The state's credit is freely used to purchase land, subdivide it, start crops upon it, and when ready for settlement to make advances for home building and equipment of the farm. The payments

are so small and the interest so low, together with low land values, that thrift has an abundant opportunity. And thrift does take the opportunity. An inappreciable number of settlers fail to make good. We should hesitate to advance a relative stranger and inexperienced man \$2,500 to improve his holding even under supervision. They do it in most of the Australian states and have found no reason to discontinue the policy. One might say that such advances were so much subsidy to emigration, a bid for population against all of the rest of the world. Australia wants settlers, but she wants good ones. She does as much for her own people as for the new comer.

The way Australian states and commonwealths, as well as New Zealand, use the national credit for purposes of social advancement astonishes the stranger. The per capita indebtedness is far in advance of that of other English-speaking nations; still their credit remains good. The reason lies in the soundness of the view that investments made for social benefits when they are associated with material resources can never become insecure. You have fortified and bestowed the sinews of war upon the redeeming agent. The great point is that the beneficiary pays the bill, not the people as a whole. That Australia is not afraid to loan her credit to meet human needs witness the fact that the commonwealth parliament is now making arrangements to spend twenty million pounds—an equivalent for our population of about two billion dollars—to place soldiers upon the land. But here again this is not to be a burden upon the taxpayer. The cultivated land in the next two generations will pay the bill.

In California we are attempting to do something along these lines. An appropriation was made last year by the legislature sufficient to establish one colony. The bill authorized the purchase of 10,000 acres and created the State Land Settlement Board to administer the undertaking. The land was carefully selected, negotiations for its purchase completed, the acreage subdivided, a third of the crops put in, roads made, and the settlers placed in possession; all within one year's time. For many years not a single owner had lived upon this land. When an outlying tract is made ready for sale there will be about one hundred and fifty families in the community. The best part of the tract, including a splendid grove of oaks and sycamores, has been set aside for the community center and for workmen's allotments of two acres each.

Compared with the neighboring land, prices and the usual financial arrangement of commercial settlement, or indeed of any farm purchase, the terms are very advantageous to the settler. Prices range from \$65 to \$235 per acre with water according to soil values. Five per cent is paid down and the balance is paid, together with 5 per cent interest, in semi-annual installments amortized over twenty years. All improvements are paid for in the same manner. The laboring man has the same terms to pay for his land and for money advanced by the board for the building of houses.

Notwithstanding these terms, the initial payment and the installments are perhaps too high for young people with small means to undertake to develop a farm in this colony. We hope to be able in the future to extend more liberal credit to the right people and to reduce the payments of principle to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, extending the time over forty years instead of twenty.

The significance of the board's work lies not so much in the little that has been actually done, as it does in the example of a policy which is certain to supply the basis for the right kind of rural community. It is not to be offered, however, even with adequate financial support, as a final scheme for rural settlement. Residence is required here for ten years. After that period, especially if the colony is prosperous and the land values high, the usual influences promoting tenantry may set in. In time we shall come to some form of the nationalization of the land. We shall regard the soil some day as a kind of public utility only to be used by those who can make the best use of it in the interests of the best agriculture and the national welfare.

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## THE WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY THE SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZATION

*Courtenay Dinwiddie, Executive Occupational Council, National Social Unit Organization, Cincinnati*

As I understand the desire of the Conference to be a statement of accomplishments rather than of plans and purposes, I shall not attempt this morning to give a formal or official account of the Social Unit Organization. Instead, I shall give an informal running fire of personal observations of the actual working out of the Social Unit plan in Cincinnati. This will be from the point of view of one who was keenly interested and active in securing the plan for Cincinnati and who has followed it with the closest attention during its operation.

Early in 1917, after Mr. and Mrs. Phillips had come to Cincinnati, we proceeded to form a temporary organizing committee, consisting, so far as possible, of representatives of the leading skilled groups, such as physicians, nurses and social workers and the various business, labor and civic organizations, as suggested by these organizations themselves. This temporary organizing committee of seventy-two members appointed a nominating committee and a committee on constitution. The nominating committee proceeded to explain the Social Unit plan to the leading occupational groups in the city and to secure the election, by those groups, of councils and the election, by those councils, of executives.

### *Preliminary Organization*

In this way there were democratically nominated to the City Occupational Council a social worker, a business man, a representative of



labor, a nurse, a physician, an accountant, an advertising man, a statistician and a newspaper reporter. After the city organization meeting, of which I shall speak, representatives of the clergy, of the city departments and of the city council were added to the City Occupational Council. The city also was roughly districted into neighborhoods, in which the leading women were consulted. Through their influence and invitation larger groups were called together and councils of women were elected by these groups in the greater number of the districts. Where this was found to be impossible, a representative was appointed temporarily. The councils so chosen elected executives. In all, there were 23 representatives of neighborhoods, as members of the City Citizens Council.

The executive secretary of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, as chairman of the committee on nominations, reported these nominations at the city organization meeting held on March 22nd, explaining that the nominating committee had had the least difficult task of any he had known, so far as selection of desirable candidates was concerned; the candidates having been nominated by the groups they represented in every case.

The committee on constitution took the constitution of the National Social Unit Organization as a basis for its consideration. While holding to the general principles of organization represented there, the city constitution, as actually drafted by this committee, included many important changes and I believe was an improvement over the constitution of the national organization. It represented the independent thought of the citizens of Cincinnati on this committee, headed by our superintendent of schools.

A word as to the city organization meeting. We discussed the size of the assembly hall which we should choose and finally agreed upon the Chamber of Commerce Assembly Hall, seating about 600 persons. Before the meeting opened, every seat was taken and the walls of the hall were lined with persons standing who had come to this first general meeting, for forming the city organization. One of our citizens, of many years' experience in civic and social movements, said that such a meeting had never been seen in Cincinnati before. It was not so much that the size of the gathering was unusual for the launching of a civic movement, but that it was so thoroughly representative in character. Practically every profession, the trades and almost every type of interest in the community was represented at this meeting, which proceeded to form the Cincinnati Social Unit Organization and to confirm the City Citizens and Occupational Councils nominated by the respective groups.

The next step was the selection of a district which should be the first social unit in which the plan would be tried out. As in the selection of the city, it was announced that the choice was open to competition. The democracy of the plan was pointed out as well as the opportunity of

the district to conduct the experiment itself. It was stated that a district typical of the average of the population was preferable and that one of the main considerations was the desire of the district for the experiment and its readiness to make it its own affair. At the suggestion of the superintendent of schools, an attractive pamphlet was prepared by the council of advertisers, which was distributed throughout the public schools and some of the parochial schools of the city, briefly describing the plan and giving an opportunity for parents to sign and return a petition for the plan to be tried out in their neighborhoods.

The four leading newspapers in the city printed a series of questions and answers on the social unit plan, its significance and advantages to a community, daily for a period of a week. Five districts of the city made more or less representative applications for the experiment to be tried out in their localities.

#### *Why the Mohawk-Brighton District Was Chosen*

The Mohawk-Brighton district, under the leadership of Miss Mary L. Hicks, librarian of the Dayton Street Library, and a large committee headed by Miss Ruth Gottlieb, one of the teachers, organized a thorough-going campaign to secure the experiment. House-to-house visits were instituted for the purpose of explaining the school pamphlet and securing signatures to the petition; meetings of the various business and civic organizations were held; the churches, schools and other agencies of the district were enlisted. The West End Medical Society, although at first not sympathetic with the plan, held a meeting on the subject at which it was discussed thoroughly. As a result of this meeting the society voted by a considerable majority to invite the Social Unit Organization to the Mohawk-Brighton district. Sixteen hundred persons signed petitions to the organization; 1,200 voted for the plan on ballots distributed through the schools. More than 100 influential citizens wrote individual letters, and 26 organizations asked that the district be selected. Campaign buttons were made and distributed among the workers and others interested.

As a result of this unique and spontaneous campaign, when a public hearing on the selection of a district was held on June first, there were 500 persons present, of which a large percentage were from the Mohawk-Brighton district, many of them prepared with telling speeches as to why the experiment should be tried in that area. The decision went with little question to that section of the city.

The Mohawk-Brighton district, on the upper edge of Cincinnati's "basin" area, represents perhaps the most typical section that could be selected in the entire city. It includes a good many tenements with some blocks in which bad housing conditions exist, but the majority of the residents are an independent, fine type of American citizens. There is a fair percentage of immigrants, particularly of the Slavic races. A

large percentage of the population is of German extraction. The entire population is 15,000.

Certainly no other district could have been selected which would have had a keener interest, a more thorough appreciation of the significance of this neighborhood experiment and a readier willingness to shoulder the responsibility for directing it. The Social Unit plan thus was begun under auspicious circumstances for a democratic neighborhood plan.

#### *Four Months of Neighborhood Organization*

The committee which had conducted the campaign for the Mohawk-Brighton District met and constituted itself a temporary organizing committee, appointing two sub-committees, on districting and nominations, and on constitution and arrangements.

Of the 38 physicians living or having the bulk of their practice in the Mohawk-Brighton district, 36 came together to form the Mohawk-Brighton Physicians' Group and to take charge of the medical part of the experiment.

Representatives of the leading business men's clubs elected an executive, a social workers' group was formed and elected an executive, and similarly, the Protestant ministers, the teachers and the nurses organized for service. A local representative of the Central Labor Council was delegated as a member of the local Occupational Council.

Active and cordial support has been given to every phase of the experiment by the local Catholic clergy, but a formal delegate has not as yet been appointed as their representative. The Occupational Council has, since its election, designated a temporary representative of the bankers to serve as the controller of the local organization.

A careful piece of organization work was done throughout the 31 sub-districts, or "blocks," of approximately 500 population each. At first it was attempted to call together a preliminary and representative committee, which should, as in the City Organization, call together a larger committee and elect a council. It was later found desirable, even before calling together the original committee for the block first to study the lines of acquaintance running through the blocks, so as to be sure that leading women in each group attended the preliminary meetings. These women, then, through their friends and acquaintances, discussed the organization and its plans and were able to get together a much more representative group, which elected a council, the council electing an executive. The election of all councils has been conducted on the proportional representation plan.

One of the most encouraging developments of the experiment has been the character and spirit of the executives elected, not only from the block councils, but from the various occupational councils.

As a climax to this organization period of 4 months, in September, 1917, at a public meeting, open to all residents of the Mohawk-Brighton district, the Mohawk-Brighton Social Unit Organization was formally

organized and nominations to the Occupational Council and to the Citizens Council were ratified. As representatives of the 31 blocks there were 11 elected in the manner that I have described, 12 elected as chairmen of fairly representative temporary organizing committees, and several other tentatively named temporary organizers.

From September to December the time was largely taken in perfecting this neighborhood organization, in extending through the various blocks an understanding of this neighborhood experiment, in building up more representative councils in some of the blocks and in finding headquarters for the district organization, which proved to be a tedious and difficult task. The search for a head nurse, an essential to the first neighborhood service to be undertaken, also took time in view of the tremendous demand for capable nurses everywhere.

#### *First Service Established*

All of this organization work brought us to the first of December, at which time the first neighborhood service, a post-natal service for the prevention of disease in infants under 1 year of age was begun.

I believe that this organizing period was too long. I say this in spite of the fact that all of the time spent in explaining the social unit plan, in securing the remarkably democratic backing, for so short an existence, and in organizing the groups to support it and intelligently supervise it as their own experiment, has brought results that are invaluable. However, I believe that if there had been earlier a definite neighborhood service around which the explanation of the plan could have centered, it would have made this explanation easier and more understandable and thus would have accomplished the same result in a shorter time.

The beginning of the post-natal service in the Mohawk-Brighton district opened a notable chapter in medical experiments. The type of service offered, in examining babies to prevent illness, in instructions to their mothers, in referring them to their family physicians where treatment was necessary and in following them up through visits to the health station and visits by the nurses in the home, was not different from that in a number of health or infant welfare centers in other places. However, it was unique that such a service should have been started with its special background, indicated by the following facts:

*First*, the necessity for such a service and its importance were determined by vote of representatives of the blocks and of the groups mentioned, on the Citizens and Occupational Councils.

*Second*, the registering of the babies and the bringing of mothers with babies to the baby health station was conducted, *not* by outside workers, but by residents of the blocks themselves. In this way it was possible to make the baby service a distinctly neighborhood affair in which there was no line drawn between rich and poor. It was con-



sidered a matter of pride to have had one's baby examined by the station doctors.

The block workers had passed from the realm of organizers for a somewhat theoretical plan to that of definite workers for a well understood service, concretely illustrating the general principles of organization which they had previously explained. One of the block workers was held up by a small boy of 8 who had been watching her visits from house to house with much interest. He said, "Please, lady, couldn't you bring a baby to our house?" The block worker explained that she did not have babies to give away, but the young man insisted that she could supply him because he knew that she had brought a baby 2 days before to Mrs. Brown next door.

*Third*, from the medical aspect, the most unusual part of this service was that it was conducted by the physicians living and practicing in the neighborhood. In one of our leading cities which I visited last summer I asked the physician in charge of the health centers of the city what was the attitude of the local physicians. He said, "Well, I believe that we are going to succeed in getting these centers well started before the local men realize just what we are doing." In another city the health officer, when asked a similar question, said, "Dinwiddie, to tell the truth, I don't give a d— for the local men!"

Many cities are doing excellent infant welfare work, but it is exceptional if this service in any case reaches more than 10 percent of the babies of the city with adequate care and in no place can it be said to have secured the thorough understanding and full co-operation of the average practicing physician.

In the Mohawk-Brighton district, not only have the physicians assigned to the post-natal staff had the clinical opportunities there available, but through frequent staff consultations, through visits to other clinics in the city, conferences with the post-natal committee of the Academy of Medicine (appointed at the request of the local men to co-operate with them), and through general broadening of contacts and experience, they have been given those opportunities for growth and development which are the right of every practicing physician, but which, in most cases, are reserved for the few. In other words, the great educational advantages of organized medicine and of consultation and conference with expert opinion are being used for the benefit of the average practitioner rather than merely of a small group and of the average patient rather than of the few who may be able to pay a good fee or who avail themselves of the public welfare work, considered in most cases as charity.

*Fourth*, in support of this post-natal service was instituted a neighborhood educational plan which, although somewhat belated in this instance, the physicians intend to carry out for similar services whenever established. This plan includes: (1) a careful explanation by the experts, in this case the physicians themselves, to the block workers and

to the various special groups, such as the ministers, teachers, etc.; (2) a general dissemination of this knowledge and information as to the necessity for the service, its importance and the co-operation necessary on the part of the residents of the district, together with such popular information on it as may be desirable; (3), the holding of a public open meeting at which the problem of infant welfare, or whatever it may be, is discussed clearly in a popular way.

### *Results of Initial Effort*

As a result of these features in the establishment of this service, out of 297 babies under one year of age in the Mohawk-Brighton district, every one is under the supervision of a trained nurse from the Social Unit staff and 206, or 70 per cent, have been given complete physical examination by the station physicians to date—a unique record, considering the few months in which this service has been in operation.

Also through this baby service the enlistment of the interest of others besides the block workers and nurses has been begun. A Roumanian minister in contact with one section of the district became enthusiastic over saving the little ones, brought in many mothers and their children and helped spread the good word. In many instances the contacts with families, because of interest in the welfare of the babies, proved an entering wedge to wider social understanding and to interchange of courtesies on the part of families living in the same block who had not previously known each other.

The Physicians' Group voted to have the staff in charge of the post-natal service change every 3 months. This decision, which was considered an unwise one by some members of the staff, in view of the necessity of building up new contacts and understanding with each new staff coming on duty, has proved, as a matter of fact, to be an element of strength, by increasing interest on the part of the doctors and by distributing experience more widely. As additional staffs are added, as I shall indicate later, the tendency will be undoubtedly for a particular staff to specialize in a particular service and for the medical work to be more stabilized and even better standardized.

### *Explanation of Budget Brings Crisis*

As I have been following a more or less chronological order, I want to speak here of one of the most interesting experiences through which we went in the earlier period of organization. When Mr. Phillips asked me in December last whether we should present the detailed budget of the Social Unit Organization, covering national, city and local expenditures, completely itemized, the suggestion came to me with something of a shock. Knowing how difficult it is to explain budgets and the especial difficulty of explaining many items in the budget for a wholly new experiment in which there were so many different problems of organization, it seemed like an almost hopeless task to gain a thorough

neighborhood understanding in a brief time. However, we all agreed that if this were to be a democratic experiment, all of the cards must be on the table, and that it were far better that difficult points as to finances and distribution of funds should be gone into thoroughly before rather than after the beginning of the fiscal year. The presentation of the budget in detail to the block workers and through them to the block councils, also to the occupational councils and through these groups to the neighborhood in general, aroused a storm of discussion. There was a general desire to know why so much money should be spent in services of nurses, physicians and organizers, and practically none in direct relief.

It was necessary to explain also, in connection with an experiment which was so largely local, the necessity for city and national budgets in order that the city and national physicians, nurses, social workers and other groups might be taking an active part in it as a city and national plan. It was shown that there was a large and increasing number of persons in Cincinnati and outside who wished to be kept informed of the program and its development and that it was important to do this, if the successful features of the plan were to be extended to other districts on the basis of popular approval. It was pointed out, further, that this was a scientific experiment to determine the best methods of solving social problems and meeting human needs and was not to prove the merits of any particular method or plan of organization. Therefore, funds would be spent partly in trying new methods of work and in other experimentation involving an expense which would not be repeated in extending the plan, just as overhead expenses would not be repeated for new units of work.

I must confess that the period immediately following the presentation of this budget was for me one of depression and of pessimism as to the success of the plan. But it was the mutual consideration by the different councils of the financial needs of the services under each, which marked the beginning of an appreciation of the need for a spirit of mutual concession and co-operation in community service. This spirit developed rapidly from that point on. Doubt and difficulties concerning the budget were explained away or adjusted satisfactorily. When a public hearing was held on December 4, 1917, every item of the budget was brought up and fully discussed and it was unanimously endorsed by those present. It is true that there were only 75 persons present, but a budget is a technical subject and almost at the same time the public was being invited to a hearing on necessary adjustments in the budget for the entire city of Cincinnati, at which only one person was present.

#### *Some Results of Intensive Organization for Health Work*

The development of the nursing work has been interesting. The number of home visits by the nurses has increased from 25 in December to 668 in April. A corps of 5 nurses has districted the area so that each

now has only 3,000 population in her district. In this she carries on all forms of welfare work for babies and pre-school children and general visiting, and instructive nursing for the sick, including the tuberculous. The Anti-Tuberculosis League has assigned one of its nurses to the district who, instead of limiting her efforts to tuberculosis work, is doing this generalized nursing in order that all the other nurses of the district may be able to include tuberculous patients in their visits. This experiment in generalized nursing so far has eliminated 75 per cent of the time formerly spent by the nurses in traveling over a large area. It permits greater concentration on visits in the home and a more intimate touch with the life of the individual families of the neighborhood, without the duplication that would occur if each were engaged in a specialized nursing service.

In May it was voted by the organization to have a parade to stimulate further interest in "Children's Year." This proved to be a popular move, about which every one was enthusiastic, especially the foreign residents. Over 3,000 children took part in this parade, which included some novel effects, such as a camel from the Zoo labeled "Get a Hump on for Children's Health Year," pelicans with a sign reading, "We Eat Fish and Help Win the War; Do You?" and other attractions. A resident of the district for 20 years said that she had never before seen such keen and widespread interest aroused in the neighborhood. This undoubtedly helped in the Children's Year "Pre-school Drive."

Work for the health of pre-school children was begun a little late, owing to the delay in waiting for instructions and blanks from Washington. Each block worker, because of the acquaintanceship which she had built up, was able to register every pre-school child in her block in from 2 to 10 days. It was thus possible, instead of simply weighing and measuring the children, to make complete physical examinations. In one month 450 out of 1,173 pre-school children have been examined, and this number is increasing so rapidly that I am confident we will come near reaching the goal of 100 per cent. The results of the examinations show conclusively that if we wish to do intensive work for the prevention of disease, we must examine and supervise the health of children before they are of school age. The percentage of slight defects which might produce serious illnesses is large and there is a considerable number of cases of serious, though unsuspected, conditions of the heart and other organs, needing immediate corrective action.

Through the co-operation of the Cincinnati Dental Association and the resident dentists a thorough dental examination of all school children in the Mohawk-Brighton area is under way and will be completed within the next few weeks. The oral defects, like those discovered by the physicians, will be followed up through a co-operative system by the nurses, physicians, school teachers, ministers and block workers, so that so far as possible, they may be remedied through the family physicians



and through clinics and hospitals, where the parents are unable to pay for medical services.

*Relation Between Occupational and Citizens Groups*

The relation of the block workers to the occupational groups in the neighborhood, including the physicians and the nurses in dealing with all these problems, has been aptly described as similar to that between the nerves and the brain of the human body. The block workers are intimately in touch with the residents of their blocks, presenting to them information and suggestions, noting their impressions and opinions and representing them in a citizens' council. Co-ordinate with the citizens' council is the occupational council representing the skilled groups, which receives these reports on neighborhood conditions and opinions and develops plans and policies and conducts practical services, with the approval of the citizens' council.

"Case work" for families in the district who have special social problems should bring answers to many interesting questions, such as the part which preventive social service will play in maintaining normal standards of living; the extent to which the public health nurse, who is familiar with the family, should handle other family problems than nursing; the functions of block workers in dealing with families in need of social service and the relationships between nurses, social workers, block workers and physicians in dealing with all these problems. The Associated Charities has designated the Mohawk-Brighton area as a special district and assigned one of its workers as supervisor of its work there. The Social Workers' Council has recommended that the Social Unit Organization employ a worker who shall be the educational director for this plan of establishing and maintaining normal standards and of co-ordinating the policies and efforts of all groups to the one end. In charge of this part of the experiment is a council of social workers including all in direct charge of social service work in the district. The executive of this council will work in close co-operation with the city and national social workers' councils of the Social Unit Organization.

The use of the neighborhood organization for the promotion of war gardens, liberty loans and Red Cross work is developing successfully. The war garden group is one of the liveliest groups in the district with lots of initiative and energy. It has developed a garden plot on a vacant half plot in front of the Social Unit office in which the members of the families, from parents to little tots, may be seen busily working in the late afternoon and early evening. In all, over 200 war gardens have been cultivated in the neighborhood, most of them with the help of this war garden group. Excellent results were secured in promoting liberty loans and I am convinced that, with the knowledge and experience we have gained, much can be done to intensify such campaigns locally, working through school districts and community centers.

Another phase of the work, upon which I can barely touch, is the

development of a system of statistics by which community facts may be corrected and kept continuously up to date, so that conditions, services, costs and results may be known at any time. The statistical system will include keeping a population census, corrected week by week by the residents of the neighborhood, instead of hastily and at long intervals by outsiders.

#### *Other Elements; Forecast*

I have given you a brief running history of the Social Unit experiment as it is actually developing. I wish that there were time to go more fully into some of the more important phases; for instance, to see how the medical group, with its widening range of clinical experience, its staff consultations, its contacts with city and national experts, is developing what is practically a district medical college in close touch with the city medical college and hospital. Thus it will be possible not only for the patients to be followed through from the home to the hospital and back, but also for a complete system of medical education to be developed for physicians, nurses, and social workers. This will reach not only these groups, but also residents of the neighborhood in general, and special classes, such as mothers with infants. Similar developments in dealing with the problems in which nurses and the social workers' groups are interested could be elaborated.

The ministers and the teachers, who have been an active educational force for presenting and interpreting the plan, are both demanding an even more active part in conducting it, as an educational experiment.

The relation with the community centers in the district is a happy one. A special community center week, in which the activities of the centers was well advertised by the block workers and ministers and other groups, stimulated a great deal of interest last winter. Mr. Evans, executive of the local occupational council, was formerly director of community centers in the district, and still continues a close working connection with them. Both Mr. Condon, superintendent of schools, and Mr. Goodwin, director of civics and recreation, are keenly interested in making the district an experiment station. With the development of a neighborhood recreational group, which probably will be one of the next steps, the situation will offer an unusual opportunity for rounding out a complete program for community center activities and for recreational development on a democratic neighborhood basis.

One of the most encouraging parts of the experiment is the spirit of initiative and independence prevailing in the various groups. In the citizens' council, composed of all the block workers, which meets weekly or oftener, the reports and discussion are alive with spontaneity, frankness and friendly criticism. The more experienced members of the council have taken the lead in developing and training newer members, in the duties of block workers, methods of approach and so on.

I do not mean to give the impression that the Social Unit experiment has reached the greater number of the residents of the neighbor-

hood in a vital way. Many are interested only casually; some of the fathers of children object still to their children being examined, and here and there is a person who does not understand the plan and refuses to have anything to do with it. But the general community understanding, the spirit of brotherhood and the desire for team work appear to be growing in a way that is most encouraging. Those things, after all, are the most hopeful signs for the ultimate success of the experiment.

There are a number of other plans in view, such as the development of a plan of mutual agreement, between landlords and tenants, upon standards for housing and sanitation and their maintenance; and a proposed study of the bearing of the medical organization in the district upon the question of medical organization for health insurance. But as this is an "experience meeting" I shall not dwell upon plans which are as yet undeveloped.

As you will gather from the review of what has been done, the Social Unit experiment has not begun to deal with fundamental, industrial or economic questions. We do not expect that in one small district of a large city we shall ever be able to solve some of the pressing problems of the day. But we do hope that the spirit which prevailed in the discussion of the budget, which is evident in the meetings of the citizens and occupational councils and which has been shown by business men and trade unionists in discussing all phases of the work, is typical of the way in which the groups will take part in the Social Unit plan. If that is true, then the prospects are most hopeful, not only for solving many immediate and obvious problems, but for reaching an agreement on the solution of even more important and fundamental questions of community organization and of social policy in the same spirit of brotherhood.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. The leading speaker, *Mr. Dinwiddie*, was asked how far the general citizenship of the Mohawk-Brighton District was taking part in the Social Unit experiment. He replied that the Occupational Groups whose work gave them the opportunity of assisting, directly or indirectly, in the services already started were most co-operative. As to the citizens, he stated that *Mr. Eisler*, who had recently made, for the Cincinnati Americanization Committee, a study of four similar blocks occupied by foreigners, two within the Social Unit area and two without, had found a notably greater understanding of civic problems by the residents in the Social Unit blocks. *Mr. Dinwiddie* believed the understanding and co-operation of the general citizenship to be very encouraging, for so short a period, but that it would take time for the majority of citizens in a neighborhood of 15,000 people to take an active part in a new experiment in organization. *Mr. Fred S. Hall* raised the question as to how the social unit work will be financed, if it is continued and extended. *Mr. Dinwiddie* said that it was his own belief that ultimately the work must be self-supporting through fees, taxation, or both, in order to be

successful; that no one was advocating any special method of financing but that this was a question to be answered through scientific study.

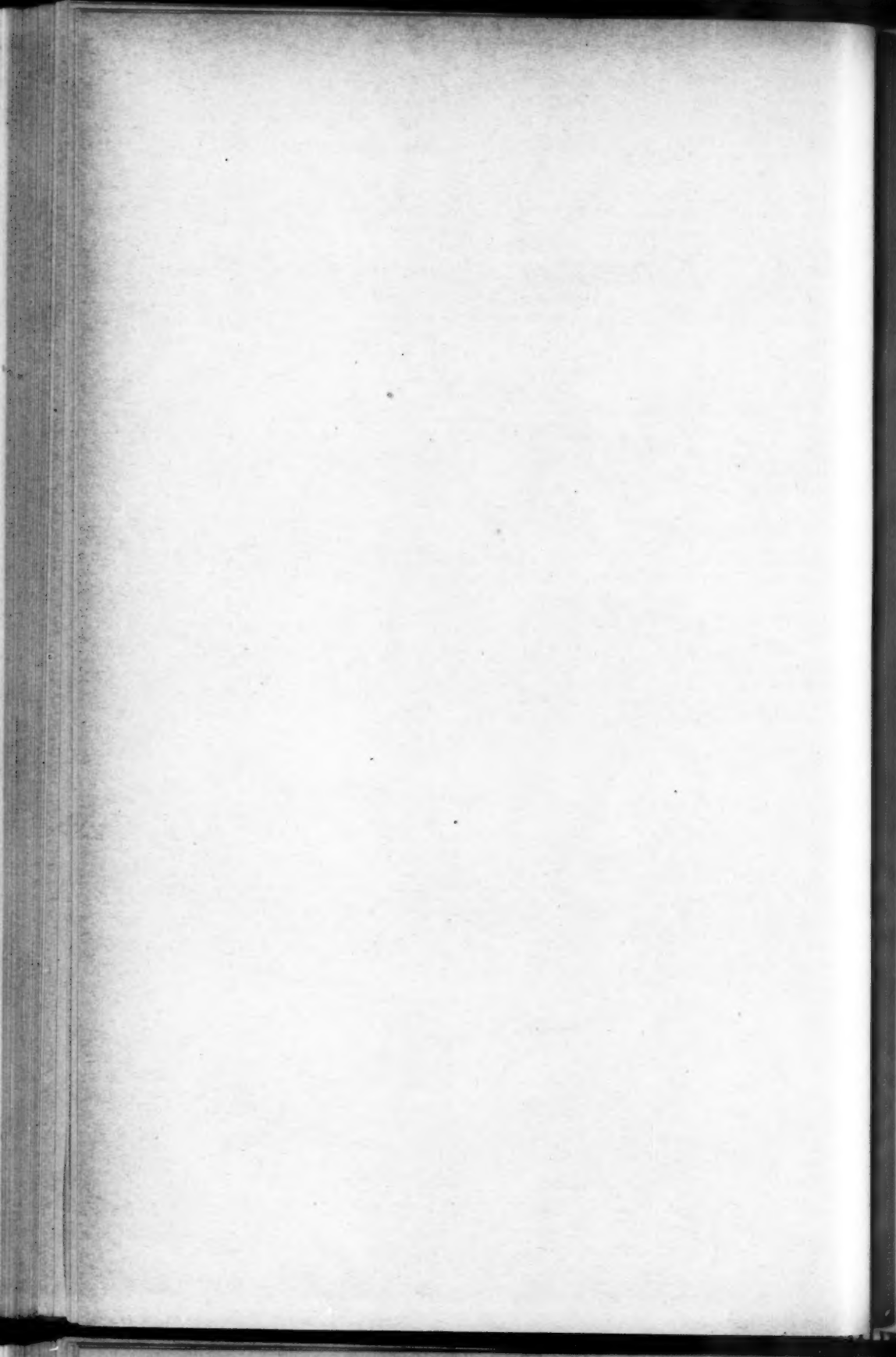
2. In reply to a question as to the relations with the public schools, it was stated that the relations were excellent with both the public and parochial schools, and that the type and co-operative spirit of these schools had been one of the reasons for the selection of the district. Answering a statement that the people of the district should be compelled to use the public school buildings for all community activities, Miss Mary L. Hicks, executive of the Mohawk-Brighton Citizens Council, said that she was in sympathy with the widest use of the school buildings and that the organization was promoting such use, but that she did not consider such compulsion compatible with a democratic experiment. It was explained that the block workers receive \$4.00 per week for a minimum of 8 hours' work per week, but that many work a great many more hours than those for which they are paid. In respect to the suggestion that, because of the questions of taxation that might be raised later, the organization might become a political one, Mr. Dinwiddie said that there had been no tendency so far to introduce politics, in the usual meaning of the term.

The medical services are in charge of the physicians who live or have the bulk of their practice in the district. Those on service receive \$3.00 per conference period. So far, the health station work has been solely preventive in character, patients needing curative treatment being referred to their family physicians. The Social Workers Council is now developing a program for active work as outlined and other activities will be undertaken as the experiment develops the need for them.

3. To a question by Mr. Lawson Purdy, as to how much it would cost to apply the social unit plan of work in a community, Mr. Dinwiddie replied that a careful cost accounting system was in use so that this question could be answered fully later, but that it was too early in the life of the experiment to answer it yet. Mr. Ralph S. Reed asked whether the Social Unit was working with other agencies, particularly the Associated Charities. It was explained that the closest and most friendly relationship is maintained through the representatives of these organizations on the local and city social workers' council. The executives of these social workers' councils are ex-officio members of the local and city Occupational Councils and meet from time to time with the Citizens Councils. The salaries of certain workers in the Unit are paid for by the Council of Social Agencies.

4. Those participating in the discussion with Mr. Dinwiddie, chiefly through asking questions, were: J. M. Hansen, Youngstown; Fred S. Hall, New York; Mary L. Hicks, Cincinnati; Chairman Cooper; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Ralph S. Reed, Des Moines; Lawson Purdy, New York.





**VIII.**  
**MENTAL HYGIENE**

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

### *Chairman*

Frankwood E. Williams, M. D.,  
Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

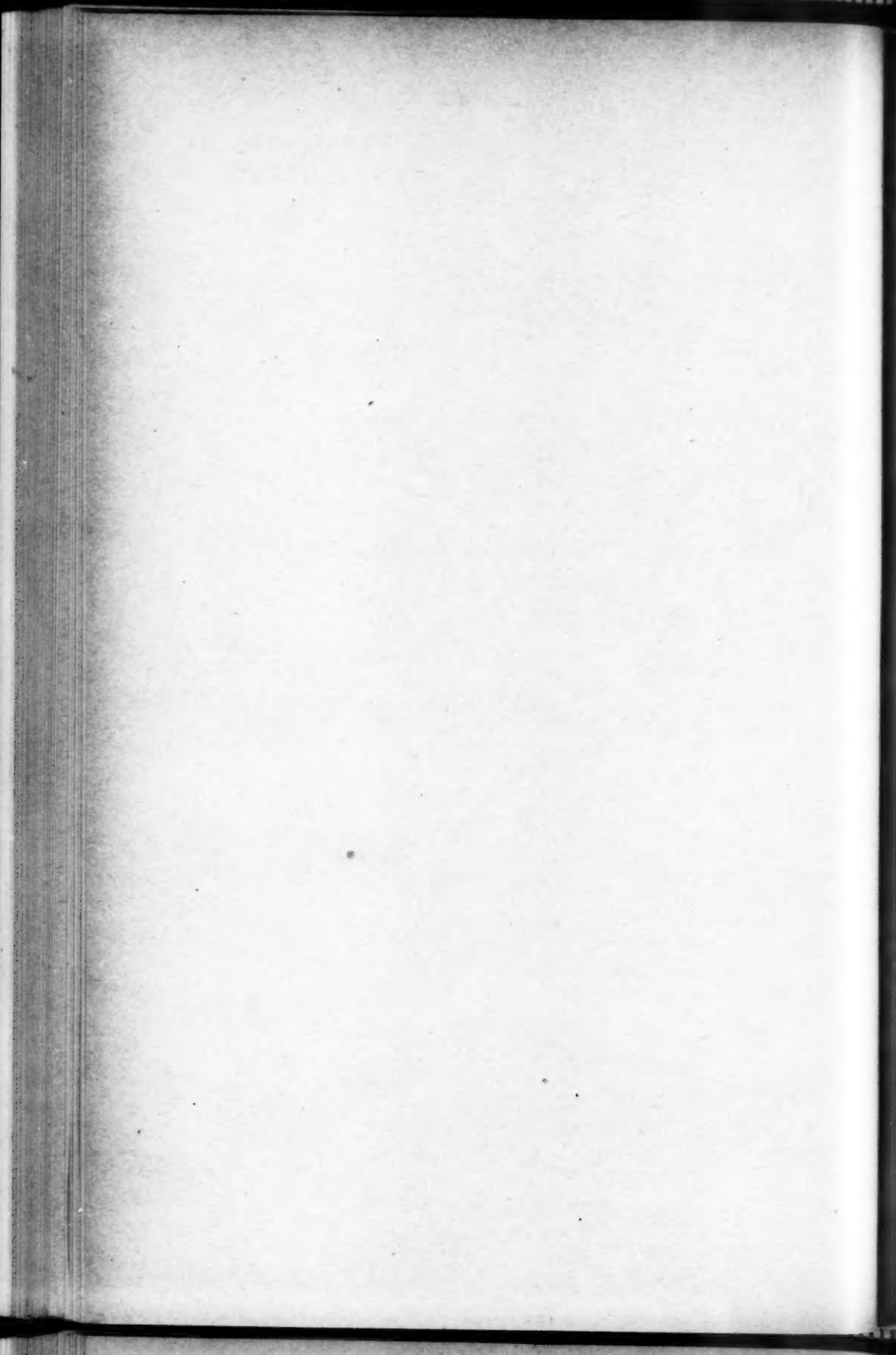
J. C. Dilworth.....	Pittsburgh	Thomas Moore, M. D....	Washington, D. C.
Everett S. Elwood.....	Albany	S. E. Smith, M. D.....	Richmond, Ind.
Robert D. Dripps.....	Philadelphia	Jessie Taft.....	New York
Alexander Johnson .....	Philadelphia	Prof. Lewis A. Terman....	Palo Alto, Cal.
E. A. Kline, M. D.....	Boston	Jean A. Weidensall, Ph. D....	Cincinnati
C. C. Menzler.....	Nashville	Robert Yerkes.....	Boston
Mrs. William S. Monroe.....	Chicago	William Healy, M. D.....	Boston

## PROGRAM

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The session on "Causes of Delinquency" was a joint meeting with Division II on Delinquents and Correction.





## THE WORK OF THE DIVISION OF NEURO-PSYCHIATRY IN THE ARMY

*Major Richard H. Hutchings, M. R. C., Washington*

The mobilization of an army of upwards of a million and a half men by our government in 1917 imposed a tremendous task upon the medical officers, to determine the fitness of volunteers and drafted men for military service, and to organize the sanitary conditions of the camps to which they were sent.

Almost at once it fell to them to combat the outbreaks of epidemic diseases which seem to be an inevitable accompaniment of the bringing together of large numbers of men from different communities into the intimate contact of camp life. The ubiquitous germs of every variety and strain, and whose habitat is the naso-pharynx of the carrier, early got to work, and mumps, measles, pneumonia, cerebro-spinal meningitis and scarlet fever were rife. Nevertheless, owing to the tireless energy and resourcefulness of the army surgeons, nearly all of whom are of the Reserve Corps, fresh from civilian practice, the epidemics were soon under control, and the death rate nowhere was abnormally high.

### *War Reveals Mental Deficiency and Disease*

The history of wars has been that they have given an impetus to art, industry and science, and the present war is no exception to the rule. When we think of medicine in war, we usually think of surgery and sanitation as being the particular fields where its activities find their important scope. It remained for the present great conflict to demonstrate the importance of neuro-pschiatry in the military service. The more recent wars, the Spanish-American, the Boer, and the Russo-Japanese, had already given us evidence that insanity was a disease to be reckoned with. At the siege of Port Arthur 1,700 cases of insanity were reported to have occurred among the Russian troops, and in the Boxer campaign the incidence of insanity reached the high figure of fifty cases per 1,000 among the German troops.

It is a fact that a great deal of confusion is found when attempts are made to determine exactly what is included in these reports under the term *insanity*. It seems that no attempt was made at differential diagnosis, and that there were included cases which at present would be reported under several headings, such as Mental Deficiency, Dementia Præcox, Psychoneurosis and Constitutional Psychopathic State.

This interpretation is supported by the experience of the examiners in our own army, whose reports covering more than 14,000 cases recommended for rejection, show that by far the largest group is *Mental Deficiency*, which comprises about 35 per cent of all cases rejected. Next in order comes *Epilepsy*, about 12 per cent, and after that a

group which occupies a place somewhere between insanity and health. It includes Psychoneuroses, Constitutional Psychopathic State, and many individuals who are able to adjust themselves to certain situations in the civil community whereby they are self-supporting, and some of them even efficient, but who, experience shows, are so constituted that they cannot stand the strain put upon them by the rigid discipline of the army.

Even in times of peace the ratio of mental disorders is high among soldiers, having been noted quite constantly for years to be three cases per 1,000 per annum—a rate about double that of the civil population. Yet so conservative was the attitude of the military authorities of all countries that practically nothing was done to deal with the subject with a constructive and orderly plan, to meet it effectively by preventive measures.

#### *Allies' Experience With "Shell Shock"*

The sudden outbreak of the present war gave our allies no time to prepare plans in this direction, and there is no evidence that they realized the necessity for it. But almost at once the casualty clearing stations and base hospitals were crowded with nervous and mental invalids brought back from the front. Indeed, the British Army Medical Service was well-nigh overwhelmed with those rather mysterious nervous disorders which developed as a result of military service and which for want of a better name, were called "shell shock."

However, when these cases had returned to home territory and there was leisure to carefully study and observe them, and most important of all, when they came under the care of men skilled in neuro-mental diagnosis, it was found that many of them were old acquaintances from civil life, such as general paralysis, dementia præcox, epileptic confused states, neuresthenia and traumatic hysteria. It is true that the symptoms were to a great degree determined and colored by the experiences through which the soldier had passed; but, fundamentally, shell shock was found to be but the out-cropping of latent tendencies to neuro-mental disorders, precipitated by the unparalleled intensity of modern war with its trench battles, high explosives, gas attacks, aerial bombing and the mental and nervous strain which accompanied almost continual exposure to danger.

Having before him the experience of the Allies, the Surgeon General determined not only to provide suitably for the care of the insane and neurotic in the American Army, but to take such preventive measures as were practicable to lessen the incidence of these disorders. Fortunately there were available the studies made in recent years in civil life on the predisposition to mental and neurotic disorders, a better understanding of the role of syphilis in neuro-pathology, and of the types of personality predisposed to mental and emotional breakdown under unusual conditions of stress.

*Epoch-Making Organization in the United States*

In order that the important task should be undertaken and carried out successfully, it was deemed advisable to organize the Division of Neurology and Psychiatry in the Medical Department of the Army, and Dr. Pearce Bailey of New York, who was chairman of the war work committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, was placed at the head of it. Physicians trained in neurology and psychiatry were invited to apply for commissions, and were promised that their work would be as far as practicable confined to their specialty. Many men who had not until then realized that their particular training had fitted them for important work in the army, now offered their services, with the result that there was available in a short time upwards of a hundred well-trained specialists in this field. They were apportioned to the recruit depots, the National Army cantonments, the National Guard camps and the reserve officers' training camps, to examine the incoming recruits and enlisted men for the purpose of determining their fitness for military service.

It makes considerable difference in the future of a man, whether he is accepted for military service and subsequently breaks down and must be discharged, or whether his deficiencies are recognized at the time of enlistment, and he is returned promptly to civil life where he can again take up his former occupation. In the latter case, he becomes a producer and helps to maintain, through industry, the fighting forces abroad; in the former, he becomes a burden and must be maintained and supported.

On August 9, 1917, there was issued by the War Department a circular known as Circular No. 22, which will be pointed to in future as marking an epoch in the history of American psychiatry. Here, for the first time in the history of armies, directions are laid down for the recognition and exclusion from military service of men who are potentially liable to breakdown nervously or mentally as a result of military duties. Heretofore it was assumed by military surgeons that a sound body was the chief—almost the only—pre-requisite for a good soldier; but here official recognition was given to the importance of a normal mental make-up in the recruit. Circular No. 22 directs that the following are causes for rejection from military service:

- a. Organic nervous diseases.
- b. Mental defect.
- c. Mental disease and pathological mental states.
- d. Confirmed inebriety (alcohol or drugs).

It is unnecessary to discuss in this company the importance of rejecting recruits presenting these manifestations. The circular states that "they are more than useless as soldiers, for they cannot be relied on by their commanders \* \* \* break down under strain, become



an incumbrance to the army and an expense to the Government \* \* \* A soldier is too important a unit for such variations from a standard not to be looked into before the recruit who presents them is accepted for service."

The relationship between military service and mental disorders is not so direct as one might at first suppose. As a matter of fact, the number which seems to be wholly due to military service is relatively few. While the mental defectives may and do have certain episodes of excitement and confusion, the underlying cause is a mental deficiency for which the military service cannot be held responsible.

Among practically all the epileptics whom I examined, there was a history of attacks antedating military service, and this is true of the experience of other examiners, which covers approximately 2,500 epileptics rejected since last September. The same is true in somewhat less degree of the rejections for dementia præcox and manic depressive insanity. They either give histories of previous attacks recovered from, or peculiarities of conduct so striking as to make it seem reasonable to believe that the beginning of the attack was gradual and had extended over a period of years.

While in camp, I was called upon to examine a manic depressive boy who, upon inquiry, I found was on parole from a state hospital in New York. Among a group of returned soldiers from abroad, I found two cases of manic depressive insanity, one of whom gave a history of two previous hospital commitments, and the other a history of three.

While our experience in actual warfare is yet too brief to justify conclusions, it seems the number of cases of actual insanity will be less than had been anticipated earlier. This good result is to be attributed to the discharge of 15,000 potential patients from the army by army surgeons, and to a more discriminating diagnosis, which will no longer confuse with insanity such conditions as epilepsy, psychoneuroses and mental deficiency.

#### *Conversion of Civil Institutions*

The hospital at Fort Porter, N. Y., has been set apart for the treatment of the insane and is already in operation. As soon as the need is recognized, other institutions will be established; plans are already under way for one in the middle west. The Surgeon General has been authorized to enter into arrangements with certain civil hospitals to care for insane patients under the same general arrangement as that which prevails at the Government Hospital at Washington. Up to the present time it has been found necessary to designate only one such hospital. That one is the Mendocino State Hospital in California, which will receive cases from the Pacific Coast, and from the Philippines.

At certain army posts special facilities have been provided for the

care of the insane, wards having been constructed which are in charge of officers, nurses and attendants who are experienced in this work, and suitable equipment in the way of electricity, baths and occupations has been installed. Such wards have already been established at the following posts:

Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco.  
Fort Des Moines, Iowa.  
Fort Sam Houston, Texas.  
Fort McPherson, Georgia.  
Walter Reed General Hospital, Washington.

In addition to these accommodations, the Surgeon General has accepted the offer from the board of managers of the New York Hospital, who have agreed to set apart fifty beds at Bloomingdale for the use of officers. These beds will be under the military jurisdiction of the commanding officer, General Hospital No. 1, located in New York City.

Many of the states have signified their willingness to receive and care for the insane soldiers who are residents of those states. If the war should continue for several years, the number of such cases discovered at the time of enlistment or arising subsequently in military service would be considerable, and with the over-crowding which is likely to occur in state institutions owing to difficulties of providing additional accommodations during the war, it is likely that the hospitals for the insane will become greatly overcrowded. This should be foreseen and adequate provision made as early as possible.

#### *Organization for Treatment of "Shell Shock"*

It is the general opinion that functional neuroses, or so-called "shell shock" cases, can be treated most successfully in hospitals apart from other classes of patients. Their symptoms are such as to attract attention—sometimes ridicule, sometimes sympathy. Any notice of this kind only serves to accentuate the condition and prolong the attack. The best results have been obtained by impressing upon the mind of the patient that his case is a hopeful one, that recovery will occur as soon as he exerts himself to gain self-control. The well-meant visits from relatives and even strangers usually do harm. The patient should remain under a modified military discipline, and as soon as his condition warrants, exercises in the form of drills and marches should be employed. In the interval and also earlier in the disease, while the patient is yet confined to bed, occupation which will serve to divert his mind from his symptoms should be provided. Occupation will also aid him to gain better control of his muscles to overcome tremors, functional paralysis and other physical symptoms which interfere with his activity.

A hospital for war neuroses will be established and well equipped with shops where manual occupations will be taught. There will be

ample grounds for agriculture and gardening, and a line officer will have charge of the military drill and discipline. Recreation and amusements in great variety will be provided, with officers in charge having somewhat the functions of playground supervisors and athletic directors.

It is expected that mild cases of shell shock among the Expeditionary Forces will be treated near the front; some of them will recover after a few days of rest and quiet, and will be fit to return to the line. Severer cases which do not respond to treatment and are likely to be patients for some time will be returned to this country. If this plan is followed out, only the more prolonged or severe cases will be received into our home hospitals. But there is a regulated group of cases, that of Psychoneuroses, already under treatment, which originated among troops not yet gone abroad. Their symptoms correspond very closely to those which originated in after service abroad. They are now being treated in wards in special hospitals in this country until the particular hospital designated for these cases is ready for occupancy.

The number of epileptics to be treated in army hospitals is not expected to be large, as the disease is easy to recognize, and it is not believed that many escape recognition by the examining surgeon. The rejections thus far reported on account of epilepsy have been:

National Army.....	16 per cent
National Guard.....	10 per cent
Recruit Depots (volunteers).....	8 per cent
Officers' Training Camps.....	1 per cent

It is anticipated that the number of new cases arising in line of duty will be relatively small. The cases which have up to the present time returned from overseas are practically all from organizations which went abroad last summer before neurological examinations were inaugurated. They have been provided for in General Hospital No. 9, Lakewood, and General Hospital No. 2, Fort McHenry. As soon as the need justifies it, a colony will be established where epileptics will be treated and their general condition improved as far as possible. Many may thus be discharged fit to resume former occupation. Any soldier requiring it will be reconstructed and provided with a means of self-support.

#### *Division of Reconstruction*

In speaking of the subject of reconstruction of the disabled soldier, it is necessary to qualify what I shall say by the statement that the experience in America in all probability will not be different from that of other countries which have undertaken it. In France, England and Canada, the history is the same; namely, that earlier plans had to be materially modified as the work progressed, and as the magnitude of the undertaking became more apparent. This was due to many causes—the numbers requiring reconstruction was not so large a problem

as was the somewhat complex situation brought about by the military control of the soldier on the one hand, and his induction into the ranks of civilian workers on the other. In America we shall have other difficulties peculiar to our form of government. Many of the forty-eight states have laws which may be found to be in conflict with plans now being perfected. I refer to such as workmen's compensation laws, industrial insurance, etc.

In the Division of Neurology and Psychiatry, however, the reconstruction will be almost wholly mental. But few of the patients will be wounded and when returned home will be in a position to resume their former occupation.

There has been organized in the Surgeon General's office a Division of Reconstruction in charge of Colonel Frank Billings. Plans have been made and are being rapidly put into operation, based on a comprehensive view of the subject, which recognize the importance to be attached to the mental aspects of the subject as well as to the physical. I mean by this that practically every soldier who has been confined to a hospital will require some mental reconstruction to counteract what is commonly known as "hospitalization," which means the habit of being idle and dependent and of being waited upon and in need of guidance. This unfortunate state is brought about by idleness, and is incidental to a tedious illness and protracted recovery, and is to be avoided by having at hand occupations which are suitable for men in bed as well as those able to sit up.

The experiences already gained in our civil and military hospitals for the insane have shown so well the advantages of work in the cure of the insane that its usefulness is no longer questioned. It is planned to place the administration in charge of instructors who have had experience in work of this kind in civil life. These instructors will be commissioned officers in the Medical Reserve Corps and Sanitary Corps. They will be assisted by civilian aids—teachers of arts and crafts, agriculture, landscape gardening, shop work, and in fact all occupations which have been found in the past to be adapted to the purpose.

In the treatment of functional nervous disorders, hydrotherapy and electrotherapy will play an important part, but not less important will be occupational therapy, designed to overcome the peculiar disorders of motion, sensation and posture which are characteristic of certain types of neuroses.

#### *Scheme of Mental Tests*

Another advantage of the mobilization to science was the drawing together of psychiatry and psychology. The work of examining recruits must be done rapidly, but accuracy is essential and a permanent record must be transcribed. You are aware of the length of time required to make intelligence examinations by the old Binet-Simon method. In order to meet the army requirements of accuracy and speed, Major Robert



M. Yerkes, Chief of the Division of Psychology in the Surgeon General's office, devised a method of examining men in large groups which is applicable to persons with some degree of education, and is known as "*Intelligence a*" Test. A hundred or more can be examined at one time by one examiner assisted by several watchers, who see that the men receive no assistance from one another. Each man is first given a preliminary sheet to fill out which serves to show whether he can read and write English. The illiterates and foreigners who do not read English are then excused and the remainder are given other sheets containing questions to be answered or sentences to be completed which do not require special learning or knowledge, but in every case only common sense or discriminating judgment. So accurately has this method been prepared that the examination papers, if they may be so called, when graded, show with considerable accuracy the relative intelligence of the soldier. It is the practice to classify them in five groups, A, B, C, D and E. The first corresponds to superior intelligence and E is the lowest group. The names of the men who attain the lowest grade are referred to the psychiatrist with recommendation for rejection, as too deficient to be of service in the army, where speed is the first requisite, and where a dullard would hinder the work of training.

Very important and interesting investigations are being made in the field of aviation. Mishaps and serious accidents have occurred from time to time which have not been understood, for they have occurred in men of experience and training as well as in the novice. Briefly stated, it may be said that examination of men under varying conditions of atmospheric pressure and oxygen supply which is now practicable, demonstrates that there is an individual variation in capacity to cerebration promptly and accurately at different high levels. Under these artificially created levels of altitude, certain psychological tests are made to determine the promptness and accuracy of reaction to various stimuli and to fatigue tests. A man may have passed the most rigorous physical examination successfully, and yet by this new method of examination be found to be unable, beyond a certain altitude, to read his instruments correctly, to understand a message transmitted to him by wireless or perform other tests requiring acuity of special sense or promptness of decision. In fact, each man can be shown to have his own particular level, beyond which his efficiency rapidly declines and beyond which it will be unsafe for him to venture. The importance of these discoveries to the new science of aviation can hardly be over-estimated and is another example of the benefits which accrue to science from the stimulus of war.

It was interesting to observe how the mental defectives rather quickly found their proper place at the bottom of the list of efficient. It was not many weeks before, having been tried unsuccessfully at other duties, they would be discovered (when the examiner went among the troops searching for them) engaged in the commonest labor, as



attending fires, scrubbing latrines and kitchens. It required but little instruction from the mental examiners for the line officer to correct his former view, that such marked lack of understanding was only a normal variation, having no particular significance, and to have him understand that it indicated a pathological condition usually without redeeming qualities. When shown that the reason why one man could not keep step was because he did not know which was his left foot, and that he could not remember instructions because he could not correctly repeat a number of six digits or count from twenty back to one, the officer was quick to see the uselessness of spending time in teaching such a man, and to appreciate what a menace he would be to his command in a critical situation. Thereafter the co-operation between the mental examiners and the line officer would be complete.

#### *Value of the New Data for Social Work*

The knowledge gained in the examination of the recruit will yield a rich harvest in a field as yet almost wholly uncultivated, and will carry over into civil life after the war exact information in regard to the efficiency of the young men of the nation and show in what direction the work of the social welfare agencies should proceed. It will point out to us the real strength and real weakness of the nation as represented in its young manhood. It will sternly rebuke the idle boasts of national efficiency which we have proclaimed in sweeping terms upon no basis except national pride.

The nation will be shown by the surgeons and internists the physical fitness of the nation's young men. But of what avail is the physical strength and fitness unless controlled by a sound nervous system and guided by a normal mind? This unknown region of national efficiency has now been explored and the results are beginning to be available. The mental examination of upwards of a million and a half of young men has been completed, and as soon as the enormous task of reclassifying the resulting data has been done, there will be at the disposal of the profession and the public, information which will be of material aid to us in shaping our political and social activities, in pointing the way to greater national efficiency through the enactment of laws, and in the founding of special agencies to correct disclosed weaknesses, and in the general shaping of our policies towards mental and neurotic disorders, feeble-mindedness, syphilis and drug addiction.

Already four states have requested of the Surgeon General and have been furnished the names and addresses of men rejected for mental deficiency, and they will doubtless utilize this information for purposeful ends. Other such requests will no doubt be made regarding mental disease, epilepsy, alcoholism and drug addiction.

The mobilization will show us how health conditions in one section of the country compare with those in another; how cities compare with rural districts of equal population as regards the prevalence of various

conditions; of what benefit has resulted from prohibition in states where it has been enforced long enough to make conclusions reliable; the frequency of venereal diseases, epilepsy and mental defect. It will point out where the illicit drug traffic flourishes; it will show us the frequency of certain mild types of endocrine disorders, as typified by exophthalmic goitre, many of them too mild to have demanded medical treatment, but yet disabling for active military duty; in what regions it prevails—and it is not too much to hope that additional information regarding its cause may be revealed by studies of the large number disclosed.

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#### DESIRABILITY OF A STATE-WIDE SURVEY BEFORE BEGINNING AN ELABORATE PROGRAM

*C. Floyd Haviland, M. D., Superintendent, State Hospital,  
Middletown, Connecticut*

To adequately deal with the feeble-minded problem in any state the practical issues must first be formulated in a definite manner. While impressive generalizations may point out the directions in which work can be inaugurated, and the most pressing needs may thus be indicated, the situation can only be completely covered when remedial agencies are planned and devised to meet the specific needs of a specific state. Hence the logical first step in an orderly program is to collect complete data as to such specific needs. The symptoms of the diseased body politic as they refer to feeble-mindedness must first be recorded and correlated before successful ameliorative effort can be exerted; for while general principles everywhere remain the same, feeble-mindedness, like other social ills, presents different concrete problems in different communities.

The results of the psychiatric examinations made by the army psychiatrists in the different camps and cantonments of the United States Army throw an unexpected light upon the situation, which demonstrate the need of state surveys. Such examinations have constituted what is virtually a country-wide survey of a selected group within definite age limits, which only fails to represent the general population by so much as it was a selected group. Despite such fact there has been an average of between two and three per cent of rejections for abnormal nervous and mental conditions, and of such conditions, feeble-mindedness has constituted by far the largest single cause. While the data has not as yet been thoroughly analyzed and correlated, the significant fact, as regards state surveys, has been determined, that the relative percentage of feeble-mindedness varies widely in different states. While the personal equation of the examiners may perhaps account to some extent for the variation, the findings vary within such relatively large limits that no other conclusion is possible but that

feeble-mindedness is unevenly distributed. That this should be so is not surprising, inasmuch as the feeble-minded naturally tend to seek the less exacting social environment, and such fact has been offered as the explanation for the finding of a Royal Commission, which investigated the subject a few years ago in England, and which reported that the urban population of six cities gave an average of 2.85 per cent of feeble-mindedness, while five agricultural districts gave a proportion of 4.38 per cent, the rural districts, of course, offering simpler living conditions.

Thus a state-wide survey is needed as the first step of a comprehensive program, merely to determine the approximate number of feeble-minded persons in a state. It is no longer safe to assume, as has so often been done, that because some states have approximately three feeble-minded persons to every thousand of the population, the same proportion exists elsewhere. Populations vary in intelligence as well as in material possessions. Averages mislead if applied over too large a territory.

#### *Relation to Treatment of Various Social Problems*

While the revelations of the army examinations, showing the varying proportion of defectives from different states, were unexpected, the same cannot be said as regards the gross number of such individuals. Data obtained in states with well organized systems of care, in local surveys and in intensive investigations in different penal and charitable institutions have long since emphasized the prevalence of feeble-mindedness, especially among the various antisocial groups. With the well recognized relationship existing between mental defect and delinquency, dependency, inebriety, immorality, etc., nothing would be of greater aid in the humane and effective solution of such problems than an accurate knowledge of the number, and what is of even greater importance, the identity of the feeble-minded in a community. Thus, even in the absence of a program for the control of the feeble-minded situation as such, a survey is indicated for its value in the solution of associated social problems.

It should be more generally recognized that the census reports of defectives in institutions nowhere indicate the real situation as regards those mentally deficient. Nowhere have adequate facilities as yet been provided for the institutional care of all of those for whom such care is indicated, although a few states are measurably meeting the existing need. But aside from the defectives in institutions for feeble-minded, it is now a matter of common knowledge, similar individuals are to be found in jails, prisons, almshouses, charitable homes and in some states in hospitals for the insane, none of which places are properly equipped to care for them, and in but few of such institutions do the feeble-minded appear statistically as such. Yet their lack of mental equipment is the cause of their social inadequacy, it usually being merely accidental circumstance which causes them to be otherwise labeled. In

the absence of a survey, such persons are often unrecognized for what they are, and the obvious injustice so often accorded them is not creditable to our much vaunted humanitarian instincts.

Outside of institutions of all kinds are to be found that large number of feeble-minded persons who as yet have failed to transgress social or statute law, at least to the extent requiring their removal from society. A large percentage of the shiftless and inefficient in any community are what they are because of congenital lack, and society suffers even more than the careless, inappreciative defective individual when the latter is left to struggle in his ineffective way with a social environment he does not comprehend, and one to which he lacks the power of complete adjustment, for the vast majority of the feeble-minded have capacity for at least a limited degree of productiveness if properly taught and provided with an environment fitted to their limited mental endowment. Even if the majority of these individuals do no obvious damage, it is from their ranks recruits are constantly passing into the ranks of overt offenders against social and criminal law. If through a complete survey, the defectives outside institutions are located and dealt with in any adequate way, the stream of social offenders, to some extent at least, can be checked at its source.

#### *Non-Institutional Cases and Available Means of Treatment*

Up to the present, no state-wide survey covering defectives both in and out of institutions has been completed, and definite knowledge is therefore lacking as to the total number of such persons in any given community. The United States Census Bureau attempted their enumeration in the two reports preceding 1902, but in the census act of that year it was provided that the census of special classes, including feeble-minded, should thereafter be restricted to institutions, as former attempts to secure the information had resulted in such incomplete and unsatisfactory statistics as to render the information valueless.

It should not be assumed that institutional care is necessary in all cases of defectiveness, for it is certain a large proportion of such persons can live without difficulty in the community if properly supervised, and only such demands made upon them as they are able to meet. Hence a survey implies much more than mere enumeration and registration of identity. It implies the collection of data as to varying degrees of defectiveness, with consequent social results, as only thus can the remedy be fitted to the need. For part of the feeble-minded, institutional care must be provided, and for part supervision and modified environment in the community, but without a survey it is impossible to determine the number of persons constituting each group, and hence the extent to which each type of care is necessary. It is important to collect data as to the social results which are the expressions of fundamental mental deficiency, for only thus can it be determined what



special provisions are necessary for such defectives as transgress moral or statute law.

After all ascertainable facts have been gathered regarding the defectives themselves, both in and out of institutions, there still remains the task of ascertaining the extent of institutional and other provisions for their care, or what is more frequently the case, the lack of such provisions. Only through an impartial survey can the character of existing institutional facilities be determined,—so important a consideration in the formulation of a program, for degrees of defectiveness extend to institutions as to the feeble-minded. Unless they provide something more than mere custody, unless they teach and train the feeble-minded to the extent of their limited capacities, they are but little better than penal institutions, and an alteration of their character necessarily forms a part of a constructive program.

It is important to ascertain the extent to which probation officers and social workers can be utilized to supervise the higher grade defectives remaining at home, and the number and identity of homes which provide satisfactory care without the intervention of outside agencies. Even when home conditions are satisfactory, and no outside assistance is required, the condition of either the home or the defective in it may change, so the public interest demands a permanent record of both. Thus it is only when all available resources have been recorded through a survey, and compared with actual needs, that the extent of the inevitable discrepancy can be measured, and until such discrepancy has been measured, no elaborate program can be properly framed.

But a survey is incomplete which covers only the defectives themselves and facilities for their care. Consideration must be also given to the legal provisions governing the feeble-minded, which in most states have been enacted from time to time in a piecemeal fashion, and without the formulation of a definite state-wide policy to be steadily pursued. Such a policy can only endure if based upon a consistent and adequate foundation of statutory law. Nor will any state adopt such a policy unless its need can be definitely demonstrated, which is only possible after all available facts have been collected and correlated through a survey. Herein lies one of the necessities of a survey as preliminary to a constructive program which shall be at once adequate and permanent.

The value of a survey is measured not only by its accuracy, but by its completeness. That means recourse must be had to all sorts of local agencies for assistance in the collection of data. The public school system provides one of the most prolific sources of information, especially in communities which have provided special classes for retarded children. Such information is of particular value, for assuming conditions otherwise equal, the younger a defective the better the opportunity of accomplishing definite results in training such mentality as exists. Letters addressed to the members of the medical profession



will elicit information in the majority of instances; appeals to court officers, particularly of juvenile courts, will prove productive of results; while poor officers, jail and prison wardens, almshouse keepers and the authorities of charitable homes, hospitals and particularly state hospitals, should all be consulted, as the vast majority can cite many cases of feeble-mindedness of which they have personal knowledge. The assistance of charitable and social workers of all sorts should be enlisted, as there are few such persons who have failed to encounter the defective individual. Aside from the necessity of obtaining the complete data only to be secured from local authorities, the practical result of enlisting the interest of so many persons, representing so many different social elements, is another reason why a survey is essential as a preliminary to constructive effort. People are more readily interested in work in which they have participated, and the mere fact that a survey implies the stimulation of interest in the feeble-minded problem among people of widely different interests otherwise, not only through participation in the work, but through the attendant publicity of a survey, all assists in the formation of that public support without which no constructive plan can be executed.

#### *Summary*

To briefly summarize:—

To adequately deal with the feeble-minded problem the practical issues must be definitely formulated, which means remedial agencies should be planned with regard to the specific needs of a specific state, which can only be determined through a state-wide survey.

Psychiatric army examinations have revealed an unexpected unevenness of distribution of feeble-mindedness in different states, emphasizing the need of careful enumeration, rather than the assumption of an arbitrary ratio, based on more or less complete findings in other communities.

Mere enumeration, with registration of identity is of value in the solution of associated social problems, even in the absence of a feeble-minded program as such.

The feeble-minded in institutions for defectives represent but a part of institutional cases, many unrecognized feeble-minded being in penal and charitable institutions, who in the absence of a survey usually have failed to appear statistically as feeble-minded.

Society suffers from the feeble-minded in the community even when the latter do not offend against social or statute law, as their limited capacities are not utilized to the fullest possible extent, while furthermore they constantly furnish recruits to the ranks of overt offenders. Not even an accurate estimate can be made of their number in the absence of a survey.

A survey implies the collection of data as to degrees of defective-

ness, with consequent social results, as not all feeble-minded require institutional care, while some institutional cases require specialized care.

After all ascertainable facts have been gathered regarding the defectives themselves, similar facts are required regarding existing provisions for their care, thus demonstrating the inevitable discrepancy between needs and agencies to meet them.

A survey should include examination of legal provisions governing the feeble-minded, for upon adequate laws depend the formation of a definite and permanent state policy.

A survey implies stimulation of interest among local authorities and social workers, and through attendant publicity, diffusion of knowledge of the feeble-minded problem throughout the community, all of which is necessary to gain public support, without which no constructive plan can be executed.

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## REGISTRATION OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

*George A. Hastings, Executive Secretary, Committee on Mental Hygiene, New York State Charities Aid Association*

Community control of the feeble-minded involves the progressive steps of identification, registration, instruction, supervision, and segregation—and the second in importance of these is registration. Without it, no program for community control of the feeble-minded will advance very far.

I shall not take the time to dwell upon the need of more effective measures to control feeble-mindedness. I take it for granted that we all have come long since to a realization of that need. If anything were needed to supplement our experience along this line in civil life, it is furnished by the rejection of more than 12,000 men from the new National Army on account of nervous and mental disorders. And of this number, practically one-third or 4,000 were feeble-minded.

### *Need of Registration Widely Recognized*

As one looks over the history of efforts to control feeble-mindedness he is struck by the unanimity with which authorities urge registration as one of the most essential steps. Practically everyone regards registration or a continuing census as coming next to identification in importance. I should not in this meeting expect any dissent from the general proposition that next in urgency to finding out who the feeble-minded are, is the need of making a list of them, their whereabouts, and their histories, and keeping the list up to date.

Naturally, the question arises, If registration is so important and there is such a unanimity of opinion about it, why isn't more of it done? I confess that I do not know the answer. Certain it is that this has

been one of the most neglected steps in community control of the feeble-minded. I wonder if our failure to make progress in any large and continuous way is not due to a considerable extent to this neglect? Will we ever make substantial and permanent progress except by making registration a part of our program? I believe not.

In fact, lack of accurate knowledge about the problem of feeble-mindedness has been the great stumbling block in the way of efforts toward dealing with it effectively. As Dr. Walter E. Fernald has said, "The one great obstacle to effective prevention of feeble-mindedness is the lack of definite, precise knowledge. \* \* \* We do not even know the exact number of the feeble-minded."

Naturally, the first thing which a legislature or other public body wants to know when it is asked to spend money to provide for the training, supervision or segregation of the feeble-minded is, How many do you want to provide for? This is the one question which the average community or state cannot answer. It is a question which must be answered before any great degree of permanent progress can be made. Legislatures and communities are moved to action by facts, not generalities and guesses.

But a census is needed not only to stimulate state or community action, but as the basis for the program which it is desired to carry out. A census and classification of all the feeble-minded in a state, with information as to their family histories and environment, will show not only the number, but also the character of those requiring institutional care and make possible an intelligent decision as to the kind and size of the institutions needed. It will point the way to intelligent supervision and training of the defectives for whom institutional custody is not necessary. It is not sound public policy to begin expensive building projects without knowing how many defectives are to be housed. And it is courting certain failure to place mentally defective persons in any large number under private supervision, even under the care of relatives, unless the persons registered are accessible to the state or community authorities so that their care and training can be supervised and certain standards maintained.

#### *Meagre Data on Number of Defectives*

One might naturally expect to find light on the number of feeble-minded persons in the country by examining the figures of the Federal census, but those figures are so incomplete that they are practically valueless.

Various special attempts have been made to enumerate the defectives in given areas, but none has ever been a complete census. The surveys of the British Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded (appointed by the late King Edward VII to make a study of feeble-mindedness in the British Isles), the Rockefeller Foundation survey in Nassau county, N. Y., and surveys, studies and enumerations

in various states and in some of the large cities of the United States are the most notable examples of these attempts. But in no state in this country, so far as my information goes, does there exist machinery for an adequate and continuous registration of the feeble-minded. Such a system, it seems to me, is a prerequisite to intelligent action and progress.

The evidence in favor of segregation as an essential step in controlling feeble-mindedness is voluminous. It would scarcely be possible even to summarize all of it. I should like to mention a few of the sources from which recommendations and knowledge on the subject emanate.

The study made by the British Royal Commission is generally regarded as the best from the standpoint of scientific method and thoroughness of any survey of its kind ever made. The commission's findings were incorporated into a report consisting of seven volumes. It recommended that

If the mentally defective are to be properly considered and protected as such, it is necessary to ascertain who they are and where they are and to bring them into relation with the local authority.

Largely as a result of this commission's inquiry and report was passed the British Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, which has been referred to as "the most important measure of social reform and social justice of modern times." In this law the registration of the feeble-minded is made largely a local affair, although provision is made for sending copies of the certificates of feeble-mindedness issued by the local authorities to a central body in London, if required.

In Canada, Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Inspector of Auxiliary Classes for Ontario, writes that

The powers conferred upon the school authorities by the Education Act, the Compulsory Education Act, and the Auxiliary Classes Act, enable them to make a complete register of all children of school age under their jurisdiction, include all children who may be unable to reach the school or to benefit by the instruction given in the ordinary classes.

The Public Health Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine in a survey of its activities from 1911 to 1916 recommended

A permanent bureau of life records and that the criminal feeble-minded should be referred by the courts to a state board.

In 1915 this Public Health Committee recommended to the constitutional convention the establishment of a state board

With power to register all of the mentally deficient of the state.

The report of the State Board of Charities of Virginia to the general assembly of 1916, based on a special inquiry, recommended

That the state board be empowered to have charge of the registration of the mentally defective persons of the commonwealth.

A special commission studying the subject of segregation and care of the feeble-minded in Pennsylvania also recommended registration as an essential step.

In New York state, the Hospital Development Commission, created by the 1917 legislature, recently completed the first year of its study of feeble-mindedness and insanity. One of its chief recommendations in regard to the feeble-minded is that the state should

Make a census as complete as possible of all the feeble-minded in the state, obtaining all possible light on their family histories and surroundings.

A law has just been passed in New York creating a new state commission to administer the law in relation to the feeble-minded. Its duties are specified in part as follows:

Immediately on its organization plan a census of all persons in the state who are feeble-minded persons; \* \* \* and for this purpose the education department and any other state agency shall furnish such aid and information, within its power, as the Commission may require. Prepare and keep a record of all feeble-minded persons in the state and provide accommodations for all such as require care and treatment in suitable institutions.

A survey of mental disorders in Nassau county, N. Y., made July-October, 1916, by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the Rockefeller Foundation, with the United States Public Health Service co-operating, has been compared as to scientific method and thoroughness with the survey of the British Royal Commission, although the inquiry was made on a broader sociological basis. To quote from the report:

The principal question raised is not, What is the percentage of "insane" or "feeble-minded," or "mentally defective" persons in the population. But rather, What instances of social maladjustment, sufficiently marked to have become the concern of public authorities, are, upon investigation, to be attributed mainly or in large measure to mental disorders? Thus the main object of the survey was to study the nature of the relationship between social maladjustments and mental disorders. Accordingly two independent systems of classifications were adopted—a medical and a sociological one.

This survey revealed a rather striking amount of social maladjustment, due to mental disorders. Although the survey differs somewhat in object and method from other surveys of its kind, the recommendations growing out of it are equally striking as regards registration. They emphasize

The need of registration of "instances of maladjustments sufficiently marked to come to the notice" of various public authorities. By continuing, revising and refining the registry from time to time in the light of new data, it is anticipated that "after several years' development such a register will show that the bulk of all crime, vice, dependency and other maladjustments in a given commonwealth is attributable to a comparatively small fraction of the population."

In 1915 the legislature of Missouri created a Children's Code Commission to codify the laws of the state relating to the welfare of children. J. E. Wallace Wallin, as chairman of its committee on defective children, made as one of his seven recommendations to the commission,

The creation of a state bureau of psychological diagnosis to which should be reported the names of suspected feeble-minded children. The commission made a general recommendation for state-wide registration of feeble-minded children from public and parochial schools to be sent to a state agency.

Dr. Walter E. Cornell, former director of medical inspection of



public schools, Philadelphia, and chief examiner of the House of Detention and Juvenile Courts of Philadelphia, in a paper which he read before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Baltimore in 1915, advised:

The registration of all feeble-minded, both those at large and those in institutions is one of the most important steps looking toward the reduction of their number. It furnishes the necessary medical testimony to the court when the feeble-minded are before the bar in later years on charges of vagrancy or delinquency. It also gives us the information concerning the actual number of the feeble-minded—a necessary preliminary to adequate provision by the state for custodial institutions. The matter of registration in the large cities at least is not difficult in certainly 95 per cent of the cases. Neither is it expensive. The writer handles all the cases of the Philadelphia Juvenile Court, the Bureau of Compulsory Education, the Children's Aid Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Philadelphia Children's Bureau. There are in the Philadelphia public schools, in round numbers, 400 definitely feeble-minded children, and 3,500 borderline cases. These latter are not at the present time officially examined, but it could readily be done in the Division of School Medical Inspection at a cost of certainly not more than \$3,000 per year. The sum of \$10,000 per year would register every feeble-minded child in Philadelphia, for every public and private agency, all expenses of medical and clerical service included. \* \* \* The registration, of course, would have to be under the sanction of the courts or of some official designated by the legislature.

Indiana is rather an exception to the rule about registration, for a number of years ago the state took steps to provide limited registration, the results of which have heretofore been the subject of papers by Amos W. Butler, secretary of the Indiana Board of Charities, and Ernest P. Bicknell, a former secretary. My understanding is that this was largely institutional registration. The institutions made regular reports as to the persons admitted to them so that officials and social organizations working in the various communities had in their possession data about families in which feeble-mindedness exists. It, of course, is of enormous advantage to know of these prepotent families so that steps can be taken to deal with them.

As Dr. Fernald has said,

It is possible that a real eugenics survey of a given locality might show that 90 per cent of the feeble-mindedness in that locality was contributed by 5 per cent of the families in that community.

The importance of identifying and recording these prepotent families as a preliminary to doing something about them is obvious. Here perhaps is the finest opportunity for intensive and effective work in checking feeble-mindedness.

#### *Accurate Diagnosis Essential to Registration*

Although I am not scheduled to speak on identification or diagnosis at this meeting and some one else is, I cannot refrain from saying just a word about it because of its important bearing on the subject of registration. I feel very earnestly that registration should be made only after definite and accurate diagnosis, based on a well-considered and established standard of normality, as near as may be.

Josh Billings said it was better not to know so much than to "know too many things that ain't so." I should rather not register so many feeble-minded than to register many who are not feeble-minded.

Our standards and methods of deciding about feeble-mindedness should be in accord with the best thought and scientific knowledge of the time, but the details and the terminology of the process should not be described to the general public in such ultra-scientific and high-sounding terms that the public will be unsympathetic, if not skeptical. Dr. Fernald uses the Binet (age basis) tests or other standard tests and modifications, plus a study of family history, economic efficiency, and moral reactions. If three of these show subnormality below the accepted standard the person is considered feeble-minded.

#### *How Shall the Feeble-minded Be Registered?*

Of course the neglect to register the feeble-minded has been attributed in part to the fact that no practical and effective method has been presented. But it has also been due partly to the fact that investigators were too easily frightened by the apparent size of the job. Personally, I have a strong feeling that they were unnecessarily frightened—that it is not so hard as it appears, that it would not require as extensive machinery and as much time as some authorities have thought, and that if the machinery now maintained by public and private organizations could be fully utilized, comparatively little new machinery would be necessary.

In a word, if some existing state body or a newly-created state body could be charged with the duty of collecting, classifying and co-ordinating the data which the schools, courts, reformatories and local officials and organizations throughout the community already have on hand or could obtain with comparatively little effort, we would soon be a long way on the road toward a census of the great bulk of the feeble-minded—certainly as many as could be promptly provided for. By continuing to collect, classify and revise this data as provision is made for cases already listed and as new cases are discovered in the community, we would soon have a basis of accurate knowledge on which to build programs and take intelligent action.

If efforts were concentrated for a few years merely on discovering and listing the defective children, disregarding adults, the results in a generation or two would be far-reaching.

#### *The Point of Attack*

There are four places in which many of the feeble-minded can be detected early in life—the home, school, juvenile court, and the reformatory. Of these the school is the most important so far as registration is concerned. All children do or should pass through the schools. Here their condition should be diagnosed and registered, and instruction suited to their capabilities provided. Or, if they are to require supervision or segregation for life this can be provided before they have gone out into the community and become criminal, immoral, diseased, paupers or ne'er-do-wells.

The compulsory education law in each state should require the

registration of every child of school age, including defectives. When children are not found attending school because of mental defect, their diagnosis and social standing should be known to the school authorities and recorded for the use of public and private organizations dealing with the feeble-minded. Unfortunately in many states the compulsory education law does not require children who cannot profit mentally to attend school. The law should be amended to bring all children of school age within its purview. If a child cannot profit in a regular or special class, he should be in a state institution for training and protection, or his training and supervision at home or elsewhere should be maintained at a certain standard, and the state or community should have officers to see that that standard is maintained.

If ungraded classes for backward and defective children were more general, as they are likely to become within the next few years, and if we had nothing more than the registration of the members of and candidates for these classes, we would account for a vast number of the morons and imbeciles who form such a large part of the feeble-minded now without protection in the community.

#### *Agencies to Co-Operate in Registration*

Starting then with the school system as a nucleus of a mechanism to keep an accurate and continuing record of the feeble-minded and to report it to a central state authority at intervals, we might rely upon the following organizations and agencies acting co-operatively with the mental specialists to make a substantial census of the great bulk of cases in the community:

1. Public schools, local boards of education and the state departments of education in the various states.
2. Juvenile and adult courts, especially those which have facilities for mental examination of the cases brought before them.
3. Probation officers.
4. Jails, reformatories, orphanages, and all other private and public charitable, reformatory and correctional institutions.
5. Commissioners of charities, superintendents and overseers of the poor, superintendents of almshouses and all other poor-law officials.
6. Physicians in general practice, and more especially those engaged in the specialties of neurology and psychiatry.
7. Charity organization societies, and other relief and social agencies.
8. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children.
9. Clinics and hospitals (especially the out-patient departments of institutions for mental diseases), and city and charity hospitals.
10. Lodging-houses and work-houses that shelter vagrants.
11. State and national mental hygienic societies and local committees.
12. County agents and agencies for dependent children.
13. Institutions for the care of the feeble-minded, insane and epileptic should report and register all cases sent to them and all who are candidates but who cannot be accommodated and are placed on the waiting lists.

#### *Results to Be Expected from Registration*

The records thus obtained should be filed with a central governmental agency and also be made available for social workers, school authorities, and other agencies. It would prove of great value in the solution of the individual problems which the feeble-minded constantly present. Dr. Fernald says:

This alone would mean a great saving in time, effort and money. Once a person was adjudged feeble-minded, a permanent accessible record would be made.

This continuing census and registration of the feeble-minded would make possible regular visitation of each defective who needs oversight by the trained social worker or by the local representative of the central bureau. The reports of these visitors, covering the life histories and the family histories of many cases, would soon constitute an invaluable treasury of information as a basis for scientific research and study in the search for practical methods of prevention. The official visitor would advise the parents as to the care and management of the defective and would have opportunity to inform the family, the local officials and the community generally as to the hereditary nature and the peculiar dangers of feeble-mindedness.

The registration of every feeble-minded person, and the regular visitations, especially of children of school age, would make it possible to inform the parents of the condition of the child, of the necessity of the lifelong supervision, and of the possible need of future segregation. \* \* \* Sooner or later the parents will probably be willing to allow their child to be cared for and trained in the institution. In suitable cases parents who are not willing may be allowed to have the custody of their child, with the understanding that he shall be properly cared for and protected during his life, that he shall not be allowed to become immoral or criminal, and that he shall be prevented from parenthood. Whenever the parents and friends are unwilling or incapable of performing these duties, the law should provide that he shall be forcibly placed in an institution or otherwise safeguarded. The local representatives of this central bureau would officially serve as advisors and sponsors for pupils graduated from the special school classes, for court cases under probation and observation and for institution inmates at home on visit or on trial.

If such a system as this could be established in the various states, with a reasonable uniformity assured through federal help extended by the Public Health Service or through the co-ordinating influence of some national organization for mental hygiene, the results in a few years might easily take us a long way on the road to a solution of the problem of controlling feeble-mindedness and really mark a new era in dealing with it.

The schools would be compensated for their efforts by the incubus that would be lifted from their regular classes and to some extent from their ungraded classes. Relief organizations would quickly feel their burden lightened. So, in fact, would all social agencies. Reformatories, almshouses and other institutions would be in a position to do better by their normal inmates if relieved of their abnormals.

And how much the feeble-minded themselves would gain in treatment, training and public understanding by such a system or registration!

### *The Form of Registration*

I cannot furnish a fully worked out form of registration with which to carry out the system I am discussing. Undoubtedly this could only grow out of actual experience for some time in meeting the various problems, complications and questions as they arise in the attempt to make a registration. The methods of selecting and recording pupils for ungraded classes in the public schools might throw light on the broader problem.

I have ventured to draft a tentative form of registration which includes some of the main points which it seems to me should be covered in such a system. In it I have attempted to make a registration form to indicate the essential medical, psychological, and sociological data and

yet not be too complicated and lengthy for practical administrative purposes. The card is as follows:

.....191 .

REGISTER OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

in

Town or City.....  
 County.....  
 State.....  
 Name.....  
 P. O. Address (Street and Number).....  
 Age..... Sex..... Nationality.....  
 Birthplace..... Married..... Children.....

*Diagnosis:*

Idiot..... Imbecile..... Moron..... Border Line.....  
 Mental Age.....  
 By whom diagnosed:.....of  
 P. O. ....on  
 Date.....

*Prognosis:*

.....

*Characteristics:*

Dull..... Stupid..... Cruel..... Boisterous:.....  
 Wayward.....

*Habits:*

Alcoholic..... Drug Addict..... Sex Abnormality.....

*Physical Defects:*

Syphilitic..... Epileptic..... Paralytic..... Tuberculous.....  
 Crippled..... Eye..... Ear..... Nose and Throat.....  
 Speech Defects..... Other Defects.....

*If Woman*, how many children borne.....

How many living.....

Any illegitimate.....

Miscarriages.....

*School Record:*

No. of years in school..... Grade.....

No. of years behind grade.....

*Record of Occupation:*

Employed: Regularly..... Irregularly.....

Not ever employed..... Kind of employment.....

Earning capacity..... Self-supporting.....



*Social Contacts and Conflicts:*

- Ever received public support or relief.....
- Give extent and time.....
- Ever been in prison..... reformatory..... almshouse.....
- or other institution.....
- Give length of time and details.....
- Ever been in Juvenile Court.....
- Ever been on probation.....
- Give circumstances.....

*Facts About Parents of Person Reported:*

- Nationality of father..... His mental status.....
- Nationality of mother..... Her mental status.....
- Were parents married..... Are parents living now.....
- Additional Data .....
- This report made by.....
- P. O. Address.....
- Name of organization.....
- Position .....

## INSTRUCTION OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

*Meta L. Anderson, Supervisor of Special Classes, Public Schools,  
Newark, New Jersey*

This present time of mighty struggles has not been without its effect on the problem of training the defective. To those of us who have been working and waiting for the opportunity to actually train the feeble-minded boy or girl to earn his or her own living in whole or in part, it almost seems as though there has occurred a veritable reincarnation. There seems to be a new Heaven and a new Earth—a new Earth of problems to be solved and a new Heaven of higher ideals to be attained. We who have been and still are working to meet these problems need also almost to become reincarnate, in order to be able to face these new conditions.

Why are we training the feeble-minded? How are we training them? For what are we training them, and what are the results obtained? These are very pertinent questions which are asked by those who are supplying the means for such training, and by those who are interested in their services from either an industrial or a social point of view.

*Value of Special Schools and Classes*

Why are we training the feeble-minded? Because they are here, there, everywhere, at their worst filling the reform schools and prisons and making heavy demands on all social agencies—at their best clog-

ging the schools and hindering industrial efficiency. So the schools have asked their experts—if you please—to take these waste products and make SOMETHING of them. A prominent school man said but the other day that if special classes did nothing but relieve the regular grades of these feeble-minded children, they would be worth all the cost. This is a bold statement and one which many of you would probably challenge. However, you will very likely agree that it is a very great waste of precious time in the lives of bright children to have the energy and time of the teacher spent on defective children in a class room. This standpoint helped many of us in the beginning of the work when we were very uncertain indeed as to how far our efforts to train this by-product of the schools would lead.

I fear that some special schools and classes stopped there and were quite content to give occupation to the children who were thus segregated, instead of trying really to train them. Judge us at least not worse than you would judge a race horse, by our topmost speed. Find the instance in which training has been such that it has meant much not only in the life of the mental defective, but much also in the industrial community or institution into which he has gone, and then decide what training can do for the feeble-minded.

The schools have been blamed for many things—poor spelling, bad writing, and worse figuring—and now come the investigators of the inmates of our prisons, and of delinquents, and offenders before the courts and these investigators ask us—and who can say not justly—why did not these inmates, these delinquents, and these offenders, have the opportunity of training during the school period of their lives which would have fitted them in some degree to work harmoniously in the industrial world?

We are training the defective in the schools because we *must* train him. Self preservation demands it.

#### *The System in Newark*

How are we training the defective? Permit me to describe the organization and plan of work in the schools for defectives in Newark. We have *special schools* which are given over entirely to the training of defectives, and also a few groups of *special classes* in some of the public schools. We prefer the special schools because they suit our local needs and because they have more than exceeded our expectations. As the work grows and buildings are erected or bought, the special classes will be combined and special schools organized. The special schools are divided into three departments: kindergarten classes, departmental classes, and trade classes.

##### *(a) Kindergarten*

The kindergarten classes—so-called for want of a better name—are for the low grade children whose mentality is that of three, four,

and five year old children. This is the group that many of you will contend ought not to be in school at all. Of some of these children that contention would certainly hold true, but not of all. If we are to get defective children young enough so that we may begin their training early and continue it throughout the school period of their lives as we should—then a low grade, or kindergarten, class for young, both mentally and chronologically-defective children, is very necessary.

These defective children of kindergarten grade are seven, eight, nine years of age and sometimes older, chronologically. The kind of training given to these children must fit both a kindergarten mentality and fourth or fifth grade body. This is a combination which requires considerable modification of customary activities in training children, but unless we make the adjustment we are not profitably training the feeble-minded.

The curriculum of work for the low grade group includes: habits of personal cleanliness, sense training, manual training, physical training, speech training, music, and exercises of practical life. Because feeble-minded children have to be taught with much thoroughness what normal children often learn by just living in the world, home training of the feeble-minded, even of children coming from good homes, is very inadequate. Hence the teaching of habits of personal cleanliness is an important part of the curriculum of the special schools.

Since the beginning of the work for defectives in any country, sense training has been an approved part of the training of the feeble-minded. Far be it from me to minimize the importance of the subject, but the emphasis placed on sense training in some cases has been to my mind all out of proportion to its values as a means of development. Sense training has its place in the life of nearly every feeble-minded child, as it has in the life of nearly every normal child. That place seems to be in the kindergarten period of the child's life. After that time has passed, sense training should give way to other subjects which may involve sense training but which have for their main objective the training for industrial efficiency.

Manual training is another subject which has been recommended for the training of the defective since the beginning of the work. The kind of manual training has been left in large measure for the teacher to decide and work out. The manual training thus chosen has been applied in a somewhat hit-or-miss fashion. There has been very little of the finer gradation of training. Difficult problems have preceded the easy ones, or the transitions from easy to difficult have been too sharp. It has been our experience that defective children improve in manual training much more surely and attain a higher degree of efficiency when every step in the problem is planned with pedagogical sureness and taught by a teacher skilled in the art and science of teaching.

At this point I might sound a note of warning. A visiting

psychologist at one time raised the question in regard to some work which was being turned out by one of our classes. He considered the work too good for the grade of children. We had been studying some of the children in that particular class ourselves and were quite ready for him, and almost inclined to agree with him. We knew that the work of the class was the boys' own. We knew they are enjoying it and that it was not forced work. The problems given the boys had been graded so carefully from the standpoint of difficulty that the results were quite remarkable in case of boys who had been under training for some time. The boys answered the psychologist's question in time by finding their own level, which was considerably below that which they had been able to do previously.

Dr. Montessori's work with the young children in the children's houses of Rome has helped at least to give a name for certain activities which we think should play a large part in the lives of feeble-minded children—the exercises of practical life. Sweeping, dusting, scrubbing, and cleaning are exercises of every day life which should be taught in every feeble-minded class room.

#### (b) *Departmental Group*

The departmental group of classes is so called because of its organization on the departmental plan of work. There are five classes in this group, graded from low to high. The boys and girls are in separate classes. There are five activities in as many rooms—the shop, industrial, kitchen, physical training and music, and academic work. The boys gave two periods a day in the shop and the girls two periods a day in the kitchen; otherwise, each class one period a day in each room.

In the kitchen the "exercises of practical life" become enlarged into the activities of household science. Washing, ironing, cleaning and cooking are taught throughout each day in the kitchen. Someone asked us at one time how we found enough to do to keep us busy all the time. Our answer was, in common with all housewives,—that "work in the kitchen is never done." You will understand, when I tell you that a luncheon is cooked and served by the children to about fifty children each day, and that the thirty girls of the school wear middie blouses and bloomers which are laundered in the kitchen.

The cleaning of the kitchen, the cooking of the lunch, the washing of the dishes, and the laundering of table cloths and the clothes of children furnish a superabundance of activities for the kitchen. These activities are graded as other work is graded. The children are passed from the easy to difficult tasks, each gradation of work being planned by the teacher with the idea of *training* children, not merely with the idea of getting work done.

In the shop of the special schools, the work ranges in difficulty from second to seventh grade work. Occasionally children have done work

equal to high school grade. Here also the final level of work attained by the children appears to depend on the careful grading of the problems given them.

In the industrial department, all kinds of hand work are taught for which in these difficult times, materials may be secured. These activities are basketry, brush-making, broom-making, cobbling, rug weaving, sewing and so on. This work also is carefully graded and the children are not kept at any one form after its usefulness as training has passed.

The academic work covers all the school subjects which public opinion demands that we teach to these children. While we do not believe in much of this work for feeble-minded children, still if we teach it, we believe in doing it well; and so the teacher strives by the best means and devices to improve them, through this doubtful part of the curriculum.

The physical training covers all branches of physical exercises, from rhythm work to apparatus work, depending on the grade and physical condition of the children to be trained. The singing consists mostly of the singing of rote songs. A brass band is recommended, when there is an instructor who can teach it.

### *(c) Trade Classes*

The trade classes of the special schools are a sort of graduating class. The children who are in the trade class are children who have been trained in the other departments of the special school. Ideally, all the children in such a class should have been passed through all the classes; practically, this plan does not work out, because the special school does not receive its defective children young enough to put through such a scheme.

In the trade classes, the periods of work are longer than in other departments and more perfect work is required of the children. These children in the departmental group have not reached the highest level of their ability; at least, that is the theory upon which we plan the work of that division. In the trade classes, the children have reached their level, one can say almost without fear of contradiction; therefore the work is planned which will, as far as we can see, train these children to maintain the level of efficiency to which they have been brought. To put it crudely, their early training had for its aim a lengthwise development and the later training has for its aim a sidewise development. You may say that this theory sounds very well, but that when dealing with human beings, especially the feeble-minded, things do not work out so logically. However, we have tried to get our theories from the study of the progress of the children themselves at first hand, and the results have been even better than we had hoped for. But we are always looking for something better, and we expect



to hold this theory not one minute after a better one has been found to take its place.

The activities of the trade classroom are, as far as possible, adjusted to the needs of the community in which the school is located. It has been found that usually the children work in the district where their fathers and brothers are working. It very frequently happens that the children, themselves, and their parents wish them to go into work which they are not able to do, and not even able to learn to do. It is the work of the trade class to attempt to train the children to want to do the work which they are capable of doing.

The trade class is also a sort of continuation class—the children work part of the day and are in school part of the day. Of course, the children must be over fourteen years of age in order to do this. With this plan the teacher has a means of finding out what weaknesses the particular child will show when working at a real job. The school influence is thus extended over the child during the transition period from school to industry, which is a very difficult age for even the well trained feeble-minded child.

### *The Special Classes*

I have merely touched on the problems attempted in the various departments of the special schools. I shall not take the time to describe the many accessory activities through which we try to train the children, to influence the parents and to change the environment, such as entertainments and plays, and home visits made by the teachers.

All that has been said about the special schools applies to the *special classes* as well. All special classes must include children who fit in one of the departments described, and many of them include groups of children representing each department of the special school.

### *Purpose of Training*

For what are we training the feeble-minded? In the beginning we were not at all sure as to how much could be accomplished through training the feeble-minded in the public schools. We comforted ourselves with the thought that our efforts with these children would at least make them more valuable in an institution to which we firmly believe they should be sent. We still believe that many children trained in the special schools and classes should be sent eventually to an institution where their public school training would enable them to approach self support under expert guidance.

Whatever our hopes and ambitions for an institution ultimately for all feeble-minded boys and girls, we must face the fact that very few go into institutions and very many go into the industries of the community. It is for this industrial work that we must train them. The kind of work that the feeble-minded will do will depend on the localities in which they live. They will go into the factories in their neigh-

borhood, they will go into the blind alley trades needed in their neighborhoods, and they will do the odd jobs of their neighborhood.

We know when we teach the defective brush-making that he may not go to work in the brush factories; while we teach him wood work, that he may not go into carpentry, and so on. There are exceptions to this and there are cases within the experience of all special class teachers where the children have gone out to work at the very things which they have been taught in school. These, I contend, are the exception rather than the rule. All that we have succeeded in some degree in doing is to give the defective an all-around training which disciplines his mind and muscles to work under direction, and we hope that this will stand him in good stead when he gets a job.

### *Results*

What then are the results of training the feeble-minded? In dollars and cents we find that the defective can earn from \$8 to \$25 a week—sometimes more and sometimes less—at this time of unusual industrial conditions. They are looking for easy jobs, short hours and much pay; they never seem so stupid about these items. One of the ex-pupils of a special school called at the school when he was "on strike" at one time. Among other things he said, "Why do you call this a free country? Don't I have to pay rent? And don't I have to pay for the bread I eat?" As far as we could learn that was to him the reason why he was striking. Another one came in to call who was holding a job as a sort of petty foreman at \$21 dollars a week. However, he was giving up the job because as he said it was "time to be learning a trade!" What trade he was going to learn and where he was going to learn it had not yet occurred to him.

### *Vocational Supervision and After Care*

These results, aside from dollars and cents, are discouraging, to say the least. Evidently, in order to make the feeble-minded useful in industry we must go farther than the school room. We must do something which will help him select the right job and then do something to help him stay in the right job when he gets it. We must find a way of doing the thinking for him when he gets in situations which, though really very simple, are much beyond his comprehension.

We can meet this situation only, it seems to me, either by extending school work to include after care and supervision, or by close co-operation between the school at it now exists and social agencies that will take up this needed supervision of the feeble-minded. This supervision must be organized and undertaken only by trained workers, if it is to accomplish its purpose.

If I may dare to look into the future and declare that very likely such supervision will show the special schools for defectives that they must break loose from tradition still further and substitute other activi-

ties which approach more actually life conditions than those now borrowed from the approved school curriculum.

Thus far we have taken the children who have been sent to us and we have used all the means at our disposal, however inadequate, to meet the conditions that exist. I think I may say that something has been accomplished, if only in the way of showing how great the problem is. It has been said that "the way to begin is to begin." We have begun. We hope and believe that we are on the right track and that the work now being done is an arrow pointing the way to a goal which may be approached by toil through tortuous paths, even though it may never be reached.

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### SUPERVISION OF THE FEEBLEMINDED IN THE COMMUNITY

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The social significance of feeble-mindedness is becoming increasingly apparent each year. In the impression which it has made on the popular mind as a practical problem demanding a practical solution it has far outstripped the more interesting and difficult question of mental disease with which it is so closely allied but which is still a comparatively unknown quantity even to the more enlightened. To one who works in the field of mental disease, there is something very heartening in the familiarity which the ordinary teacher or social worker now shows toward feeble-mindedness as a possible factor in her work. This quite general recognition of the importance of mental defect for the community in marked contrast to the prevailing ignorance of the social importance of mental disease is not difficult to explain.

Of all the problems presented by mental hygiene, feeble-mindedness is the simplest, most accessible and most easily comprehended by the plain man. Anything that can be stated in terms of intellect is simple compared to that which goes over into the fields of emotion, feeling, impulse and instinct. It may be that such a confining of feeble-mindedness to the intellectual sphere will prove to be an over-simplification of the problem, but the fact remains that this way of looking at it has made it easy to explain and easy to understand.

#### *Development of Public Interest*

This accessibility of the intellectual factor in feeble-mindedness has also made it one of the first problems to lure academic psychology into the practical field, for the intellect is much more readily open to experimental laboratory methods than the will or the emotions. There is no question that the swift rise of the mental test as a center of in-

terest and experiment in applied psychology has had much to do with the growth of popular recognition of feeble-mindedness as a social problem. Parallel to this development of psychology and aided by it has been the advance of criminology which, by its disclosure of the intimate relationship between mental disability and antisocial conduct, has perhaps done more than any other one thing to force the problem of feeble-mindedness upon the public.

Organized charity, with its unimprovable cases, agencies dealing with illegitimacy and sexual immorality of all kinds—all these have added their weight to the movement; and then still closer to the mass of the people comes the public school—so long trammelled by the presence of the feeble-minded child, who by definition is the stumbling block *par excellence* in the way of all orthodox teaching. In the recognition of the feeble-minded child the school is on the way to a solution of one of its most serious problems and the altering of an entire school system to make special provision for such children has done much to enlighten the common people.

It remains only for the final impetus to come from industry, now strained to the last notch by the demands of the war. The recognition of the part played by the feeble-minded workers, combined with the problem which mental deficiency is making for the new National Army, as shown by the discharge of more than 4,000 feeble-minded soldiers, ought to give all the additional push needed to bring the country to a complete realization of the necessity of working out a plan for state control.

#### *Why Simple Expedients Fail*

While feeble-mindedness as a problem in mental hygiene may be comparatively simple as a problem requiring definite social action, it could hardly be more complex. It is the old question of reconciling the welfare of the individual to the good of the community, which is particularly trying when the individual in question is not capable of taking his own part. How can modern society prevent the feeble-minded population from becoming a dead loss economically; how can it guard itself from the injury which the feeble-minded have the power to inflict upon the present and upon future generations and still be fair to individuals, the majority of whom have a certain right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness comparable in a degree, at least, to that of children whose interests we guard so carefully? Moreover, we have to remember that the feeble-minded person, especially of the moron group, is not an isolated individual, without family ties. He belongs to a home whose love for him and belief in his possibilities will have to be taken into account in any plan we may formulate. No plan which ignores human relationships and public sentiment will be successful, although innumerable laws confirm it.

If we go at the problem in cold blood, we may say that the only questions to be considered are the prevention of propagation on the part

of feeble-minded persons, the prevention of delinquency, and the most effective utilization of the labor represented by the feeble-minded population. Nothing is simpler than to give the logical solution to these problems. The reason such a solution is not simple in practice is that human life is not primarily logical. We are still a long distance from conscious intellectual control of social life, and even so the most rigorous intellectual control would obtain its results only through taking into account the working of human impulse and emotion.

Sterilization of the feeble-minded is logically the solution for the problem of prevention of propagation of the mentally unfit where feeble-mindedness is due to heredity. Practically, despite legislation, it has never worked because it is a purely intellectual remedy. It has never considered the prolonged period of preparation and education necessary to change deep-seated primitive attitudes. There may come a time when sterilization of the unfit will be worked into our program, but it will be only when the general level of enlightenment on social problems is materially raised by slow growth.

Segregation, much more than sterilization, offers a practical solution to part of our problem at least, and it may eventually be the final, most practical solution. At present it fails in two, possibly three, respects. First, on the human side, when by segregation we mean a fairly complete shutting off from society of all the feeble-minded, including the higher grade types, we ignore a profound aversion on the part of people in general to confinement for life for any human being, particularly when no offense has been committed commensurate with such punishment and when the individual to be segregated seems to the ordinary observer not to be very different from himself. This, combined with the feeling which relatives, particularly of the high grade feeble-minded have against segregation, makes any very complete program of this kind quite impossible for some time to come.

Quite aside from the obstacles presented by popular sentiment, there is one fundamental difficulty in the way of segregation as a complete program on the purely economic side, and another which may or may not be fundamental. If the most conservative estimates regarding the percentage of feeble-minded in this country now under suitable institutional care are correct, it still remains to provide institutions for at least fifty per cent of the total feeble-minded population of the United States. According to Mr. Kuhlman (in the *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* for September-December, 1916) estimating that five per cent of the entire population is feeble-minded, not five per cent of the total feeble-minded population is now segregated in institutions for the feeble-minded. Even if one disagreed with this estimate, it could be made far more conservative and still leave us with the task of housing a tremendously larger number of feeble-minded than any state has ever contemplated. Any approach toward complete segregation is going to mean a construction of institutions on a scale which will postpone



realization of the scheme to an indefinitely distant future. In the meantime, the feeble-minded are with us, at large in the community for good or ill, with no conscious control of the situation on our part.

The other point to be considered on the economic side is the utilization of the labor of the feeble-minded. We have no conception at present how much of the rough work of the world is being done by morons. We are just beginning to get some return from the labor of the feeble-minded in institutions through the rise of the colony plan in a few states. But we have no basis for deciding at present whether segregation can ever be made to utilize the labor of the feeble-minded to as great economic advantage as some other plan which would allow of the employment of feeble-minded in the industry of the outside world. This is a question for consideration and for further investigation, that we may gain facts on which to make a judgment.

Practically then, sterilization from the point of view of human prejudice and segregation from the standpoint of human rights and economic possibility do not constitute an adequate program for the care of the feeble-minded population of the country at least for the next quarter century. Even though we press sterilization into service just as far as popular sentiment can be made to tolerate it, and though regardless of sentiment we construct institutions to the limit of the common purse, making full use of the cheaper plants offered by the colony plan, we shall still have a large problem untouched in the feeble-minded at large in the community. Shall we continue for the next twenty-five years to depend entirely on segregation and remain in ignorance of the facts regarding the lives of the feeble-minded outside institutions?

#### *Important Factors Undetermined*

How can we decide whether all the feeble-minded need segregation; how can we be sure that every feeble-minded person is a potential delinquent until we know how many of the steady though humble and unskilled workers of the world are intellectually superior to the feeble-minded delinquent or segregated case in the institution for the feeble-minded?

Our knowledge of the feeble-minded is based almost entirely on our knowledge of intellectually inferior individuals who make trouble for us in society. Is it impossible that there is a class of individuals who by any intelligence test will measure down to the level of the institutional cases whom we label feeble-minded, but who are not social problems? The whole question of feeble-mindedness seems to be complicated by the question of how much of the anti-social or inefficient conduct of the higher grade types may be due to the intellectual defect and how much to the emotional makeup. That is, may there not be as much temperamental variation in the feeble-minded as in the intellectually normal? And that being the case may not the standard of feeble-

mindfulness indicating segregation be as much a matter of type of emotional and impulsive makeup as a matter of degree of intellectual defect?

In other words, we seem never to have made any real attempt to study the problem of the feeble-minded in the community, to determine (1) whether there is any class of people apparently feeble-minded by our intelligence standards which actually does get along in the world; (2) to determine what real supervision, intelligently conceived and applied, can do to make the existence of certain feeble-minded individuals outside of institutions safe and economically advantageous to society when it would otherwise not be so; (3) to find in how far the so-called feeble-minded delinquent is innately vicious and how far he is the result of prolonged maladjustment due to defective intellect, emotional and impulsive make-up, complicated by bad environment and training; i. e., may it not be possible that even in the field of intellectual defect the insight of modern psychiatry as to the mental mechanisms which produce maladjustment in the intellectually normal may have a bearing?

#### *Plan to Combine Treatment with Prevention*

The best plan for supplementing segregation and sterilization for the present, even though they should ultimately prove to be the only solution to our problem, the only way to obtain the kind of information we need and must have about the feeble-minded, the best scheme for educating the people to a comprehension of the problem and a willingness to accept segregation and sterilization when necessary is, it seems to me, the plan for careful, scientific supervision of the feeble-minded in the community as part of a state or nation wide program for control and prevention of feeble-mindedness.

I have no theory that the majority of the feeble-minded would become industrially efficient, sexually safe or economically self-supporting, if only they could be supervised. I have no illusions regarding the difficulty of providing anything approaching adequate supervision; but I am convinced that for the present there is no other way of getting at the problem, and, after all, it is not as if we had not already taken upon ourselves responsibility for trying out such a plan when we began the movement for ungraded and special classes for feeble-minded children. Is that work all to be wasted? Are we to look after these children until they are fourteen or sixteen and then suddenly throw off all responsibility even to the extent of making no attempt to provide institutional care when it is obviously needed?

The school and the ungraded class give us the nucleus for a system of supervision which could be worked in so simply that it would not only *not* meet with opposition but would be welcomed by the children and by the parents.

In order to make such a system of after care effective in a school system, three things are essential: (1) an adequate mental clinic under the direction of a psychiatrist with psychological training, or of a psy-

chologist with psychiatric viewpoint and experience. Such a clinic ought to provide a routine method of passing on the mentality of every child who enters school in order that the assignment of the child to a special class should not depend chiefly on chance and should not be delayed for several years while the child is struggling vainly in the regular grade and getting the full effects of his maladjustment. This clinic should be the center for a system of registration for the direction of social service and after care and for the vocational guidance of the feeble-minded child both in his industrial training and in his placement after he leaves the school. (2) The second essential of supervision is social service, from the time the feeble-minded child enters the special class. If a trained social worker with psychological background could act as visiting teacher for the special or ungraded classes, keeping in touch with both child and home, following the child's development, keeping track of his conduct out of school, educating his home to a right attitude toward him, helping him to use the best recreational conditions the neighborhood affords; when the time came for that child to leave school, the combined knowledge of the teacher, social worker and clinic director ought to give a reliable basis for deciding what should be done with him. They would know what his abilities were, what his chance of industrial success, what his tendencies to anti-social conduct and if he seemed to demand institutional care, the friendly relationship with the parents built up by the social worker would offer the best possibility of inducing the parents to permit segregation.

(3) The third necessary factor in a system of supervision is a vocational and employment bureau which shall be merely another phase of the mental clinic and the social service. This bureau would not only attempt to place the feeble-minded child in an occupation for which he was fitted, but it would continue to supervise him carefully through the social service worker. Such supervision would do much to keep the feeble-minded child steadily at work—not only because the worker could come in at a crisis to help adjust his difficulties and tide him over a period of discouragement, but because the worker would explain the child to the employer and through her ability to adjust problems as they arose would make the employer willing and able to keep a class of workers who might under ordinary conditions be impossible. Such a bureau would have to work up the whole problem of employment of the feeble-minded, finding where the feeble-minded child can best be utilized, interesting employers in the possibility of making conscious use of feeble-minded labor, inducing them to try various experiments with such labor under supervision.

#### *Objections Met*

It may be argued that such a system, to be at all adequate, would be expensive out of all proportion to the results. In answer to that it may be said in the first place that we know nothing about the results, cer-

tainly not from any experience in this country. In England and Germany and one or two other countries, a certain amount of after care has been tried, with rather poor returns in case of England, and apparently good ones in case of Germany. I doubt very much whether such after care has been done with any but volunteer workers and under any but fairly haphazard and unscientific direction. It seems to me we shall have no grounds for judging the effectiveness of a careful scientific system of community supervision until we have given at least a five year trial.

As a supplement to supervision through the school system, we have in the institutions for the feeble-minded, especially those with the colony system and field agents, machinery all ready to our hand for the supervision of institution cases who have improved with training and proved themselves fit for a greater measure of freedom. The institution for the feeble-minded is also the logical laboratory center for the schools in its district, and school and institution might well combine on a thoroughgoing plan of training and community supervision wherever possible.

That supervision will be expensive, there is no doubt—but there seems to be no way to avoid the expense entailed by the production of the unfit. Segregation is expensive, special classes are expensive—although perhaps no more so than institutional care for children who are too young to make any return in productive labor—the feeble-minded at large in the community unsupervised are expensive. It is not a question of whether we shall or shall not pay for the care of the feeble-minded. It is merely a question of whether we shall pay blindly or consciously, whether we shall pay in crime, in courts, in reformatories, in prisons, in almshouses, or whether we shall pay in directed care calculated to give us the facts which may in time make control and prevention of feeble-mindedness possible.

It may be argued that such a scheme is impractical because of the numbers to be supervised and the necessity for real supervision if the plan is to amount to anything.

From one point of view any complicated, extensive task involving care of many human beings is impractical, it is never done simply or easily. The effective education of children in schools is a gigantic task, seemingly almost impossible of accomplishment. But we never consider abandoning it because results are not always ideal or economically profitable. Successful supervision in the community is coming to be the final aim and ultimate criterion of achievement, for the hospital, the prison, the court, the reformatory, and the hospital for the insane. We call these systems probation, parole and after care and no one questions their value or measures them by their economic advantage. It really is not a question of whether or not a system of community supervision of the feeble-minded will be simple or cheap. It is a question of when we are going to begin to do this thing which has to be done before we can

get any farther with the problem of feeble-mindedness, and how long we are going to flatter ourselves that the money for ungraded classes is well spent while supervision ceases when the greatest need for it begins. There is no use training children for the scrap heap. If supervision is too expensive, ungraded classes are rank extravagance.

Finally, to sum up, a system of community supervision of the feeble-minded in connection with the school system is absolutely necessary for a term of years, (1) in order to deal with the problem of control and prevention of feeble-mindedness while segregation and sterilization are as yet inadequate, (2) in order to get facts regarding the feeble-minded who can and those who cannot be adapted to life outside an institution, (3) in order to determine whether there is anything better than the colony plan for utilizing the labor of the feeble-minded, (4) in order to educate the community to an understanding of the problem, (5) in order to justify the existence of special or ungraded classes and render them really useful, (6) in order to provide an opportunity for the study of the individual cases not *a priori* delinquent or belonging to the group obviously requiring segregation.

L. Pierce Clark in a recent article\* in *Mental Hygiene* has put the matter in a nut shell when he says:

We shall never arrive at any proper understanding of the causes of prevention of feeble-mindedness until we reconcentrate ourselves anew to the individual case studies and make them thorough and detailed and see where they lead us, instead of studying this class en masse, which has been the popular mode of late.

Psychopathic traits, or better, conduct disorders in mentally retarded and arrested children need to be considered and studied on the broad plane of our present day knowledge of personality and psychiatry.

\*L. Pierce Clark, "A Consideration of Conduct Disorder in the Feeble-minded," *Mental Hygiene*, Jan., 1918.

### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. Among the facts and proposals put forward on informal discussion were the following: An instance was cited in which a factory superintendent found it difficult to get the board of education of the city to send graduates of special classes to him. On the other hand, objections were raised in some factories by the operatives, to the effect that bringing these special cases in would tend to lower wages. A juvenile court judge suggested that data be collected in the schools regarding children before they might become unsocial. It was said that the best results in getting graduates of special classes into factories might be obtained by working with them individually instead of in large groups. More difficulty is met with in getting girls into industry than in placing boys. In regard to the classification of defective delinquents, it was stated that special provision should be made for them, but that we do not yet know what kind of institution is needed.

2. Those participating in the informal discussion, besides the speakers whose papers are given, were: Mrs. Florence Godfrey, Kansas City; A. Wyle, Rochester; C. Parsons, Des Moines; W. H. C. Smith, M. D., Godfrey, Ill.; J. Bruce Byall, Philadelphia; Judge C. E. Higbee, Grand Rapids.



## THE ORGANIZATION OF A STATE HOSPITAL

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The demands of the army for physicians, nurses and attendants trained in psychiatric work have resulted in a serious condition of shortage in the supply of such persons for civil service. Under these circumstances it becomes more than ever necessary to organize the state hospital for operation at the highest efficiency in order, as far as possible, to offset the deficiency in trained help.

Fortunately, the increase in the number of committable cases of insanity resulting from war conditions has so far proved to be very small and experience abroad does not justify any expectation of large numbers of cases of this kind. The main increase in mental disturbances concerns psychoneurotic and borderline conditions, the care of which will take place largely outside the state hospitals. These must, however, be prepared to assist largely in this work. The subject assigned to me for this paper deals only with conditions within the hospital and, therefore, I shall touch only incidentally upon this feature, although I am fully cognizant of its great importance.

*Functions of a State Hospital*

In discussing the question of organization it is necessary first to consider the functions which the state hospital is called upon to perform and the results desired. For long such institutions were regarded as purely lodging houses for the segregation of those who, by reason of mental disorder, were unfit for ordinary social life. Gradually this gave way to the so-called "hospital idea," by which was meant an approximation of methods and equipment to those of a hospital for physical disease. While this represented a decided step forward, it has, nevertheless, in my opinion, been to some extent a failure, for the reason that it has not taken sufficiently into consideration the very special character of the work to be done and the fact that many of the inmates will inevitably remain permanently within the institution, although not "sick," in the ordinary sense of the word, at all.

The recognition of the existence of mental disorder necessitating care in a state hospital does not have the same significance as the diagnosis of bodily disease requiring treatment in an ordinary hospital. Disease may, it is true, be present, but the principal fact is disorder in behavior, and in the majority of cases no evidence of disease can be detected. The hospital for the insane must, therefore, be organized primarily with the object of treating behavior, the ordinary practice of medicine being, though essential, a less important branch of its activities. Only when this is fully grasped and adequately provided for, shall we be able to achieve even an approximation to the ideal hospital for mental disorders.

Behavior is in part the result of inherited nerve connections, but to

a much greater degree it is the outcome of education and training. A state hospital must, therefore, be planned primarily as an educational institution, its efforts being directed towards the correction of faulty habits and the establishment of new ones designed to enable the individual to behave in a manner compatible with social life. Even when full correction is not secured, as unfortunately must frequently be the case, either because the faulty habits have become too deeply ingrained before the individual comes under treatment or for some other reason, partial success may be accomplished, whereby the patient becomes capable of living more or less satisfactorily in a modified or simplified environment such as in that of the custodial division of an institution or under supervision outside.

The education required does not differ in principle from that which is given to the child. We cannot hope, even if it were desirable, to remove feelings, desires and passions which are inherent in life itself. Our efforts, therefore, must be directed towards providing means compatible with social existence for the outlet of the energy which these emotions represent. This implies occupation endowed with interest. This is what we try to develop in our children, even though we perhaps do not plan our educational system with this consciously in mind. It must also be the corner stone of state hospital organization.

In planning the organization this central feature must be kept continuously in mind if we are to develop any purposeful and orderly system. In the past many of the arrangements have developed more or less in a haphazard way, alterations being adopted to meet emergencies without any organized efforts towards revision of the system as a whole.

#### *The Patient's Institution Experience*

Probably the simplest plan to follow in this article will be to trace the path of a patient through the hospital and to indicate the various possibilities to be considered. This will afford a ready means for indicating the various subdivisions of the institution and defining their functions. Following this a few remarks on professional personnel and their economic employment will not be out of place.

The patient when first admitted will go into a reception division, in which he is examined and studied with the objects of determining the particular problems to be met and of deciding the course of procedure to be adopted. As soon as this has been accomplished—a process which may take from a few minutes to several weeks—he will be transferred to the division in which it has been concluded he will receive the necessary treatment and care. The decision must be based upon the actual needs of the patient and not upon any convenience in administration, which means that the various divisions must be organized upon a basis of therapeutic equipment.

At the time of admission the patient frequently shows more or less severe disturbances of conduct (often called symptoms of acute insanity),

which represent the reactions to the difficulties, of whatever nature, which have brought about the demonstration of faulty habits or behavior or, in other words, have precipitated the insanity. During this stage of acute mental disorder it may be necessary to await the arrival of a calmer period before attempting more active education and to confine our activities to meeting exigencies and dangers as they arise. This calls for expert skill and special equipment, particularly in the nursing force. It, therefore, will constitute a separate division, which may be called the division for acute mental cases. It should be constructed in small units to permit separation of patients and be planned especially to promote rest. Prolonged baths and conveniences for packs are essential. Facilities for simple employment, not as training but as an outlet for energy, must also be provided.

After the subsidence of this acute period, or immediately if such a stage does not exist, the patient should pass into a special division devoted to education. Such a division must provide for various kinds and grades of instruction and must be regarded as the most important branch of the institution. It corresponds exactly with the reconstruction work which is being planned for disabled soldiers after the wounds causing the disability have sufficiently recovered. This division should be able to provide material assistance to the government in planning and carrying out such work. Upon the success accomplished here the whole future of the individual depends.

It will be realized that, following the abatement of the acute stage of of mental disorder, the condition of the patient may vary enormously. Let us take two extreme illustrations. The first patient is stupid, careless and untidy, shows little or no evidence of interest in his surroundings and, as is often said, is in appearance more or less completely demented. In most hospitals such a patient is promptly transferred to the untidy, or back, wards of the institution, there to receive a postgraduate course in idleness and degradation. The proper destination of such an individual is an environment in which continuous efforts are made to arouse interest and to re-establish the former self-respect. The man may have to be trained like a baby even in the simpler habits of self-care, but if nothing more than this is accomplished the problem of his maintenance in the institution becomes enormously simplified. In connection with the treatment of such cases various stimulating forms of treatment, hydrotherapeutic, diversional and otherwise, are valuable.

At the opposite extreme, the subsidence of the acute stage may be followed by an apparent return to the individual's previous norm. He is said to then be convalescent. Nevertheless the problem to be faced concerns not only his immediate recovery, but still more the question of the prevention of future breakdowns. This may require special and even prolonged training in suitable habits of reaction and industry

with the object of equipping the man better to meet the conditions of life on the outside.

Between these two extremes lies every possible gradation and variety, each with its special problems, the number being almost as great as the number of individual patients.

The functions of this educational division are those of habit training, which is to be accomplished by graded occupational teaching, and the provision of graded responsibilities. It should be the prime object of the hospital to see that every patient who leaves the institution is better equipped to meet the world than when he entered and that those who remain shall be prepared to be made useful to the full limit of their capacity.

#### *Bearing on Permanent Disposition of Case*

As a result of the information gained from a study of the patient under these conditions and the progress he makes as a consequence of the training there will develop, in the course of a variable time, some definite grounds for the determination of the future mode of life which it is desirable for each to adopt. This may be life outside the institution (with or without certain restrictions) or, on the other hand, it may be more or less permanent segregation from the complicated conditions of life in the world.

Leaving for the moment those persons who are released from the institution, we may consider the division of the institution devoted to the care of those who will remain permanently within its walls. This division, the largest in most state hospitals, must be designed with a view to providing varying degrees of complexity of environment (which is largely a question of individual responsibility) and also towards the making of the lives of the inmates as comfortable and as home-like as possible. This does not imply either a hospital life or a life of idleness. To be happy, every individual must be occupied. The form of occupation should be selected by reason of its fitness and interest for the individual, but here with due consideration for the needs of the institution itself. The custodial division is thus also the industrial division, and not only will economy in administration be promoted by this arrangement, but the welfare and happiness of the inmates will be greatly enhanced. Systematic industrialization of the state hospitals is a most urgent need, for nothing is more detrimental or more heart-rending than the rows of idle so-called demented who fill their *chronic wards*.

The training given in the educational division may well be planned to prepare such patients as are expected to stay within the institution for the performance of the various kinds of industrial work which are being undertaken by the institution.

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, however, that occupational therapy, the name customarily given to the work of the educational

department, is absolutely separate and distinct from industrial employment. The latter may, indeed, be regarded as graduate work, and in no case should the industrial needs of the institution be put ahead of the therapeutic requirements of the individual patient. The case of the institution, in this regard, does not differ from that which obtains in the world at large. The child is educated first, and only later is permitted to enter industry. To attempt to interfere with this provision in ordinary life has always led to disaster. This is evidenced by the enactment of laws prohibiting child labor, and even more emphatically, during the war, both in this country and in Europe, when efforts were made to relax the school and training conditions in order to allow early participation in work essential for the conduct of the war. Universally it has been found that there followed an enormous increase in juvenile delinquency. We may well apply this experience to the state hospitals, and realize that an effort to cut down or eliminate the training period is bound to lead to failure.

#### *Hospital Organization and Professional Activities*

The organization outlined thus far then provides for the following divisions:

1. A reception service
2. A division for the care of acute mental cases
3. A reconstruction division
4. A custodial division

To these must be added

5. A hospital division
6. An infirmary division
7. A laboratory division

The hospital division has as its function the treatment of the physically sick, and will require medical and surgical equipment similar to those of a general hospital. It must also provide for the care and segregation of various infections such as tuberculosis and the contagious diseases.

The infirmary division is a department in which are cared for the more or less helpless results of organic disease, the terminal stages of general paralysis of the insane, senile dementia, etc. This should contain the only untidy cases permissible in the institution, cases in which the lack of self-care is due to structural defect and not merely to bad habits. These latter make up by far the larger proportion of the inmates of the *untidy wards* of most institutions.

The laboratory division needs but little description. Its functions correspond with those of any well equipped general hospital.

The organization into divisions here outlined does not differ greatly perhaps in its general arrangement from that which obtains in many hospitals. I would insist, however, that it does differ in that it



presents a clear definition of the functions to be performed and is built up around an eminently practical plan of therapeutics.

The personnel of a hospital can profitably be divided into professional and administrative branches. This subdivision means something more than mere words. I am convinced that if its true significance is realized and acted upon that very considerable economy in material may be accomplished.

The professional branch, with which alone I propose to deal, includes the medical, nursing, attendant and special therapeutic services. For all such work special and often prolonged training is necessary, and it is in these fields particularly that the greatest demands are being made by the army. It is obviously wasteful to employ a highly trained individual to perform work which could well be done by unskilled persons. In the hospital, organized as planned above, the great need for physicians trained in psychiatry obviously lies in the receiving, acute mental and the educational divisions, and it is here that they should be especially concentrated. The work in the hospital, infirmary and custodial divisions can be carried out by physicians of less psychiatric experience, but there should be some arrangement whereby cases requiring special study could receive the benefit of such experienced physicians as are available. For this purpose it would be well to provide certain wards for special observation which could be under the same direction as that of the more acute services. Under present conditions laboratory work, which will of necessity be largely routine, can be placed in the hands of trained women technicians.

A great deal of a physician's time in state hospital work is often wasted in performing simple routine duties which could well be delegated to a clerk or some similar person. We have recently instituted in the Illinois hospitals a system whereby a clerk is employed to act much as a secretary to the medical staff. By observing certain rules for minimum requirements she is able to keep track of the duties which should be carried out each day, to see that patients and records are in readiness for the physician, that the purely formal data in various reports are filled in and, by making appointments with visitors, to see that unnecessary interruptions of the physicians' time are avoided. The system also enables one experienced physician to so arrange his service that much of the necessary routine medical work can be allotted by him to assistants (women and men unfit for military duty), who are not trained in psychiatry. This has resulted in a very marked saving of waste time and greater efficiency in spite of the reduction in the numbers of trained physicians available which we, in common with other states, have suffered.

#### *Nursing, Occupational Supervision, Social Service*

The nursing service can be improved in like manner by cutting out unessentials from the duties of those who are trained. The train-

ing of nurses for psychiatric work is another field, the importance of which has been brought home to us by the war. Most hospitals today maintain training schools for nurses, but unfortunately the training given takes but little account of the special work that these nurses are to be required to do. It aims rather at producing a nurse cast in the same mold as the nurse in a general hospital. In my opinion our training schools should be planned to develop nurses fitted to care for mental and nervous cases and that we should hire, already trained, such nurses as we need for the care of bodily sickness. We have been working on such a scheme in Illinois for the last few months and hope to have the new training school at work this coming fall. The backbone of this course must be occupational therapy and habit training which we have adopted as the corner stone of our divisional organization. Such nurses will be required only in the earlier divisions considered. Attendants, adequately trained, will be employed for the care of custodial cases.

In the educational division there are needed workers especially trained in occupational teaching. Much of this work will be done by nurses of the special training school alluded to but, for the present at any rate, it seems necessary to secure some one who can devote the whole time to the supervision and direction of the activities in this division. This, of course, does not relieve the psychiatrist from the duty of deciding and prescribing the proper treatment for each individual.

Lastly, reference must be made to a division the work of which lies in part outside the walls of the hospital, the social service department. The state hospital, from the nature of conditions, possesses almost a monopoly upon psychiatrists, and is unquestionably the center from which must radiate all efforts towards prevention and after care. The staff must be so organized that the physicians can take part in the mental hygiene work of the community and there should be some provision made for the reception of patients for temporary study and observation with the object of determining the proper treatment necessary.

Reference was made above to the maintenance of special observation wards in connection with the acute (as opposed to custodial) service for special study of difficult cases. These same wards should also be open for the reception of *temporary care*, or voluntary cases brought in from the outside for diagnosis and not necessarily subjects for commitment. It is this class of case which is being brought more prominently forward by war conditions and which the state hospital must be prepared to assist. Since, however, the subject of extra-mural activities is being dealt with by another speaker, I do not propose to enter into it further.

## WAR NEUROSES AFTER THE WAR: EXTRA-INSTITUTIONAL PREPARATION

*Mary C. Jarrett, Chief of Social Service, Boston Psychopathic Hospital*

A practical consideration of this topic, extra-institutional preparation for the care of war neuroses after the war, presents itself in the form of three questions,—Do we know what the problem will be? Have we knowledge of the way in which such a problem should be met? And can we be prepared to apply such knowledge as we have to the problem as we foresee it? From the experience of our allies, of Canada especially, we are able to foretell approximately the extent and nature of war neuroses to be expected among our own troops. Since it has been established that the neuroses of war are essentially identical with the neuroses of civil life, for the treatment of which a considerable body of medical knowledge exists and is at present being applied in a small number of centers in this country, the second question may also be answered in the affirmative. The answer to the question, "Can we be prepared to meet the situation?" is still in doubt and depends upon the energy and activity of those who know the subject and their success in bringing their knowledge to the public, in such a way that legislatures may be moved and the people stirred to recognize adequate care for war neuroses as a humanitarian and social necessity in our war program and to go out to meet with civilian measures the extraordinary efforts of the government to care for the mental as well as the physical health of our soldiers and sailors.

It will not be long before we shall have, coming every month from overseas, three thousand invalid soldiers, of whom, Col. Bailey has estimated, 400 will be suffering from nervous and mental diseases. In addition to the neuro-psychiatric cases, neuroses occurring in patients suffering from physical injury or disease must be taken into consideration. We are told in Canada that 90 per cent of all invalid soldiers show symptoms of nervous disorder of some kind. The Canadian Patriotic Fund states that one of the chief difficulties they meet in reconstructing family life after the discharged soldier returns home is the man's nervous condition, which makes it almost impossible for him to hold a job. Return to civilian life after months or years of army discipline is in itself a difficult feat of adjustment. When we consider in addition the effects of the intolerable strain and horror of this present war, it is to be expected inevitably that the mental adjustment required of a man who survives and returns to civil life will in a majority of cases be difficult to a degree that calls for medical help.

We may expect three types of neuro-psychiatric cases requiring different kinds of provision. There will be men suffering from mental disease, temporary or chronic, who will need prolonged treatment in hospitals, the so-called insane patients, for whom government and state

hospitals must be fitted to provide. Second, among the shell-shock cases, there will be many in which recovery is slow and care in a government hospital for months or a year may be required, followed by a period in a convalescent home. In some of these cases moreover symptoms may recur from time to time. Finally we must expect neuroses in men discharged for physical disability, cases in which the nervous or mental symptoms may not appear until after the man's discharge.

It may be well to review briefly what provision for cases of these three classes already exists, in order to point out how completely inadequate our present institutions are to meet either the war situation or the current civilian need. There are 156 state hospitals for mental disease in all the states of this country. Many of these hospitals are constantly over-crowded. For observation and treatment of early cases of mental disease and cases of neuroses not suitable for admission to the state hospitals there are 6 psychopathic hospitals and 11 psychopathic wards in the country. Provision for out-patient treatment is so rare that a mental clinic in any community is a conspicuous institution. Compare the 73 mental dispensaries and out-patient departments, which is the total number that the office of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been able to discover, 59 of which are New York and Massachusetts, with the existing innumerable clinics for bodily diseases. At one of the cantonments a few weeks ago the medical officer in charge of the psychiatric ward said that men were being discharged continually from his ward who should have out-patient treatment. When I asked if any arrangement was made for them to receive it, he said, "You know there aren't any out-patient departments where these men come from to send them to. What can you do?" The psychiatrists of the army are discovering nervous and mental disorders at the rate of 2,000 a month for which there are almost no means of treatment. A young man found to have neurosyphilis and discharged from the army goes home and continues to develop general paresis, unless he has the rare faculty of realizing his condition and discovering for himself a physician qualified to treat him; and the man suffering from a neurosis discharged from service even if he has the gift of initiative will probably not be able to find a physician to treat him. This is the situation that we shall have to change if we are to be prepared to care for war neuroses after the war.

We have however more knowledge than we have means; for in some institutions it has been possible to advance medical and social practice in the treatment of neuro-psychiatric cases, so that effective methods have been demonstrated and are available for use, whenever the means may be found to increase the existing number of hospitals and dispensaries and to train additional psychiatrists, social workers, and other required lay workers. The difficulties are enormous, but the situation would be heavy with difficulty of an entirely different quality if we did not already know what to do. We know what should be



done,—a practice has been worked out in certain communities that could be extended throughout the country.

Out-patient treatment for nervous and mental disorders is both medical and social and these two aspects are so closely interwoven that they can hardly be discussed separately. An occasional case may be free from social complications and call for treatment by the physician only. Also in an occasional case the physician may find that the root of the difficulty is social and may leave the case in the hands of the social worker. In most cases medical treatment is supplemented and reinforced by social care. The efforts of the social worker in such cases must of course be definitely designed to contribute to medical treatment. For the best results social work should be immediately under social direction, but the practice of the social worker in every case must be strictly in accordance with the doctors' ideas for the patient and if in any case a conflict of social and medical interests arise, the medical decision obviously must prevail, since the treatment of a mentally sick person is primarily a medical problem. This relation between the medical and social work of a neuro-psychiatric out-patient department is sometimes not understood by observers who see the large amount of responsibility borne by the social worker in certain cases that the physician sees infrequently and do not realize that the physician has expressly delegated responsibility to the social worker, whom he trusts to carry out social treatment in conformity with his medical plan.

Mental clinics conducted by physicians from state hospitals have been established in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey and West Virginia, sometimes at the hospital but more frequently at a hospital or public building in a nearby city or town. The most extensive psychiatric clinics of this country are at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, which is part of the system of the Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases, and at the Phipps Clinic which is a department of the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. The best known neurological clinic is at the Neurological Institute in New York. The work of a psychiatric dispensary was described by Dr. Campbell of the Phipps Clinic in an illuminating address at this conference last year.<sup>2</sup> As my experience is drawn entirely from the Boston Psychopathic Hospital it is of the work there that I must speak to illustrate what may be done by a combination of medical and social treatment for neuro-psychiatric disorders such as we must expect to find among returned soldiers in all parts of the country.

Two cases will serve to illustrate the contrasting results of treatment and neglect. The first is a man who left his family in a little village of Russia ten years ago and came to America to advance his fortunes. He lived frugally and uprightly, for he is a man of high character and some education. The work he found to do, clothes pressing, paid good wages, but yet not more than enough to keep him and support the family in Russia, his wife, six daughters and the wife's



aged parents. As the years passed he began to fear that he could not earn enough to bring them over; they were growing restless, and hard feeling began to creep into their letters. In the end this man acquired a severe neurosis with pains in the legs that became unbearable when he worked at his trade, and deprived him of strength to operate his pressing machine. When he came to our out-patient department he had been the rounds of a number of general hospital clinics without improvement. His legs were cold and blue in spite of the five pairs of stockings he wore. His mental state was one of utter despondency. If he could not get well he could never see his children again; he had lived for them and now they had not enough to eat in that little Russian village and he could earn nothing to send them; if he went back he would be only a burden to them; would it not be best for him to commit suicide while his life insurance was paid up. This was the tragic condition of a man who had always done his duty simply and faithfully. If he could not be cured, almshouse life, never to see wife or children again, was his inevitable fate. He was cured after three years of persistent work. He resisted treatment, wanted to try another doctor, objected to every kind of light work suggested, found fault with everything the social service did for him; when a sum of money was raised to establish him in a small business he complained bitterly that it was not all turned over to him at once, insisting that it belonged to him. Details of the process of improvement would be tedious, but the result was that at the end of three years, he was holding a position and practically a well man. After the war he expects to be able to bring some of his daughters over. He still holds his position, has been elected an officer of his lodge, and is today a hopeful man.

The other case is an Italian who is bed-ridden now as a result of a traumatic neurosis that began two years ago.<sup>a</sup> He was a gardener, an industrious home-loving man who had brought up a fine family. On his way to work he jumped off a moving car and fell hurting his leg. He walked some distance to his work and was ill and faint when he arrived. At the hospital it was found he had a fracture. After recovery he complained of pain and stiffness and insisted he could not walk. For a while he attempted some light work and then sat around the house despondently. Once he attempted suicide because he could no longer endure his helplessness. He believed he would be all right if he could get rid of his leg, and finally his family, who shared his belief, found a physician who was ready to amputate the leg. At this point his old employer sent him to our hospital, where the trouble was pronounced to be a deep seated neurosis. It was too late to help this man. Lack of psychiatric treatment together with the well-meant but unintelligent indulgence of his family had resulted in a condition of practical paralysis.

We have had at our hospital a young English soldier who had been discharged from the army after three years of service by reason of

nervous disorder. He was a frank, merry youth who had enlisted at fifteen. After his discharge from the army he got a job on a steamer coming to Boston. On the ninth day out he had a spell of charging about the deck, shouting and going through the motions of a trench attack to the great alarm of his ship-mates who restrained him with difficulty, and every day during the rest of the voyage he had a similar spell. The boy cannot remember anything of these attacks. He looks normal and healthy, and he feels well except that he has a little nervous sensation which he calls "the dithers." He showed no mental symptoms in the hospital, but the captain of the ship was apprehensive about the return voyage. It is easy to imagine the difference it will make in this boy's future if he receives such medical care as did the first man I mentioned or is neglected as the second man was. The case of this English boy is typical of the war neuroses that our own boys and young men will suffer from.

The final question whether it is possible to be prepared to meet the demand for proper care for war neuroses that suddenly confronts this country, is a question of organization. Military medicine and civilian medicine are essentially the same, the difference being one of numbers and time and not of kind; so that what is being done now in some places could be put into practice throughout the country. Here as in every branch of war work it will be necessary for civilian activities to be pushed out to meet governmental measures. However thoroughly the government cares for cases of war neuroses, there will come a time when the soldiers and sailors will have again become civilians suffering from chronic, recurrent, or belated symptoms of nervous and mental disorder. The present unintelligent and unsympathetic attitude of the public toward neuroses in civil life should be changed by that time. The dread, impatience, or repulsion that many persons feel toward these disorders, they will not feel in the case of the invalid soldier. He in fighting for our cause becomes in a sense a part of ourselves, and we have for him something of the same intimate understanding that we have for our own misfortunes. Everyone will want to understand and help the soldier with shell-shock, but few at present know how to do so. A general campaign of mental hygiene education at this time may accomplish the work of fifty years in five.

We need both public education in mental hygiene and practical facilities for medical and social care of war neuroses organized speedily on a national scale. For the educational work an increase of local mental hygiene societies is indicated, such as exist now in nineteen states.<sup>4</sup> Such an organization may comprise a state, a city, or a group of states according to local conditions. The medical and social work calls for an extension of out-patient departments of state hospitals, for mental dispensaries at private expense with competent psychiatrists in charge and for mental clinics connected with general hospitals. The number of psychiatrists equipped for army service has been increased by military

institutes, and after the war these physicians will be ready for civilian work. Rapid emergency courses for psychiatric social workers must be developed.<sup>5</sup> Social workers so trained might well be employed by local mental hygiene societies so that in every community there should be some worker specially equipped to assist distant hospitals and dispensaries to secure social history necessary to treatment and to arrange for the return of men discharged into the community by supervising them directly or through the proper local agency.

The end results of war are millions of individual social problems, which must be dealt with one by one, if they are to be met at all. Each tangle must be patiently and intelligently straightened out by some one; each individual who has been thrown out of adjustment, directly or indirectly, through the war, must be advised and assisted by some qualified person. During a recent visit to Canada I was met everywhere by the reminder, "Remember that each returned soldier is an individual problem." There is no other way to deal justly with the returned soldier than to study the mental, physical, and social condition of each man, and to give him the assistance he may need to become refitted to civil life. This is all fairly obvious, and we have confidence that the government will deal both justly and generously with our returned soldiers. But when the government in its preparations reaches the final stage, where the soldier is ready to return to his family and to industry, and begins to form a plan of social care, a staggering scarcity of persons qualified for the work will be disclosed.

After all possible medical and vocational skill has been exercised to refit the soldier to take his place again in civil life, it is obvious that the best specialized skill to be obtained should be employed to see that he finds his proper place. Physicians and vocational officers should not be satisfied to leave the disposition of the product of their work to chance or to a loose organization of untrained citizens. The man who has lived under military organization for months or years, with every part of his life ordered for him, when he returns to civil life, with its responsibilities and perplexities, meets a crisis fit to tax all his powers at a time when he is physically and mentally debilitated. Social care as well as medical at this time should be assured to every man who is found to require it.

At present there are not enough trained social workers for civilian needs. Ten times the number now in existence will be needed. Every social worker ought to become a recruiting station.

To prepare for a situation that is not yet upon us, that cannot be seen in moving-pictures, that has not been given actuality by the official stamp of government, requires a vigorous use of imagination. A sojourn in Canada helps to make the situation vivid—seeing the men who have to take up again responsibilities beyond their strength, hearing the pitiful tales of things gone wrong. We shall not be ready to profit by our warning unless large numbers of workers begin their training now.

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- <sup>5</sup>Southard, E. E., M. D. *Mental Hygiene and Social Work*. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. II, No. 3, July, 1918.
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## INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. In the absence of Dr. L. Pierce Clark, *Dr. Williams* spoke briefly in regard to war neuroses. He contrasted war neuroses with malingering and gave illustrations showing that shell shock is a nervous disease and not an insanity. In most cases it is a functional disease, and not organic. It does not come suddenly, but is an end event, of a long train of events. It is possible for the expert to pick out the man who is headed for collapse. The speaker described the duties of the divisional psychiatrists in the army, each of whom is responsible for the mental health of the 28,000 men in his division. He also gave an account of the treatment of the shell-shocked soldier, showing first how he receives preventive treatment and also prompt treatment close to the front, as well as in the base hospital in the rear. Eventually, the men, if they do not recover, will be discharged home. Large numbers will be more or less affected nervously, and the different states must be prepared to see that they get proper and prompt treatment. Answering a question regarding cooperation between tuberculosis and mental services for discharged soldiers, Dr. Williams said: Workers are now working independently, but there will be co-operation later, without doubt. Hospitals for 10,000 are now being planned for in each draft district, with wards for all kinds of cases—one for orthopedics, etc. Expert advice will be given in each ward. This system allows co-operation between the different wards.

2. Others who participated in the informal discussion chiefly through asking questions were: Elsa M. Butler, St. Louis; Dr. A. F. M. Green, Kansas City; Dr. O. G. Finkelstein, Chicago.

## STUDIES IN PERSONALITY AMONG FEEBLEMINDED DELINQUENTS SEEN IN COURT

*V. V. Anderson, M. D., Medical Director of the Municipal Court of Boston*

I shall not attempt on this occasion to discuss the seriousness and extent of the feeble-minded problem. We have all of us either presented or had presented to us much of the ascertainable data along these lines. But I do wish to call your especial attention to certain aspects of feeble-mindedness that have been inadequately touched upon.

In the first place, we need to know more about an individual than



the mere fact that he is feeble-minded. For we have come to realize that feeble-mindedness does not necessarily imply bad social adjustment. We are told by no less authorities than Dr. Walter Fernald and Dr. George Wallace that certain feeble-minded persons get along fairly well in the community. Our own experience has verified this; we have seen certain persons, undeniably feeble-minded, who were able to earn a living, to avoid serious social difficulties, and to adjust themselves fairly well to the conditions of normal living. Furthermore, we have come to realize that the mere dubbing of an individual as feeble-minded does not furnish an adequate explanation for his criminal behavior. We need to know more about those elements of personality that on the one hand speak for successful adjustment, and on the other hand just as surely speak for bad adjustment, if we are to undertake intelligently any well planned scheme of procedure.

The problem would indeed be simple could we reduce it to the mere estimate—by means of mental tests—of an individual's degree of intelligence, and then his commitment in all cases to an institution. But the adequate institutional care of all feeble-minded persons in the country, even if desirable, is a long way off. No matter how we feel about it, the great majority of the feeble-minded are having to be handled out in the community. Some are already a serious social menace; others give promise of becoming such; while still others will probably never give any difficulty, but being content and satisfied with their lot in life, will find some niche—however small—into which they can fit themselves, and scarcely create a ripple in the stream of life's activities.

#### *One Hundred Cases Studied*

It has seemed that a better understanding of the individual differences presented by feeble-minded personalities whose behavior varies so widely would be distinctly worth while. As a practical consideration, the whole question of the prevention of crime is intimately related to such an understanding of the predictabilities in any given case. This study does not pretend in any sense to adequately deal with the situation; it does aim to call attention to certain other worth while considerations in the case of a feeble-minded delinquent in court.

For the purpose of this study the case records of 100 feeble-minded individuals were carefully gone over, with no other requirement for selection than that enough information bearing upon the career of each person should be at hand to determine the general character of her behavior—whether tending to conform to the social standards of the community or not; also that there should be enough information bearing upon each individual's personality to give a general picture of her abilities and disabilities.

These were all adult women, ranging in age from 17 yrs. to 55 yrs.—as the following table will show:



TABLE I  
Showing Chronological Age of 100 Feeble-minded Delinquents.

Age	17-20 Yrs.	20-30 Yrs.	30-40 Yrs.	40-50 Yrs.	50 Yrs.†	Totals
No. of cases	7	30	39	18	6	100
%	7%	30%	39%	18%	6%	100%

The greatest incidence is in the decade between 30 and 40 yrs., while more than two-thirds of our cases were between 20 and 40 yrs. of age.

The mental level of these persons as determined by means of the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale and Goddard Revision of the Binet Scale is indicated in the following table:

TABLE II  
Showing Mental Level of 100 Feeble-minded Delinquents.

Mental Age	7-8 Yrs.	8-9 Yrs.	9-10 Yrs.	10-11 Yrs.	11-12 Yrs.	Totals
No. of cases	1	11	42	26	20	100
%	1%	11%	42%	26%	20%	100%

To be sure, the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness in these cases did not rest alone upon the determination by means of a measuring scale of their degree of intelligence. In the first place, a thorough-going psychiatric study of each case was undertaken, in order to rule out the possibility of a psychosis or deterioration. In addition to the psychometric scales above referred to, Healy's supplementary tests were used; also tests of school knowledge and general information were given. From this and the history obtained, we came to our final diagnosis of feeble-mindedness.

#### *Behavior Variations*

As one read over these case histories, one was impressed with the marked differences in behavior manifested by these different individuals.

After leaving school, some secured employment, worked steadily and lived fairly quiet and sheltered lives; avoided alcohol, sexual irregularities, bad associates; appeared ambitious, were willing to accept authority, and to be guided by advice, were industrious, and seemed to have gotten into court more as a matter of chance than as a logical result of the life they had lived. In their reactions to the court's treatment, they profited by the mistakes they had made, and showed no tendency to repetition of their offence.

Others from the very start showed strong determiners for a criminal career. They either would not work at all, or never remained at any place or form of work but a very short while; at an early age began to form vicious habits; established the very lowest companionships; became addicted to alcohol and drugs; were especially promiscuous sexually, seemed impervious to any advice and resistant to any form of authority; often arrested—as many as thirty-five to fifty times, they continue on repeating their offences over and over, apparently unable to modify their conduct in keeping with the standards of the more normal living members of the community.

The following tables give only a very limited picture of the extreme maladjustment and abnormal behavior of some of these persons.

TABLE III  
Showing Industrial Efficiency of 100 Feebleminded Delinquents.

Industrial Efficiency	Steadily Employed	Change Often	Do Not Work	Housework at Home	Totals
No. of cases.....	16	38	35	11	100
Totals .....	16%	38%	35%	11%	100%

Sixteen per cent were undoubtedly self-supporting; kept steadily employed and apparently gave satisfaction. Thirty-eight per cent, while more or less self-supporting, changed positions frequently, worked irregularly, and did not give satisfaction where employed. Thirty-five per cent never worked at all; while eleven per cent did housework at home.

#### *Alcoholism and Sexual Irregularity*

The use of alcohol by feebleminded persons affects seriously their general behavior in other regards. It seems as if such inhibitions as have been built up tending towards normal behavior are more quickly disorganized by alcohol, in the feebleminded persons than in the normal.

TABLE IV  
Showing Percentage of Individuals using Alcohol and Drugs among a Group of 100 Feebleminded Delinquents.

Alcohol .....	82
Drugs .....	5
No evidence of either.....	18

Eighty-two per cent used alcohol; 5 per cent used drugs as well as alcohol; while 18 per cent did not use either.

Almost invariably did one find that along with the use of alcohol, there also went sexual irregularity. In fact a close correlation seemed to exist, as the following table will indicate:

TABLE V  
Showing Habits as to Sexual Relations among 100 Feebleminded Delinquents.

Showing Results as to Sexual Relations among 100 recommended Delinquents.						
	Sex Relations	Absent	Restricted to Marriage	Mildly Wayward	Especially Promiscuous	Totals
No. of cases.....		9	10	27	54	100
% .....		9%	10%	27%	54%	100%

In 9 per cent, sexual relations had been absent; in 10 per cent all evidences seemed to indicate that they had been restricted to marriage; while 81 per cent were either wayward or sexually promiscuous. In short, 19 per cent could be considered moral, while 81 per cent were undoubtedly immoral women.

The following table indicates the frequency with which these individuals came into court:

TABLE VII  
Showing Frequency of Arrests of 100 Feebleminded Delinquents.

Frequency of Offense	1st Offenders	2nd Offenders	Recidivists	Total
No. of cases.....	20	12	68	100
% .....	20%	12%	68%	100%

Twenty per cent of these cases were first offenders; 80 per cent were second offenders or recidivists.

*Behavior Compared with Careers*

We divided these 100 cases into four groups—those whose behavior indicated good social adjustment (this should be taken in the very broadest sense); those whose behavior indicated fair social adjustment; those whose behavior indicated poor social adjustment, and finally those whose behavior indicated bad social adjustment. Our judgments were based upon the entire careers as pictured in the life histories, together with the court record.

The following table shows the character of behavior and the general trend of the careers of these 100 cases:

TABLE VI Showing Character of Social Adjustment of 100 Feeble-minded Delinquents.	
Good social adjustment.....	4
Fair social adjustment.....	15
Poor social adjustment.....	52
Bad social adjustment.....	29
Total No. of cases.....	100

Nineteen per cent showed good or fair social adjustment (as said before, this must not be interpreted too literally—the fact that they were all feeble-minded and all court cases should be borne in mind). Eighty-one per cent showed poor or bad social adjustment.

Now, our purpose so far has been to show the perfectly obvious fact that, though all of these persons were feeble-minded, they still varied greatly in their mode of behavior and in their adaptation to the outside world. Surely no one would be so unwise as to claim that wholly within the constitutional makeup of these individuals could be found the explanation of their differences in behavior. To overlook the importance of innumerable social and environmental factors as determiners for behavior would indeed be foolish. So complicated is the whole matter of conduct that it is difficult—if not impossible—to attach to each factor its proper value. In this particular instance we only hope to make clear a perfectly obvious relationship that exists between the traits of personality possessed by a feeble-minded individual and the character of his behavior.

The main divisions under which the various traits are arranged were borrowed from Wells' "The Systematic Observation of the Personality," etc.—"They are not intended to be rigid, nor could they be made so. . . . No single characteristic can be absolutely separated from other characteristics, any more than a single act is the product of a single motive." There is, of course, much overlapping in these traits.

Something of the relationship that personality traits bear to conduct is exhibited in the following table:

TABLE VIII

Showing Relationship of Personality to Character of Behavior.

OUTPUT OF ENERGY—	Good	Fair	Poor	Bad
Active .....	4	14	29	12
Lazy .....	0	1	28	17
Good manual dexterity.....	4	12	7	4
Poor manual dexterity.....	0	3	45	25
SELF-ASSERTION—				
Suggestible .....	8	11	26	9
Not suggestible .....	1	4	26	20
Ambitious .....	4	12	1	1
Not ambitious .....	0	3	51	28
Resists discouragement .....	2	7	22	12
Does not resist discouragement.....	2	8	30	17
Combative .....	0	0	32	20
Not combative .....	4	15	20	9
HABITS OF WORK—				
Persevering .....	4	12	2	1
Capricious .....	0	3	50	28
Indolent .....	0	1	48	28
Industrious .....	4	14	6	1
Prompt .....	4	14	6	1
Procrastinating .....	0	1	6	28
MORAL SPHERE—				
Sincere .....	4	15	6	2
Insincere .....	0	0	48	27
Conscientious .....	4	13	7	2
Not conscientious .....	0	0	45	27
Honest .....	2	12	6	2
Dishonest .....	0	0	46	27
Truthful .....	4	12	6	2
Untruthful .....	0	3	46	27
ADAPTABILITY—				
Co-operative .....	4	15	11	2
Not co-operative .....	0	0	41	27
Accepts authority .....	4	14	11	2
Does not accept authority.....	0	1	41	27
Guided by advice.....	4	14	0	0
Not guided by advice.....	0	1	52	29
MOOD—				
Emotional .....	2	8	42	14
Not emotional .....	2	7	10	15
Earnest .....	4	13	13	2
F frivolous .....	0	2	39	27
Anger easily aroused.....	2	4	42	20
Anger not easily aroused.....	2	11	10	9
ATTITUDE TOWARDS SELF—				
Self-pity .....	0	8	18	2
Self-justification .....	1	4	46	27
ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHERS—				
Sympathetic .....	3	14	14	6
Not sympathetic .....	1	1	38	24
Fault-finding .....	0	1	31	13
Stubborn .....	0	0	41	27
Sullen .....	0	0	12	8
Sensitive .....	2	8	42	13
Not sensitive .....	2	7	10	19
Trustful .....	4	14	25	2
Suspicious .....	0	1	47	27
Selfish .....	0	5	47	27
Not selfish .....	2	10	5	2
Considerate .....	4	10	5	2
Inconsiderate .....	0	5	47	27
Appreciate .....	4	10	5	2
Not appreciative .....	0	5	47	27
Respectful .....	4	15	15	11
ATTITUDE TOWARDS REALITY—				
Acknowledges mistakes .....	4	15	6	2
Does not acknowledge mistakes.....	0	0	46	27

On the basis of our four main headings, we find that those with good social adjustment (4 per cent) were active, ambitious and not combative. In their work they were persevering and industrious; were usually sincere, conscientious, honest and truthful; were cooperative, accepted authority, and showed a willingness to be guided by advice; were earnest, kind and sympathetic, respectful, trustful, considerate of others, appreciative, acknowledged mistakes and made an earnest attempt to profit by them. In some instances these individuals were suggestible, sensitive, emotional and easily discouraged; but their principal difficulty was their arrested intelligence. All of these individuals worked steadily; none were alcoholic; none could have been considered immoral women; and none showed a tendency to a repetition of their offence.

Those with fair social adjustment showed the majority of the above characteristics, but with less frequency than found in those with good adjustment; with a certain intermingling of undesirable characteristics—lack of ambition, indolence, untruthfulness, frivolity, capriciousness, self-pity, lack of appreciation, etc.

The majority of these individuals were steadily employed, though some changed positions very often; nine of the fifteen cases had had illegitimate sexual relations, though none were sexually promiscuous. Seven of these cases used alcohol at irregular intervals. There had been no tendency in these cases to a repetition of arrest.

Those with poor adjustment showed a higher frequency of laziness, poor manual dexterity, lack of ambition, anger easily aroused, combativeness. In their work they were more inclined to be indolent and procrastinating; showed a tendency to be dishonest and untruthful; were less agreeable to authority, were inclined to justify themselves and their acts; and showed little tendency to be guided by advice; were more often inconsiderate of others, stubborn, suspicious, lacking in appreciation, and rarely were willing to acknowledge their mistakes and make an honest effort to do better. None of these individuals were steadily employed; the majority changed positions frequently, not remaining long at any place; and in some instances did not work at all. Forty-nine out of 52 cases were alcoholic; and three were drug users. Forty-five out of 52 cases were either sexually wayward or especially promiscuous. Practically all of these persons showed a tendency to a repetition of their offences—some to a great number of times.

Finally, those with bad social adjustment showed the above undesirable characteristics in a more marked degree and with greater frequency than was exhibited by those with poor social adjustment. The majority never worked at all—gaining their living by a simpler method. All used either alcohol or drugs. Twenty-seven out of the 29 cases were immoral women; and all were repeated offenders, upon whom the court had tried every measure for readjustment at its disposal.

The above table consists more of a mechanical arrangement of a large group of traits according to the frequency with which they fall



into relation with certain kinds of behavior. If we look at it from the point of view of personality types—grouping these various traits together as represented in certain main types of personality, we find at least three types existing:

*First*, the feeble-minded person in whom the intellectual defect is the outstanding factor, and little difficulties of personality are noticeable. This group is a very small one and the difficulties of adjustment are limited by their intellectual ability and industrial capacity; if these are of sufficient strength, they can well be supervised outside.

*Second*, the unstable, emotional group, who are easily discouraged, go to pieces in emergencies; are very sensitive, quick-tempered, lacking in inhibitions, often very willing to acknowledge mistakes and to try to do better, but seem seriously handicapped by their marked temperamental instability. This group is larger than the first, and presents greater difficulties in adjustment. Alcohol and sexual irregularities were found to be frequent. Something apparently can be done in the way of supervision for some of these cases.

The *third* group presents very grave difficulties of personality; they are egotistic, selfish, not sympathetic, suspicious, inconsiderate of others, unappreciative, not cooperative, unwilling to acknowledge mistakes; they resist authority and are not guided by advice. In fact they make up a group for whom supervision outside of an institution is impossible.

NOTE: In his conclusion the author stated: "We do not want to be understood as recommending the handling of feeble-minded girls out in the community; but we do want to call attention to the fact that some feeble-minded persons seem to get along fairly well under outside supervision, and do avoid serious social difficulties, and therefore are not necessarily—because they are feeble-minded—vicious, incorrigible and irresponsible. We do want to emphasize the fact that the majority, however, of feeble-minded delinquents seen in court are institutional cases, and are incapable of measuring up to the social standards of the community in which they live. We want to emphasize strongly the fact that a well-rounded, thorough-going study of the possibilities of each individual delinquent, though he be feeble-minded, is necessary for an adequate adjustment of his case."

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. Among the points brought out by speakers on informal discussion were the following: The Binet-Simon tests are not entirely satisfactory, but they are better standardized than others and, therefore, are used for regular grading, supplemented by other tests. Testing mental intelligence can never be as accurate, for example, as taking one's temperature. We cannot evaluate emotional control, for instance. In Illinois, hydrotherapy is not being used to great extent with children, owing to depletion of staff on account of the war.

2. A statement by one speaker, to the effect that children should not be punished at any time for anything by anybody, started a lively discussion. One speaker stated that we are not ready to give up the principle of deterrence; that punishment as a deterrent works well on feeble-minded groups. Another speaker brought out the point that punishment affects normal and defective minds differently. Another speaker indicated that experience has a definite value as a deterrent of crime.

3. Those who participated in this informal discussion were: Mrs.

Florence Godfrey, Kansas City; Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; J. A. Leavitt, Lincoln, Nebr.; Dr. A. F. M. Green, Kansas City; Frank D. Watson, Haverford, Pa.; Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Gainesville, Texas; Ellsworth Faris, Iowa City; O. G. Finklestein, Chicago; Clark E. Higbee, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Dr. Catherine Brannick, Framingham, Mass.; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago.

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### SUMMARY OF PRESENT LEGISLATION ON THE SUBJECT OF INSANITY IN THE VARIOUS STATES, WITH PROGRAM FOR MEET- ING THE PRESENT SITUATION

*Edith M. Furbush, Statistician of the National Committee for  
Mental Hygiene, New York*

It would be inadvisable, to say the least, to attempt to give a complete review and summary of the existing laws in the various states of this country relating to mental diseases. It is my purpose, therefore, to bring before you certain outstanding features in these different laws, laying emphasis upon good points and noting weak ones, giving a summary of the more important steps which have been taken in the right direction, and to present briefly a program to meet the present situation.

In reviewing the laws relating to mental diseases one is greatly impressed with the lack of uniformity in the legislation of the different states. Upon no subject has there probably been so diverse and conflicting laws enacted as upon this one. In some states the care of the insane as reflected in their legislation is humane, well considered and creditable, whereas in others the patient is considered as closely allied to the criminal and dealt with as such. We find such expressions as "the accused," any person "charged with insanity," "suspected of insanity," etc., all of which, together with trial by jury which is found in some states, tend to give the sufferer the impression that he is a criminal, if he is not already harboring this delusion. Detention in jail pending his commitment to a state hospital, which is authorized by law in many states, certainly does not tend to eradicate this impression from his mind, and gives an added stigma felt by his family and friends. Such procedure, to say the least, does not help to bring before the public the fact that insanity is in reality a disease, and should be treated as such, that the sufferer has committed no crime and that disgrace should not be associated with mental disease any more than with rheumatism, tuberculosis or other diseases.

The viewpoint of enlightened readers has changed from the original conception of insanity as a manifestation of demoniacal possession, requiring detention and even punishment, until today more and more is the sufferer from mental disease considered as a patient in need of treatment and not merely custodial care. Far too little has been done in the

way of prevention, however, and not enough thought is given to the individual himself. Most of the states seem to give preference in commitment to persons who seem dangerous to the community, the idea being the protection of society rather than the welfare of the individual, although we find in a few states precedence is given to the more recent cases and those in which treatment is most urgently needed.

### *Antiquated Laws*

In reviewing the commitment laws of the several states, many appear cumbersome and unwieldy; and many of them fail to make provision for emergency commitments, for voluntary admissions, temporary care and observation. The commitment laws of the different states show great variations. However, in most states, the commitment is made by a judge upon the testimony of witnesses, one or more of whom (usually two) must be physicians. In some states the person to be committed must appear in court, while in other states his presence lies within the discretion of the judge. In some states the examination must be made in court; in others, the examination must be made within a specified time previous to the session of the court. In some states in addition to the physicians' certificates, a written statement must be made by relatives or friends, or some citizen, that the individual is in their belief insane.

Perhaps the most cumbersome commitment law is Florida's. When a resident of this state is supposed to be insane, either *non compos mentis* or sufficiently devoid of reason to be incapable of self-control, a petition signed by five reputable citizens, not more than one of whom may be a relative of the person, stating their belief that he is insane, and asking that a legal examination be made, may be presented to the county judge or judge of the circuit court having jurisdiction. The county judge, or judge of the circuit court, to whom the petition is submitted must, without unnecessary delay, appoint as an examining committee one intelligent citizen, who is not a petitioner in the case, and two practicing physicians of good professional standing who are graduates of a school of medicine recognized by the American Medical Association, when such physicians reside in the county. This committee must secure the presence of the supposed insane person, and make a thorough examination to ascertain his mental and physical condition, and if considered insane, whether the insanity is acute or chronic, its apparent cause, the hallucination, if any, and the age and propensities of the subject, also whether he is indigent or possessing available means for his support. The examining committee must report its findings to the county judge or judge of the circuit court, and furnish the information called for in the preceding section, each of the three committeemen signing the report. On receiving the report of the examining committee, the county judge or judge of the circuit court, if satisfied that the person is insane, must order the sheriff of the county from which the report is submitted to deliver at once to the superintend-

ent of the hospital for the insane the person adjudged insane. The order of commitment must include a copy of the information and report by the committee and be transmitted by the sheriff to the superintendent of the hospital.

In Georgia, a person to be committed is brought to trial much in the manner of a criminal. He is tried before a jury of six or twelve men, one a physician. Trial by jury is also required in Kentucky and Wyoming, and is an alternative in several other states.

In Maryland, the decision as to whether a person should be committed to a hospital for the insane rests solely upon the certificates of two physicians, without any other formalities. No application to any court is necessary. The commitment law of this state could hardly be classed as cumbersome or unwieldy, and has its advantages in reducing publicity to a minimum, incurring little expense, and avoiding unnecessary delay. It is amply safeguarded by the duties and powers vested in the Lunacy Commission and the rights of the patients to correspond and converse privately with the commission. All institutions caring for insane must be licensed by this commission. As a final safeguard, the law provides that the commission, the patient or his relatives, may sue out a writ of habeas corpus to determine whether the patient is insane or is legally detained. However, according to the provision of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States that "no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law," the Maryland commitment law might be judged to be unconstitutional.

Delaware has admission upon the certificates of two physicians, and also court commitment. But when the latter procedure is followed, it is not necessary to have the certificates of the two physicians.

The New York Commitment Law is perhaps the most practicable. It preserves the constitutional rights of the individual, involves little publicity, is not cumbersome, and is well safeguarded. A person may be committed to an institution for the treatment of the insane upon an order made by a judge of a court of record of the city or county, or a justice of the supreme court of the judicial district, in which the person resides or may be, adjudging such person to be insane, upon a certificate of lunacy made by two qualified medical examiners in lunacy, accompanied by a verified petition therefor, or upon such certificate and petition, and after a hearing to determine such question. This law fulfills the requirement of "due process of law" and at the same time does not make the decision a legal one solely, but gives due weight to the certificates made by the two physicians who must have examined the person not more than ten days previously.

The War Work Committee of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene recently sent letters to the proper authorities of the several states in this country urging their co-operation in the care and treatment of their own soldiers who should become insane on account of mental

conditions existing prior to their military service, or who for other reasons did not develop insanity in line of duty. The replies received reveal the difficulties in the application of the commitment laws in the various states in ordinary times, to say nothing of the obstacles which these returned soldiers are likely to meet and the difficulties and delays in securing adequate treatment for them at a time when it is most urgent.

### *Voluntary Admission*

Perhaps the most important step in the path of progress is the legal provision for voluntary admission. The desirability of voluntary application was recognized in the petition for a charter of the Pennsylvania Hospital founded in 1751. The petition written by Benjamin Franklin states that "with the numbers of people, the numbers of lunatics or persons distempered in mind and deprived of their mental faculties, hath greatly increased in this province, that few or none of them are so sensible of their condition as to submit voluntarily to the treatment their respective cases require, and, therefore, continue in the same deplorable state during their lives."

The voluntary provision is found in 22 states varying from a truly workable law to one in which there are limiting clauses of such nature as to make its working out impracticable, if not impossible, from the point of view of the patient. In Maryland, the voluntary patient is received, provided the expense is borne by him, his relatives or friends, or provided that the county commissioners or supervisors of city charities of Baltimore consent to his maintenance as a public charge. In other states the limiting clause is "provided he is not insane." In Missouri he must be a pay patient, and accompanying his request must be a sworn certificate of insanity of two physicians, dated within two months. And yet in the commitment law of this state is a sentence to the effect that indigent patients must always be given preference over pay patients. Colorado, Connecticut and Michigan receive those voluntary cases who cannot legally be adjudged insane. In Ohio an otherwise good voluntary admission law states that no hospital may care for more than five voluntary patients at one time, and that voluntary patients may not be admitted to any hospital when the quota for the county is complete. Oklahoma's law reads as follows:

After providing ample accommodations for all public and private patients entitled to admission, the superintendent may receive and detain as a boarder and patient any resident of the state who applies for admission, if his mental condition is such as to render him competent to apply for admission, provided the approval of the judge of the county in which the person resides is obtained.

A good example of a voluntary admission provision is Pennsylvania's, which reads somewhat as follows:

Persons who are threatened with mental disorders and voluntarily place themselves in institutions for the insane may be received for a period of one month or less by an agreement, which must specify the time and be signed by them at the time of their admission. At the end of one month they may renew the agreement, but no agreement is valid unless signed in the presence of some adult person attending as a friend of the applicant and by the medical attendant.



CHART I



In South Dakota any person may receive treatment at the state hospital by subjecting himself to the custody and control of the superintendent and paying quarterly in advance the sum of \$16.00 per month.

West Virginia's law reads:

Any resident of the state in the early stages of insanity or believing himself about to become insane, or believing that treatment in one of the state hospitals would be beneficial to him, shall be received as a voluntary patient on a verified written application to the state board, which may require the certificate of one or more physicians or other evidence. A voluntary patient may leave the hospital on five days' notice if, in the judgment of the superintendent, he is in fit condition, and may be discharged upon the certificate of the superintendent because cured or because further treatment is unnecessary.

The clause "if in the judgment of the superintendent he is in fit condition" might serve as a deterrent to any person about to apply for admission. The same such provision is found in Wisconsin's law.

In Massachusetts, the superintendent may receive any person as a voluntary patient who makes written application and is mentally competent to make it. A voluntary patient must not be detained for more than three days after having given notice in writing of his desire to leave the institution. This would seem to be a wisely conceived law as is also New York's provision which is very similar, except that the period of time beyond which a voluntary patient may not be detained after having given notice of his desire to leave is ten days instead of three as in Massachusetts.

#### *Emergency Commitments*

The provision for emergency commitments marks an important advance in legislation for the insane. As previously noted, few states as

yet have enacted laws authorizing emergency commitments. In Connecticut, if a person becomes suddenly violently insane, he may be detained in a hospital for a period not longer than 48 hours without an order of the court. The Massachusetts law states that the superintendent of any hospital for the insane may, without an order of a judge, receive and detain for not more than five days any person whose case is certified by two physicians qualified as provided by law to be one of violent and dangerous insanity, or of other emergency.

Michigan also provides for emergency commitment. A judge of any court of record or police justice of any city or county, upon a certificate of two legally qualified physicians, may authorize any superintendent of the poor or a peace officer of the city to remove to a hospital or other place of detention, a person believed to be insane against whom no proceedings have been instituted, and detain him until proceedings are instituted in the probate court. The period of such temporary detention must not exceed five days, unless by order of the probate court.

In New York, an insane person may be received in a state hospital or a private licensed institution upon a certificate of lunacy executed by two medical examiners in lunacy after an examination as provided by law without a court order of commitment. The patient thus received may be detained by the hospital for a period not to exceed ten days. A court order of commitment may be obtained prior to the expiration of that time, or the patient must be discharged from the hospital. The superintendent of any state hospital for the insane may, when requested by a health officer, receive and care for, during a period not exceeding ten days, any person who needs immediate treatment because of mental derangement. These provisions of the law have proved of great benefit to patients requiring immediate treatment, and it may be of interest to know that during the fiscal year 1916 the thirteen civil state hospitals of New York received 496 emergency cases.

#### *Temporary Care and Observation*

Closely allied to the provision for emergency commitments are the laws authorizing observation and temporary care. In Massachusetts we find in addition to the law providing for emergency commitment (Section 42, Chapter 504, Acts of 1909) two provisions for temporary care and another for observation. One of these, commonly called the Boston Police Law (Chapter 307, Acts of 1910), requires that emergency cases which come into the care or protection of the police in Boston be taken to the Boston State Hospital for temporary care, and forbids the use of prisons, jails or any penal institutions for such persons. In this connection it may be of interest to know that under this act 393 persons were taken to the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital during the year 1916. In the year 1910, 129 such cases were received under this act. A second temporary care act in this state is Chapter 174 of the Acts of 1915—an amendment of Chapter 395 of the

Acts of 1911. This act allows the admission of patients for ten days for temporary care instead of seven days, as formerly, to any hospital for the insane in the state, public or private. Under this act, 1,827 cases were admitted during the year 1916. In 1911, under the former act, 92 such cases were admitted during the first year of its operation.

Massachusetts' observation law, which was enacted in 1909 (Section 43, Chapter 504), provides for the commitment to a state hospital for the insane, or to McLean Hospital, of any person found by two qualified physicians to be in such mental condition that commitment is necessary for his proper care or observation, pending the determination of his insanity, under such limitations as the judge may direct. In 1909 5 persons were thus committed; in 1916 the number was 199, the period designated by the judges in the various cases was usually 30 days.

In 1916 a total of 2,985 patients (as against 745 in the year 1911) were admitted without any action of the court or judge under the voluntary admission and the temporary care laws. Court commitments for the same year numbered 3,664—less than 25 per cent more than the number admitted without court procedure.

In actual practice the Massachusetts laws dovetail and supplement one another in a most satisfactory manner. For example, a person admitted for temporary care may, at the end of that period, be committed for observation, be received under the voluntary status, be admitted as an emergency case, be regularly committed, or discharged. Likewise, an emergency admission may be committed for observation, etc.

### *Parole*

In 39 states we find the parole system in operation. The accompanying chart (omitted in publication) indicating those states in which we find this provision, may be of interest. The length of the period of parole as provided by statute varies from 30 days to one year, the most usual period being six months. In quite a few states no limit is set by statute. The authority to release patients on parole is in most states vested in the superintendent of the hospital. In a few states, however, he may parole patients only under regulations determined by the central board of control and in one or two instances the central board has the authority to grant paroles.

### *What Constitutes Insanity*

There is need of a clearer conception and better definition of what constitutes insanity. It is a word without uniform significance as used in the laws of the several states. In some instances the term includes feeble-mindedness, while in others, violent mental trouble solely. In Alabama a person is defined as insane, and, therefore, suitable for commitment to a state hospital, if he has been found by a proper court

deficient or defective mentally so that for his own or others' welfare his removal is required for restraint, care and treatment.

Colorado's definition is this statement:

The term "insane person" includes idiots, and any person so insane or distracted in mind as to endanger his own person or property, or the person and property of others, if allowed to go at large.

The following is found in Illinois' statutes:

By insane is meant any person who by reason of unsoundness of mind is incapable of managing his own estate, or is dangerous to himself or others, if permitted to go at large, or is in such condition of mind or body as to be a fit subject for care and treatment in a hospital or asylum for the insane. No person, idiot from birth, or whose mental development was arrested by disease or physical injury occurring prior to the age of puberty, and no person who is afflicted with simple epilepsy is regarded as insane, unless the manifestations of abnormal excitability, violence or homicidal or suicidal impulses are such as to render his confinement in a hospital or asylum for the insane a proper precaution.

In Kansas' laws we find practically the same statements.

According to the laws of New Hampshire, the term *insane* includes every idiot, *non compos*, lunatic, insane or distracted person.

We find the following in the laws of South Carolina:

A person is considered insane or fit to be a patient in the hospital for the insane who by reason of mental aberration of a more or less permanent character is dangerous to others or to his own life or person, or to property. Lack or loss of mental ability to properly conduct his usual work or business must be considered along with aberrant conduct in determining the question of a person's insanity.

In reviewing the laws of the several states we find that in about one-fourth of them it is required that the superintendent of the state hospital be a physician. In practice, however, there is only one state in the Union in which a superintendent is not a physician. In California, Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, New York, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas, in addition to being a physician, the superintendent must have had experience in the care and treatment of mental diseases. In Colorado and New York five years' previous experience in a hospital for the insane is required; in California three years, and in Kansas at least two years (or he must be a specialist in nervous diseases).

The practice of confining in almshouses persons in need of care and treatment as mental patients is to be deplored. This is still quite prevalent in some states and is legal, if not actually in practice, in many more. In Utah the county commissioners, who are the overseers of the poor, are bound to provide for such insane as may not be received at the state hospital and may care for them at poor farms or *other institutions*. It is evident how the words "other institutions" may be construed. In some states the person may not be confined in jail, unless his condition is violent or dangerous. In other states—for example, New York—we find the statement that no insane patient may be committed to an almshouse or detained in a jail. A good piece of legislation is Chapter 294, of the Laws of 1915, of the State of Connecticut, which requires the authorities in charge of almshouses to have all inmates examined by a physician at least once in six months and to institute proceedings for the commitment of any insane found there.





quires the managing officer of each hospital for the insane to develop occupations that serve the mental, moral and physical improvement, or happiness of the inmates. The benefits from this provision are apparent. Another well-considered law of this same state provides for visits to the home of any paroled patient, or any convalescent patient before discharge, for the purpose of advising the family as to the care and occupation most favorable for the patient's continued improvement.

### *Next Steps in Reform*

It would take one far beyond the limits of one paper or the indulgence of a single audience to point out all the varying features—both good and bad—to be found in the laws of the several states. However, I trust that enough material has here been presented to give an idea of the wide variations in the laws, the inadequacy of many of them, the hopeful note to be found in some, and the need of much constructive work to effect adequate legislation.

What need then should be first emphasized? A uniform commitment law for all the states, providing for commitment with as little publicity and delay as possible, at the same time safeguarding the constitutional rights of the individual, making adequate provision for voluntary admission, temporary and emergency commitments, and commitment for observation. Temporary detention in jail or almshouses should not be countenanced by law, but patients awaiting admission to a hospital for the insane should be admitted to a psychopathic hospital or to a psychopathic ward of a general hospital. There should be a clear and uniform interpretation in the several states as to what constitutes insanity.

May I digress at this point, while speaking of the need for uniformity of laws in the several states, to make mention of a movement now under way by the American Medico-Psychological Association, in co-operation with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, to establish a uniform classification for mental diseases. The advantage of this step is, I believe, apparent to all of you who have ever tried to make use of the statistics of the institutions in this country for comparative or cumulative purposes. It is almost impossible to secure from the reports of the various hospitals, as the reports now stand, any statistical material from which general conclusions can be deduced. There is not adequate data for determining relative per capita costs in the various institutions, the prevalence of the more important types of mental disease, whether syphilitic psychoses are more or less numerous now than formerly, the costs of caring for alcoholic psychoses in this country, the average length of hospital life of the various psychoses, total number of first admissions throughout a hospital year, number of readmissions, etc. Realizing the need for a uniform basis for statistics, the Committee on Statistics of the Association drew up a classification for mental diseases and a set of statistical forms which were submitted to the Association at its 1917 meeting. Letters, together with a copy of the new classification, were

recently sent to all of the state hospitals and central boards, which had not already adopted the classification, urging their co-operation. Replies have been most encouraging. Already over one-half of the state hospitals in this country have adopted this classification or have expressed their readiness to do so at the beginning of their next fiscal year. It looks as if uniform statistics for mental diseases would become an actuality and that reliable data may soon be available as an aid to progress in the scientific study of mental disease.

Every state should have provision for the parole of patients, vested in the medical superintendent of the state hospital, who should have adequate experience in caring for mental cases to determine just what patients may be benefited by parole. This provision presents an undebatable argument from the financial side alone, when we consider that the care of mental patients is conservatively estimated at \$200 per capita per year. It would also help to relieve congestion in the hospitals and make possible the entrance of more recent cases.

State-wide psychopathic hospital service should be instituted by the several states, as has been done by Michigan and Massachusetts. Psychopathic hospitals and out-patient departments should be established in connection with all existing and future state hospitals. As in the other branches of medical science, emphasis is more and more being laid upon prophylactic measures, so in mental hygiene we must make more adequate provision for preventive work. Free mental clinics should be established along with other clinics, as a branch of the out-patient departments of general hospitals. Psychopathic hospitals should be established in larger cities and psychopathic wards in the larger general hospitals. Here much could be done by directing efforts against early manifestations of mental disease.

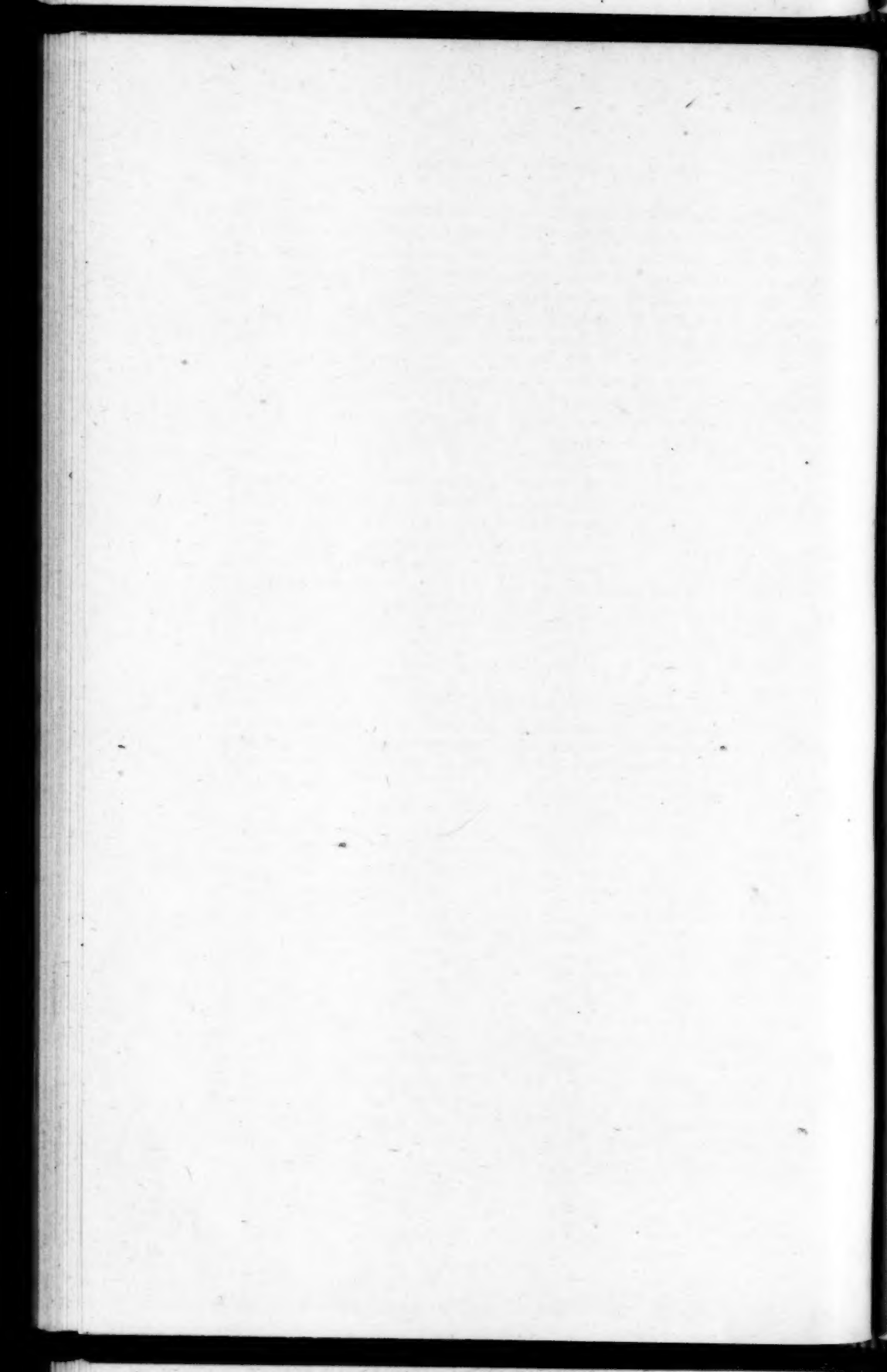
The early recognition of mental disorders, however, cannot be generally expected until medical schools give more attention to them. There should be a higher and more uniform standard of psychiatric teaching in the medical schools. Courses should be *required* in which the medical student himself examines mental patients. Courses in clinical psychiatry, as well as text-book and lecture course on the subject, should be included. The general practitioner should be trained to recognize early symptoms of mental disorders. It is a generally accepted fact that the majority of graduates from medical colleges have insufficient knowledge of the nature of mental diseases because they have had little or no opportunity to study this branch of medical science. This condition could be remedied by requiring the physician to answer questions on mental disease in his state board examination to secure his license to practice medicine. This would necessitate adequate courses in psychiatry on the part of the medical schools. As a result, an increasing number of physicians would enter the field of psychiatry and the young graduate about to engage in general practice would be better able than formerly to recognize mental disease in its incipient stages.

Many of the present laws relating to the insane were enacted at a time when the popular mind regarded the insane as closely allied to the criminal. The continuance of such legislation is bound to cause hardship to the sufferer from mental disease, who occupies a different position in the eyes of the public from any other kind of patient. In spite of the progress than has been made, much still remains to be done. In the development of the treatment of other diseases legal aspects have no weight, whereas in the treatment of the insane legal barriers are ever present. For this reason there is great need for concerted effort, through an ever-widening circle of those interested in the welfare of the mental patient to work for adequate legislation, which will make it possible for him to receive the right kind of treatment. To guard against unjustified detention, there must needs be laws—but let us see to it that they are workable and humane, and that they do not bar from treatment the person in the early stages of mental disease who is aware of it and both anxious and willing to receive treatment. Let us do all in our power to assist in removing barriers to the early treatment of mental disease, and in making access to the state hospitals freer. Since it is true that, more than in the case of any other class of sick, the kind of care and treatment which the insane receive depends upon laws relating to them, it is incumbent upon us to do all that we can to secure adequate legislation for them.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The foregoing survey was presented by Miss Furbush informally. The speaker stopped frequently to answer questions. Among others the following named delegates participated in the informal discussion: Dr. A. F. M. Green, Kansas City; Mrs. Carrie Parsons Bryant, Los Angeles; H. W. Moore, Monroe, La.



**IX.**  
**ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES**



## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

### *Chairman*

Allen T. Burns,  
Director, Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland.

### *Vice Chairman*

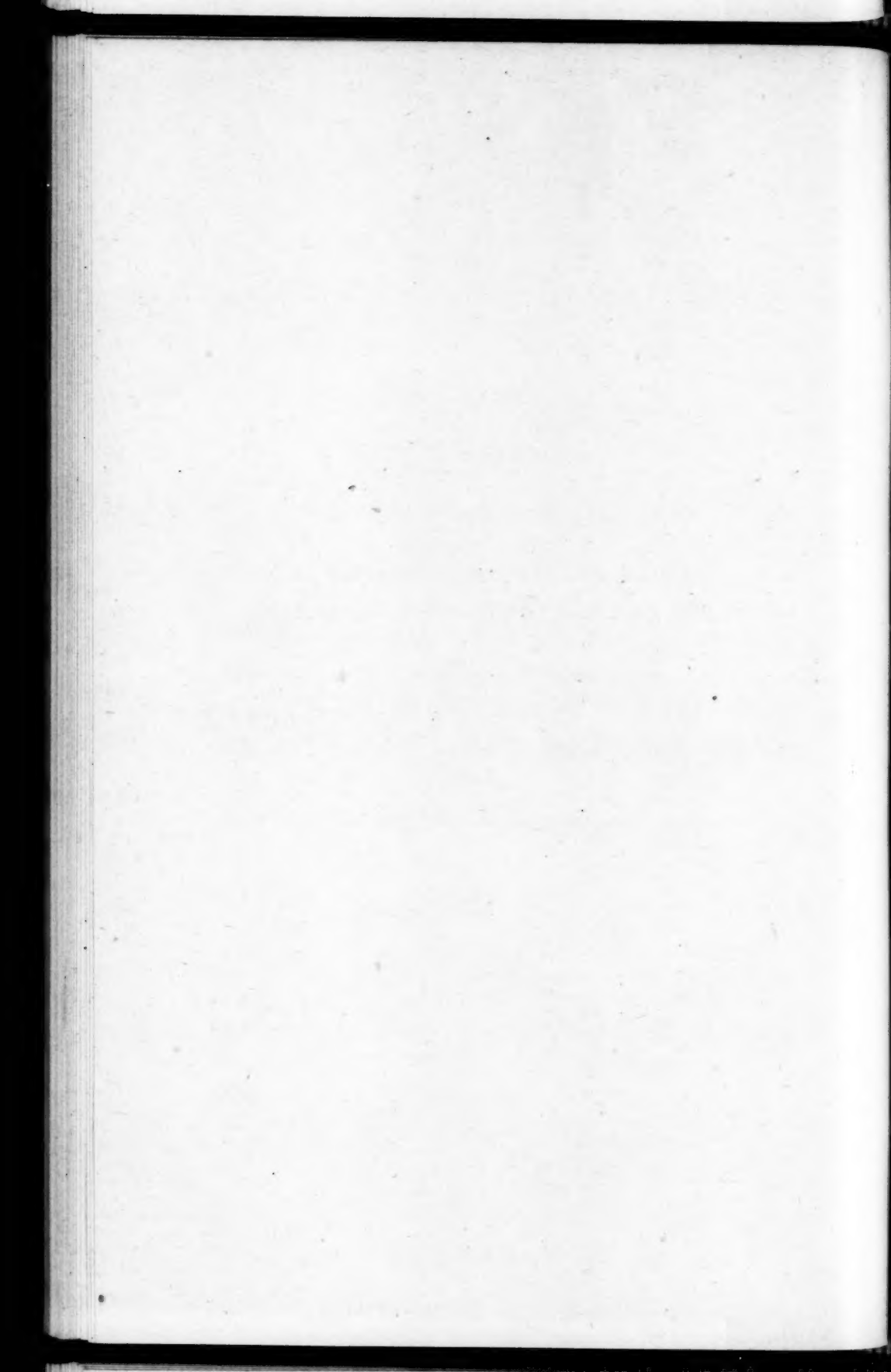
L. A. Halbert,  
Superintendent, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri.

Prof. George P. Baker.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Joseph C. Logan.....	Atlanta
Martha Berry.....	Rome, Ga.	Alida Lattimore.....	Belleville, Ohio
C. M. Bookman.....	Cincinnati	H. J. Maginnity.....	San Francisco
Edward L. Burchard.....	Chicago	William J. Norton.....	Detroit
Prof. James Ford.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Elmer L. Scott.....	Dallas
Fred R. Johnson.....	Boston	Anna Louise Strong.....	Seattle
Guy T. Justis.....	Denver		

## PROGRAM

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The last named session was a joint meeting with Division VII on the Local Community.



## THE WAR CHEST AND THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT

*William J. Norton, Secretary, Detroit Patriotic Fund*

We live in hours pregnant with growth and change. The narrow horizons of immediate social accomplishment that restricted our views two years ago in all the fields of social endeavor have vanished in the turmoil and stress of war, and in their place are great vistas of possible rapid development. The threat of the German has shocked and cleansed the torpid pools of a nation's conscience. Torrents of new ideals are flooding the land, baptizing the smug and the heedless into a new birth where duty and obligation are living, potent forces.

A dozen social movements struggling a year ago for barely perceptible motion are sweeping forward today borne on the tidal wave of a world at war. The financial federation movement is one of these. A sudden spectacular development has come into the federation world in the shape of the so-called war chests, which have sprung up almost simultaneously in dozens of cities and counties in all parts of the country.

Coming so quickly and moving with such speed, this war chest idea is carrying in its train equal elements of value and of danger, not only to those of us concerned in community organization work, but also to social workers in general. The people of Detroit, foreseeing the arrival of the plan a little in advance of most cities, and taking a longer time in preparation for it, and in working out its policies and details, have obviated most of its dangers and have made it into a wonderful, powerful engine for good in their community, not only for this year, but for many years to come. I feel justified, therefore, in departing from the subject laid down for me by the chairman of this section eight months ago, and in discussing the war chest in its relation and lack of relation to the fundamental principles of federation.

### *The Layman in Revolt*

To begin with, the reason for the war chest is exactly the same as the reason for the local federation. Both are primarily insurrections of local laymen, not against the purposes of the many social agencies or the humanitarian work they do—for these appeal strongly to the average layman; but against the methods they have of raising money and of conducting their affairs. It happens that during peace times the insurrection against local organization methods in the less hasty and more thoughtful communities was progressing slowly and carefully. Each step forward was taken with painful experimentation, and the change from a separate organization basis to a community one was evolutionary and sane.

When the war broke, however, the following things happened: The Red Cross, which had been speaking to the people in terms of hundred thousands, spoke in terms of a hundred millions. The Young Men's

Christian Association, which had talked of foreign work in terms of thousands, talked now publicly in terms of thirty millions. Other organizations which had never talked in anything but local terms swept out into the national field on a big scale. New international relief societies arose in great numbers almost over night. Everyone of these appeals came back to the different cities of America to be borne by the local people. The great recognized agencies could only be financed by giant campaigns. The other things staged bazaars and fairs, wrote letters, did personal canvassing, and appealed through the press.

Primarily the same people who worked in the Red Cross campaigns were obliged to work in the Christian Association campaigns, the Liberty Loan campaigns and the others. People who bore the heavy burden of giving to one, bore the burden for the others. Great masses of the people were not reached.

The evil of this every-organization-for-itself basis, which had been only mildly apparent while the local movements had the field to themselves, was thrust forcefully home by this medley of new giant war activities. It came as an added burden to a people already distraught with demands for food conservation, greater production, higher taxes, an increased cost of living, and all the burdens of the war.

Insurrection, quick insurrection, was inevitable. Unlike the slow and sane, evolutionary process, which was bringing about the local federation before the war, the war chest broke into the national arena as a swift revolutionary movement, with all the faults and dangers which accompany hasty overturnings of even the worst of systems.

#### *The War Chest Has Defects*

These faults are exceedingly important to us as social workers, for some of us in our respective localities have already been called and others are going to be called upon to help in such ways as we can in steering the movement. If we have any influence in turning it into safe and useful directions, as I believe the people of Detroit have done, we shall have a wonderful new force for social development at our service. If we are not successful we are almost bound to find our own work retarded when the war is at an end.

Most of the faults are an outgrowth of the failure of the big national movements to understand that the demands of each one of them were so heavy, that the people obliged to raise the money in the separate cities were bound to pool interests in short order to save themselves, unless the dominant national societies formed a national federation. Because of the failure of the national leaders, their representatives in charge of each of the respective local units were slow in assuming any vital leadership. The revolt, therefore, which has created most of the war chests has been led and manned by the volunteers who have to raise the money, backed by the big givers.

A complete chain of dangers flows from this circumstance. The war chest leaders have been more likely than not to misunderstand the



sentimental background of the various agencies, which is the heart and soul of their existence. Judgment has been poor in appropriating money. An attempt has been made to make the organizations covered entirely comprehensive, therefore stopping all solicitation which is neither desirable nor possible. No play has been given for individual choice of things to be supported, a method which invites prejudice rather than allaying it as it is supposed to do. The budgetary principles upon which any successful federation must be built have been largely ignored. An element of overlordship has appeared.

Some of these faults need a more careful examination. By way of example, take the attempt to be comprehensive. Most of the war chests have publicly stated that they intended to provide enough money to stop all solicitation for war purposes and to take care of all war appeals. This is a promise impossible of delivery. The person who makes it, immediately sets up a dilemma for himself. It is inevitable that many appeals will be made for projects which honest men, or the apostles of social efficiency cannot endorse. Yet by making the promise, the appeals must be endorsed and supported, or the promise cannot be kept. If they are supported the responsibility which the public expects of a community committee is promptly replaced with irresponsibility.

#### *Protecting the Constituent Organizations*

Associated with this attempt at comprehensiveness is a danger of injury to the national organizations which comes also from the failure to understand their histories, background and fields. A war chest is a local organization. The great war agencies are national and international in their sphere. The Red Cross, the Jewish War Sufferers and the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committees have a right to demand protection in the fields they occupy from the encroachments of small, irresponsible relief committees. These agencies struggle to correlate their own fields, to bring order out of chaos and to render a degree of real efficiency. By attempting to give to all relief agencies soliciting, a war chest committee hinders the operation of these great societies, and sets back the very process of centralization and responsible control which it says it is forwarding.

The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board for Army and Navy and the War Camp Community Recreation Service occupy the recreational and semi-moral fields. They have back of them a history of achievement, and the confidence of their respective publics. By admitting a miscellaneous group of organizations, their work is also hindered.

It is plain, therefore, that even if we could have comprehensiveness it would be highly undesirable. By promising it, we promise not only the impossible but the unwelcome as well. The Detroit Patriotic Fund in adopting the principle of the local federation that in so far as possible participating agencies would be admitted and announced before the campaign, plays fair with the public and the organizations, and

smooths out its own future path. By announcing in all of its literature that its intention is not to stop all appeals, but only to reduce the number and to save time, energy and money by reducing campaigns, it protects itself and throws the burden of explaining other appeals back upon those it cannot endorse and those who do not elect to join it. It also leaves the field as clear as possible for legitimate agencies, who choose not to conform to its rules and to remain outside its organization.

Some of the war chests have exercised exceedingly bad judgment in the appropriations of money. In one city a very heavy proportion of a very large fund was raised from the labor group. The first appropriation made by the war chest was to equip the home guard. It goes without saying that the home guard is an excellent branch of the state government, replacing the National Guard. But one of its prime duties is strike service in case of labor troubles. The result of this appropriation was a justified storm of protest from an extremely large number of donors, who believed their own money was being given to an organization which might be used against them.

In another city where it was proclaimed that the war chest would cover all appeals, no specification of agencies was made before or during the campaign. When the Knights of Columbus applied for their quota somewhat later, a great protest arose from the Protestant ministry. Fortunately, the committee over-rode the protest. But unnecessary bad feeling was engendered.

These situations can only be met as they have been met in Detroit, by boldly securing the consent of the participating agencies in advance and by rejecting in advance those who apply and who cannot prove their worth to the committee, or who will not agree to a full co-operative spirit. If sectarianism is to figure in the plan, let us be fair, and have it figure before rather than after the campaign. If class antagonism is to be engendered, tell the respective classes before the fund is raised. There is no need for either of these things. Both can be overcome ahead of the money raising effort. Yet they can only be overcome when they are met squarely and unhesitatingly beforehand, and the points of difference and the points of agreement are made clear in long hours about the council table.

Another fault that appears to be almost universal is a failure to grasp the sentimental hold respective organizations have upon their constituencies. A Catholic has a peculiar interest in the Knights of Columbus, a Jew in the Jewish War Sufferers, a Methodist in the Young Men's Christian Association and a Red Cross man in the Red Cross. Federationists learned this lesson long ago in their local federations, and provided the right to designate gifts in order to meet the situation.

The war chest advocates do not appear to have thought about this at all. To them giving appears to be a mere obligation attendant upon the ordinary prosecution of business. They will presently learn better, but the teaching will be costly to their cities. Detroit, once more, has already

made provision for designation in her Patriotic Fund, so that sentiment may be protected.

*The Principle of the Budget*

Again, most of the war chests have paid no attention to the budgetary principle of federation which all local federations have come to recognize as essential to their success. The committees have guessed what their communities can produce, and they have produced it without adequate knowledge of the demands to be made upon them. Already the jealousies which appeared in the original federations that started on this basis have come to light. In some places there is dissatisfaction with appropriations which should have been agreed upon at the start. In other places, appropriations based upon no statistical history of previous experience and demands have been out of proportion. Little agencies which could not by themselves raise much money, and which have not the ability to spend large sums usefully, have received altogether too generous sums.

Detroit has mastered this lesson, too, and has been forehanded in setting up its appropriations before the money is raised. Its agencies are content. They are working whole-heartedly for the Patriotic Fund. They believe in it, because they know today that it is just, and do not have to wait to find that out tomorrow.

One final consideration needs attention before we turn to the more pleasant task of studying the good points of the war chest. That is the failure of many cities to lodge control in a co-operative group representing the chief participants. As I said before, the war chest has been the product of a revolt by laymen, who were not intimately connected with the benefiting agencies. Wherever this is true it has resulted in placing the control of the movement outside of the agencies themselves. No federation, be it war or local, can live long on such a basis. The vital throbbing interests that drive the organizations on their difficult road are lacking. The wisdom, the judgment and the understanding are not there, and without these the movement is like a boat with no one at the wheel. It must wreck itself presently, and there can be no guarantee that the human movements which are its precious cargo will not sink with it.

Here also the people of Detroit have been long-headed. The Patriotic Fund is governed and directed by a group which represents the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Jewish agencies, the Catholic movements and the Community Union—the great co-operating participants. The decisions and the actions are the result of long discussions, and are almost invariably compromises based upon mutual understanding and concessions.

*The War Chest at Its Best*

So far we have considered only the gloomy side of the war chest picture. There is another side, a very bright side, which I can best describe to you by outlining the Detroit Patriotic Fund. As the result of a long series of negotiations running from early fall last year to early

spring this year, an organization was set up in Detroit including nine great national war agencies as separate units, and the Community Union as a tenth unit. The Community Union is a new federation of 42 local civic and charitable agencies, representing more than eighty per cent of all the non-governmental social work of the city. In addition there have been admitted a certain number of local war activities in need of financial support. There are Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and non-sectarian agencies in both the war group of organizations and in the Community Union.

This organization has been planned upon a three-fold budgetary system: First, the local agencies make up their own budgets by the usual methods through the Community Union. They have been allowed \$660,000, which wipes out all accumulated deficits and provides for many needed increases in service.

The local war agencies have only a brief accounting history. They are roughly budgeted this year, with the expectation that a year's experience will bring them upon the same basis as the Community Union.

Second, the great national agencies are granted the quotas which they in conjunction with their national authorities believe to be Detroit's quota for them. A reserve fund of half a million dollars has been set up to meet war emergencies. The total sum to be raised is something over \$7,000,000.

Third, an attempt has been made to budget all the citizens in order to produce the necessary fund in an equitable and fair manner. The Patriotic Fund worked out the income of its so-called capital class as \$125,000,000 a year, and the income of its wage-earning group as \$200,000,000 a year. After careful studies it was decided to ask the capital group to produce five of the seven millions needed and the wage-earners the other two million. A careful classification of incomes was made, and a schedule of percentages developed graded from two per cent in the lowest classes to fifteen per cent of the gross income in the highest. This schedule, if it is adhered to with the expected efficiency in each class, will produce the fund.

A giant organization of thousands of volunteer salesmen has been established, representing all creeds and races, which is capable of soliciting every person in Detroit.

Now the advantages of this movement to Detroit, safeguarded as it has been by the most thoughtful planning, are the same advantages that accrue from any community organization plan, with two additions. The first is, that instead of being upon a miniature scale, as all previous community federations have been, it is upon a "grand" scale. For the first time a real community organization with all the forces of a community actually back of it is at work.

#### *A New Feature in Federation*

The second is, that it has injected a new feature into community organization. Local current expense budgets are linked with great

emergency budgets. The attention of a great city is focused upon both together at the same time. A day is coming when the emergency budgets will disappear, as the need which calls them into existence disappears, and the thought is already in the minds of the directors of the Patriotic Fund that the emergency budgets will eventually be replaced year by year by community improvement budgets. Detroit will then stand out as a city which has realized as nearly perfect community organization as it is desirable to achieve. The problem of social finance will be as nearly solved as any city can solve it at any given hour.

I cannot close this paper without calling your attention to one great element of value in this movement in Detroit, which, if it were the only one, would make it still worth while. That is the breaking down of sectarian and class prejudice. The mutual understanding that has come about because of the Patriotic Fund, the friendliness and the comradeship that have been engendered upon a common meeting ground of human wants, are the best fruits of an exceedingly rich tree.

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#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Following the presentation of Mr. Norton's paper, Sherman C. Kingsley, secretary of the Welfare Federation, Cleveland, described the methods used by that organization. Testimony was given by Fred M. Butzel of Detroit to the success and acceptability of the war chest scheme developed there through the services of Mr. Norton. Others who participated in the discussion were: Stockton Raymond, Columbus, Ohio; Roscoe C. Edlund, Baltimore; Elwood Street, Louisville; Guy T. Justis, Denver.

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#### COUNTY ORGANIZATION OF WELFARE AGENCIES.\*

*Bessie A. McClenahan, Bureau of Social Welfare, Extension Division,  
State University of Iowa, Iowa City*

The goal, I take it, of all social welfare movements, is the perfecting of social institutions. Social institutions of whatever kind—laws, philanthropies, social propaganda and social programs—all are the outgrowth of some conception of service. The difficulty is that the vision, perhaps clear enough to the dreamer, in its translation into reality suffers from rude contact with imperfect mortals and ends in one more faulty human agency. Here at the National Conference of Social Work, all the dreamers, all the practical-minded workers, all the social tinkers may come together and confess frankly their successes and their failures, and voice again their supreme faith in the ultimate victory of a more perfect social order.

In one of the rural states of the middle west, in Iowa, an experiment has been going forward whose results seem to warrant some rather definite conclusions. This experiment has been encouraged and

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\*See further discussion, pp. 241 and following.



fostered by the extension division of the State University because of the need for a solution of a difficult problem, and also because the extension division rests upon the assumption that every community not only must, but can work out its own salvation.

The problem briefly was as follows: Given an almost wholly rural state with practically ninety per cent American-born citizens, a state with ninety-nine counties, ninety-two of which have less than 50,000 population, seventy-two less than 25,000, twenty-two of these seventy-two less than 15,000; given a state-wide system of county poor relief with an expenditure for this one item of almost one million dollars a year; given also a purely local administration in the hands of local politicians;—how may the welfare of needy citizens be assured and safeguarded, and at the same time how may the interests of the taxpayer be protected, and a full measure of social dividends be returned to him for his investment compelled by law?

In undertaking to solve the problem certain laws passed many years ago had to be taken into consideration. While in Iowa all poor funds, including widows' pensions, pensions for the blind and soldiers' relief, are provided by tax levies assessed by the county board of supervisors, the poor fund proper—aid to dependent families in their homes—is administered in towns and cities by an overseer of the poor whose jurisdiction is confined within the corporate limits, and is dispensed in rural districts by the township trustees. In other words, the administration in towns and cities is in the hands of appointees of the county board, and in the rural districts is cared for by the regularly elected township trustees. This legal situation has necessarily somewhat limited the scope of the experiment.

#### *"The Iowa Plan"*

The solution of the problem, sometimes referred to as "the Iowa plan," is being tested at this time in six counties of Iowa. The work because of the law above outlined is confined to the largest cities of these counties, although in almost every instance the plan has been extended to outlying townships. The cities and counties included are typical Iowa communities. These cities with their counties are:

Grinnell (5,061), Poweshiek county.  
Oskaloosa (10,485), Mahaska county.  
Fort Dodge (19,372), Webster county.  
Ottumwa (22,437), Wapello county.  
Waterloo (33,097), Blackhawk county.  
Cedar Rapids (40,667), Linn county.

The plan has been in operation in Grinnell since 1912, six years. In Waterloo a similar plan was established in 1908, but a trained worker as the executive officer has been employed only since 1915.

The plan, briefly, involves the creation of a central organization,

variously known as social welfare bureau, social welfare league, or social service league. This board is composed of representative men and women who serve without pay; the members of the county board of supervisors are included as members *ex-officio*. Under the control of this board is centered all of the private charity of the community and the handling of the county poor fund. The latter is secured by utilizing the same worker for the two offices of secretary of the central bureau and of that of overseer of the poor. Private and county funds are kept distinct. Salaries of the trained workers and other administrative expenses are divided by mutual agreement between the central board and the county board. The plan is a purely voluntary one and has been adopted following local agitation, and in several instances was preceded by a brief survey of the field. In Iowa, commercial clubs and women's clubs have been very active in promoting the venture, and in supporting it after the plan has been put into operation.

#### *First Experiment at Grinnell*

In the spring of 1912 it was discovered by interested citizens of Grinnell that for a period of six months there had been expended from the county poor fund approximately \$4,000 for the poor of Grinnell. Grinnell, of about five thousand people, is a college town and, while it is the largest town of Poweshiek county, is not the county seat. The population of the county is about twenty thousand and the expenditure for poor relief in the county outside of Grinnell was between \$1,000 and \$1,100. In other words, Grinnell, containing one-fourth the population of the county, had expended practically four times the amount spent in the rest of the county.

A survey of the situation was made by the writer, the county board paying the expenses involved. The result was a joint meeting of some of the business men of Grinnell and the supervisors at which a combination plan was agreed upon. Later the Social Service League was organized and a trained social worker was employed to serve both as overseer of the poor for Grinnell, and as the secretary of the League, half of her salary to be paid by the supervisors and half by the private contributions represented in the funds of the League. At the end of the first year expenditures from county funds were reduced forty per cent and the supervisors voluntarily assumed the entire salary of the worker.

At the present time the county pays \$1,200 on the salary of the worker—\$400 additional being paid from the funds of the League. The county also pays the salary of a stenographer and all the general office and relief expenses. The League uses its funds for special medical, dental and hospital care for children whose parents cannot provide it and for adults when regular income is insufficient to meet the extra expense, for temporary assistance, sometimes in the form of a loan, to meet emergencies, and for the promotion and encouragement of various community movements. The secretary has served as overseer of the poor

for Grinnell, as school attendance officer; and—because Poweshiek county has less than fifty thousand population, and is not entitled under the law to a regularly appointed and paid probation officer—as probation officer for the juvenile court, and as official investigator of widows' pensions, which are granted by the juvenile court. All application for blind pensions are investigated for the county supervisors, who are vested with authority to grant or refuse pensions. The secretary has also served as police matron and traveller's aid agent.

The League has promoted a health survey, clean-up campaigns, Good Fellows club at Christmas in which all Christmas giving is centered, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, a Tennis Club, play-ground supervisors during the summer for the boys and girls and a garden club. The two latter have since been taken over by the school board. The League has also promoted school nursing, and a Parent-Teachers Association in every school. The secretary has investigated various cases applying for county aid outside of Grinnell upon the request of township trustees or the supervisors.

#### *Idea Applied in Other Counties*

Oskaloosa which is in an adjoining county, followed Grinnell with almost exactly the same plan. Here, though some opposition developed on the part of one of the supervisors, the Social Service League was organized in October, 1913. The county board of supervisors appropriated \$800 to be used as part of the trained worker's salary, providing an equal amount should be raised by private subscriptions, and the secretary act as overseer of the poor. Actual work began in March, 1914.

During 1917 the county board of supervisors took over the entire salary of the trained worker and all office expenses. The Social Service League has a budget of \$600, raised through voluntary subscriptions, for emergencies and to pay for the services of an assistant for half-days during the heavy work of the four winter months. The secretary, until this last year, was also both probation officer and truant officer. The truancy work has now been taken over by the school superintendent, but the work for the juvenile court, looking after juvenile court wards and widows' pensions cases is still continued.

In *Fort Dodge* an Associated Charities was organized largely through the efforts of the Woman's Club in 1912, and a trained worker was employed. Office room was given in the court house by the board of supervisors. The secretary became convinced of the difficulties of maintaining in a small town two offices, both of which were many times attempting to deal with the same families. Combination was effected in October, 1914, the services of the trained worker being given until January, 1915, to the county without remuneration. The county now pays \$720 a year to the Associated Charities. The worker serves not only as overseer of the poor, but as probation officer and official investigator of widows' pensions. She has also served as truant officer. The

first year the combination plan was operative the county was saved approximately \$2,000. Investigations have been made in surrounding towns, for some of the supervisors and township trustees have sent some of their charges to the secretary for various services.

The Commercial Association of *Ottumwa* financed a survey in July, 1914. The results of this survey, showing conclusively the duplication of social activity, the lack of constructive family work and the large amount of money annually expended, led to the organization of the Associated Charities of *Wapello* county in October, 1914. A budget of \$5,000 was voted, and before the office opened over \$4,000 was pledged. In December the judges of the district court appointed the secretary official investigator of widows' pensions. In March, 1915, the board of the Associated Charities offered the services of the secretary to the board of supervisors as overseer of the poor for *Ottumwa* without compensation for seven months. The offer was accepted. The name of the association was changed to the Social Service Bureau of *Wapello* county. In October, 1915, an adjustment of finances was made, the county agreeing to pay one-half the salary of the secretary, \$25 a month additional on other administrative expenses, and to furnish office, light, heat and janitor service. The county expenditures were reduced twenty per cent the first year, notwithstanding the increase due to extended care of the tuberculous and the blind. The saving to the county was effected because of the careful investigations and the plans made and carried out for the partial or complete self-support of many applicants.

The plan of centralization has brought private relief, county relief, and the investigation of all applicants for widows' pensions and blind pensions under the central board. A joint registration bureau has been put into operation and is generally used. Because *Wapello* county has less than 50,000 population and is, therefore, not entitled to a paid probation officer, the Social Service Bureau has undertaken to look after the welfare of dependent, neglected and delinquent children. An anti-tuberculosis campaign was inaugurated which led to the opening of a county tuberculosis sanatorium. All applicants for admission are first referred to the Bureau for investigation. The services of the Social Service Bureau were used by ten of the fourteen townships in *Wapello* county for special investigations, and it is understood this service is always available throughout the county.

#### *Variations of Plan in Waterloo and Cedar Rapids*

*Waterloo*, largely through the efforts of one of its citizens, had in 1908 perfected the organization of what was known as the *Waterloo* Association of Charities and Correction. The plan was made a combination plan by the board's electing the overseer of the poor as the superintendent of the Association of Charities and Correction. In 1915 this official resigned and the supervisors, though reluctant, were persuaded to employ a woman, a trained social worker, as overseer of the

poor. She was also made superintendent of the Association of Charities and Correction, and the name of the society was changed to that of Social Welfare League.

The results of trained service have been remarkable. For example, county expenditures for poor relief during 1916 were something over \$21,000. In 1917, notwithstanding increasing prices, they were reduced almost \$4,000. The record of centralization and achievement in other lines is also worthy of comment. The Social Welfare League has established and maintained a baby clinic, promoted the tuberculosis clinic and tuberculosis nursing service. The county pays the salary of one of the League's public health nurses. The League pays the salary of the second nurse, with the exception of \$25.00,\* which is contributed each month by the local chapter of the American Red Cross from the fund obtained through the sale of Red Cross seals. This fund also maintains the tuberculosis clinic. The League is responsible for the Council of Social Agencies of Waterloo, which established the dental clinic. This clinic was equipped by the League; the dentist, paid by the school boards, is assisted by the two school and two League nurses. The first school nurse's salary was paid by the League for two years.

A confidential exchange has been established, as well as a board of official censors, which serves as a charities endorsement committee. This board, prompted by the Social Welfare League, was created by city ordinance to protect the citizens against dishonest or fraudulent solicitors.

All applications for widows' pensions and blind pensions are investigated by the League, but the organization has just secured the recommendation of the county attorney and the three district court judges for the appointment of an additional county worker to investigate and supervise widows' pensions throughout the county. The worker appointed for this position will work under the general supervision of the secretary of the League, inasmuch as widows' pensions are paid from the poor fund.

Through the Social Welfare League the judges have appointed a trained social worker as probation officer, Black Hawk county having since the 1915 state census reached the fifty thousand population mark. As a result, in the one office are centered the offices of public and private relief, public health nursing, confidential exchange and juvenile court. While the Social Welfare League of Waterloo has centralized in such large measure social welfare activities, the full measure of its success lies in the constructive service rendered the families under its care.

It will be readily seen that the Iowa plan is flexible enough to meet local needs. In *Cedar Rapids*, the latest to adopt the plan, there are some interesting variations. In the winter of 1915 a brief survey was made, the expenses of which were paid by the county board of supervisors. The invitation to make the survey had been extended jointly by the supervisors, the Commercial Club, and the Sunshine Mission, the largest private relief-giving agency in the city.

Following the survey, the plan as recommended was adopted. The



Sunshine Mission agreed to discontinue giving relief. A central agency with a board of representative citizens was created, to be known as the Social Welfare League. This board, together with the supervisors who were *ex-officio* members, agreed to employ jointly a trained social worker to act as secretary and overseer of the poor for Cedar Rapids.

The first year a reduction of over fifty per cent was made in expenditures from county funds and the supervisors voluntarily assumed the entire salary of the worker. The county also pays office and telephone rent and car fare for the secretary and assistant.

The Social Welfare League has employed a visiting nurse, has opened an eye, ear, nose and throat clinic, has made arrangements for a dental clinic and has conducted classes in home nursing. The supervisors are most enthusiastic and have asked the secretary to take over the work of the entire county. This has not been done as yet, and if undertaken, will only be with the voluntary co-operation of the township trustees.

#### *Operation Under Adverse Circumstances*

In another Iowa city of about seven thousand people the citizens organized a Social Service League and employed a trained worker. A member of the board of supervisors had been made overseer of the poor and he absolutely refused to resign and give over his office as overseer of the poor to this trained worker, in spite of the offer on the part of the League to give her services to the county without cost.

In another city of almost fifty thousand, still another story might be written. The commercial club and the women's club had been agitating the employment of a trained worker as overseer of the poor without much success. In December, 1917, an open meeting was held in the office of the board of supervisors, and there was outlined the results obtained through the services of trained social workers employed in various cities of Iowa. The county supervisors have since employed a trained worker as overseer of the poor. Her services are devoted exclusively to the care of families applying for county aid. There is no combination of public and private agencies, but this overseer works in closest co-operation with the established privately supported social welfare groups. Already she has succeeded in having the name of "Poor Committee of Board of Supervisors" changed to "Welfare Committee," and has as her title, Supervisor of Community Welfare. However, because of the law, there is printed in small type below her new and better sounding title the old one, "overseer of the poor." It must be admitted that Iowa has taken decided steps forward when boards of supervisors are willing to forget the requirement of at least one year's residence before the appointment of overseer of the poor is given. As a matter of fact, the Iowa plan has meant the employing of non-residents as overseers of the poor and has in several instances meant an increase in salary.

Certain other cities, having observed the experiment as it has been tried out, are considering its adoption for their own committees. The

fact, however, that the plan is voluntary, has blocked its adoption in three instances—in one because the supervisor refused to give up his position as overseer; in another because the present overseer will not resign, and the supervisors are loath to force the resignation; and in a third because the supervisors will not listen to the petitions of citizens advocating combination with a well-established social welfare agency.

### *Summary and Evaluation*

The results of the Iowa plan have proved conclusively the practicability of centralization of social welfare activity. Analyzing the plan operative in these six cities, we find that in counties having no probation officer, the juvenile court work is cared for by the central agency: the truant officer may work under its direction, or the secretary may herself serve as truant officer; the visiting nurse, school nurse, dental or other clinics may be promoted, housed and even financed by the central bureau; social needs are put before the people of the community; in one instance a hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis was secured as a direct result of the activity of the central agency. The plan has reduced duplication of time, effort, money; it has made possible the employment of trained social workers in communities where the expense seemed prohibitive, and has given to the county constructive care of its dependents. In every instance the expenditure of the county poor fund has been materially reduced. Up-to-date record systems for preserving family histories and modern bookkeeping methods have been installed. The greatest gain, however, has been the abolition of the haphazard, dole-distributing, pauperizing methods too often to be found the rule in the handling of county poor funds, and the substitution of helpful, kindly service with all its momentum for self-dependence.

Admittedly there are certain dangers in the operation of such a centralized scheme, but those people best acquainted with its working feel that these difficulties may be avoided and overcome. The greatest danger seems to be that by very reason of the fact that the plan is voluntary and co-operative, a change in the personnel of the board of supervisors or in the person of the trained worker may result in the overthrow of the whole scheme. Convinced of the effectiveness of the Iowa plan, Iowa social workers are beginning to advocate a law creating county welfare boards throughout the state. Such a law would provide against the contingency of the abandonment of the combination plan, once it was put into effect, because of unsympathetic, newly elected supervisors. It would also permit of the extension of jurisdiction throughout the county and would give to the welfare board a definite legal status. To insure uniformity of administration such a county plan would need to be tied up with a central state charities commission or commissioner. One thing insisted upon, however, is that this law shall be designed to meet the Iowa situation, and shall be made to harmonize with the existing social laws and social machinery.

### *Underlying Theory*

The Iowa plan is based upon a very concrete philosophy. In a democracy every citizen, rich or poor, must bear his part in the responsibility for a happy, successful community. The community is what the citizens make it. The social institutions of the community, as a matter of fact, express the degree of social responsibility assumed by the citizens. No community, as a whole, can prosper if any one group or even one individual is neglected, because that neglect is the proof of failure to maintain the fundamental purpose of democracy, the welfare of every man. The individual's life is bound up with that of every other individual and no solution of any social problem can be effected until the people who make up the community undertake that solution. Now group action, or the control of group action, is expressed democratically through agencies instituted and maintained by the group as a whole; in other words, through governmental agencies.

If in the execution of its duties a governmental agency become merely a legal machine, bound by the letter of the law, and so, mechanical, its failure can be rectified only by the community itself insisting upon such a change that the spirit of the law dominates its administration. The Iowa plan is an attempt to throw upon the community the responsibility of caring for such of its citizens as have failed for one reason or another to maintain economic independence; and, in the second place, so to guard the administration of the governmental machinery that the spirit of the law is made active. The care of the poor and unfortunate is made to rest upon the community, and not upon a few philanthropically-minded individuals. In other words, not private charity, the beneficence of a few out of their munificence, but the neighborly care of citizens by citizens through funds to which all contribute in measure, is the underlying principle of the Iowa plan.

A state-wide plan for county welfare boards seems much nearer attainment because of the splendid work being done by the extension division of the State University of Iowa. This past fall over 1,000 rural teachers in different county teachers' institutes were reached with the message of the community's responsibility. At the present time the extension division, in co-operation with the central division of the American Red Cross, has just completed a series of nine district chapter courses in home service, in which over 800 people registered. This series is being followed by a course in every county of the state through which at the minimum figure 5,000 people will be reached. No one can even venture to forecast the social result from this taking direct to the people the spirit of home service. Such a program will undoubtedly create a social viewpoint in the minds of thousands of Iowa citizens.

Home service of the Red Cross is opening the eyes of many people to social problems which they are surprised to find are the same kind of problems that they have refused to see in their own communities and which they are forced to realize have existed for many years. Coming

in intimate contact with concrete problems, they are demanding that certain standards must be maintained to extend effective service. As a logical consequence, many people for the first time are beginning to measure against these standards the social service activities of the community. Inevitably changes in administration for the better must result. So the seed is sown. Of the harvest, who can say? Perchance it may be gathered when the next legislature meets, in a crop of advanced social legislation, as one more step in the perfecting of our social institutions for the sake of the people who compose our citizenship.

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### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

*Professor E. C. Hayes* of the University of Illinois, Urbana, said: The new State Welfare Commission of Illinois, of which I am a member, has appointed me to promote a plan quite similar to that which Miss McClenahan has so interestingly described. A description of this plan may be found in the issue for last March of the *Institution Quarterly*, published by the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. The Illinois plan contemplates the establishment of county departments of public welfare, intended to correlate the private and all the public welfare agencies. Of course, the county that contains Chicago must be an exception to most rules. The state commissioners realize that we must not wait for people to become inmates of state institutions before the states begins to take any interest in them, for if we hope to do much to prevent the constant recruiting of the army of institution inmates or even to get at the causes of their social and physical break-down, we must get at them in their homes in the 102 counties of the state. It is in the county work that we come in contact with all the imperilled classes. The existing public agencies that have this contact include those responsible for poor relief, for mothers' pensions (first established on a state-wide scale in Illinois), for juvenile courts and probation (first provided for on a state-wide scale in Illinois) and for enforcement of school attendance laws.

A county department of public welfare, according to the plan proposed in Illinois, includes a board representing both public and private agencies. It would have at its head a salaried public official appointed from a list of adequately trained eligibles. These persons would be required to hold certificates of fitness from the state board of public welfare, as school teachers must hold certificates from the state department of education.

Practical correlation of public and private welfare agencies already has been established in a few cities in Illinois. The plan of the state commissioners is more comprehensive and systematic than anything of the kind that is yet in effect in this country. Its complete development will require time.

WHEN SHOULD FINANCIAL FEDERATIONS BE  
STARTED

*William C. White, President, Centralized Budget of Philanthropies,  
Milwaukee*

In presenting to this Conference the question, *When Should Financial Federations be Started*, I shall have to refer more than once to the report of the special committee of the American Association for Organizing Charity, issued at 130 East Twenty-Second Street, New York, in 1917, on the general subject *Financial Federations*, a quarto volume of nearly three hundred pages. This special committee of the American Association was appointed May 11, 1915, for the purpose of studying financial federations and its members were four in number, its chairman being the director of general work of the New York Charity Organization Society. One of its three other members is on the board of managers of the Washington Associated Charities, one the secretary of the Boston Associated Charities and one the general superintendent of the Chicago United Charities.

This committee was aided in its work by the associate director of the Russell Sage Foundation, who appears to have given a great deal of time and study to the subject and to the preparation of the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was not signed until July 31, 1917, and was not issued in printed form until the close of the summer of that year; so that it appears that something like two years of investigation and consideration of statistics was given by the very able men who composed the committee before they were ready to make their final report.

As to the personnel of the committee, I have but one criticism to make, and that is, that the committee was constituted of workers in charity organizations in cities which had none of them attempted financial federation of their local charities or philanthropies; nor was the gentleman from the Russell Sage Foundation connected in any way with any financial federation; so that the committee was composed entirely of people who were not qualified by personal experience or knowledge of the subject for the undertaking in hand; a handicap of a kind that has often been known to lead men far astray. If it was true in the days of Chaucer that "the thief of venison that hath forelaft his lickerousness and all his conne craft can catch a thief the best of any man," is it wise or fair at the present day to constitute a search (or research) committee entirely of those whose sole qualification for the task (aside from native ability) is an entire absence of knowledge of the thing to be investigated?

*Conclusions of the A. S. O. S. Committee*

On page 9, which is the first page of their report, the committee state their conclusion very briefly in these words: "We believe that it



has not been demonstrated whether the federation means a net social advantage, or the reverse, and our recommendation is against the adoption of the plan *at present* in other cities."

I think that those who live in cities where financial federation has been attempted were not greatly surprised that this particular committee, constituted as it was, should have come exactly to this conclusion, in spite of the fact that on page 15 of the report the committee says: "We approached the subject with an entirely open mind." If the attitude of mind of the committee was neutral, I very much fear that it was not a *benevolent* neutrality, for in the month of October, 1917, the general secretary of the American Society for Organizing Charity felt himself called upon to issue the committee's report as propaganda in connection with letters to the various associated charities throughout the United States and to the newspapers in the cities where these were established, warning them and the larger givers to charity against the adoption of any plan of financial federation at present.

The primary question is this: Is the idea a correct one, is the system better than the old one? If it be, then what is needed is the translation of the idea into the right sort of a working plan, and the fact that the best plan has not yet been found is no argument against the search for a better plan and its adoption when found.

Many here today will recall that when the question of dependency laws was raised a very few years ago (the laws that have since ripened into "mothers' compensation laws") the East were strongly and sometimes violently opposed to them and gave this same sort of advice "against the adoption of the plan"; but the East will not today fail to admit the good that has come from its adoption. Suppose that the men who were opposed to such legislation had been able to prevent those who were favorable to it from undertaking the "experiment," when would we have blundered upon the system which is now in successful operation? If Wilbur Wright had quit experimenting with the aeroplane because his predecessors had not succeeded in their experiments, will anyone picture to me the tremendous difference that his timidity would have made to the world in the present cataclysmic struggle?

#### *Should Benefit by Mistakes*

The committee's report has cited failures in certain cities. Suppose we see if the *res gestae* in these cities do not show the reasons for failure and aid us in answering our question, *When Should Financial Federations Be Started?* To do this it will hardly be necessary to go outside the pages of the committee's report.

Begin with the city of New Orleans. In this city there were probably other minor causes, but the cause for failure that seems to stand out most prominently was the lack of clarity in definition, which bred misunderstanding at the outset. If I am not misinformed, the New Orleans federation was organized as "non-sectarian" and out of the use of this

term, without qualifying words of any sort, arose the chief difficulty. An officer of one of the leading philanthropies of New Orleans states that certain Protestant organizations were included in the federation, while certain Roman Catholic organizations were excluded because they were sectarian. This statement is borne out by the report of the committee, page 245. I have said that there was a lack of *clarity in definition*: it should have been made clear in the articles of association that the sectarianism which would exclude an organization was sectarianism, not in *name* or in *creed*, but in *service*.

With a provision of that sort, no such dissension could have arisen and all organizations that applied would have been admitted or excluded on their merits, provided only that their *work* be city-wide and independent of religious creed or affiliation.

The city of Birmingham, cited also among the failures, was doomed from the beginning for the reason that it attempted to unite dissimilar or rival organizations without first having eliminated the dissension between them, and all chance for its renewal. It is absolutely essential to the success of any federation that there be agreement among its members, and that no organization be admitted to affiliation which cannot co-operate heartily with all member organizations.

The city of Oshkosh is another city which has begun to experiment in federation without observing this essential. One of its citizens states that a number of very fine people insisted that one or two of its activities (meaning organizations) be omitted entirely or they would decline to give to the federation. Institutions that are antagonistic among themselves or that provoke the antagonism of the generous people of the city, may expect trouble, if federated, just as long as these antagonisms remain unhealed. This is especially true where the financial federation, as in Oshkosh, has been so formed that no pledgor can designate any particular organization, but all contributions must go into a general fund to be used at the discretion of the federation; for this forces, or seems to force, upon each pledgor a contribution to all of the allied organizations, whether he will or no.

The failure in the city of San Antonio was due to the fact that an attempt was there made to organize and dominate a financial federation from without, by a body of business men who seem to have been ignorant both of the needs of social service and of the proper methods to accomplish their own aims. They arbitrarily attempted a financial federation whose fund was to be a common one, undesignated, and the management to be under a committee selected by the chamber of commerce, a body in no way competent to judge properly the social or financial needs of the organizations which they attempted to force into the federation; and on the heels of their attempt they expected the affiliated organizations to do their own collecting of money.

It is axiomatic that no federation can succeed whose leaders are not to some extent at least, acquainted with the social service end of com-

munity needs. A chamber of commerce may very well initiate a federation of social agencies, but no greater blunder could by any chance be made than to have such a body undertake completely to control the federation after its creation.

Of this I shall have something more to say later.

Attention was called by the committee in its report to the cities (not including Oshkosh) that I have named and also to certain other cities which have attempted financial federation of their charities and philanthropies, and have been successful only in part, and the conclusion arrived at by them was that those who are thinking of adopting the plan should wait until those cities have proceeded further and carried the "experiment" to a successful issue. As I have said, this conclusion is not legitimate; a much more logical one is that it would be wise to study these cities and their methods and then *not* to wait for them to wake up, but to profit by what is good in them and avoid their mistakes.

There are many reasons for the partial failure or partial success of financial federation in certain cities that are now actively attempting it, which it would be rather unfair to them to discuss publicly. We have no desire to make invidious comparisons, but prefer to discuss the partial failures in question without direct reference to the particular places in which they have occurred.

There are cities like Denver in which federation was early attempted and where there have been several reorganizations of the work, which it will pay to study closely, because the reasons for reorganization are very apparent as they are studied, and if there is even now less than a complete success, a scientific investigation will undoubtedly develop the reason for this. A cursory glance at the various statements made by Denver will show one very sufficient reason why that city has failed of complete success in the past; which is that (as quoted from their statement) "in no case were they able to give any society the amount they asked for or even as much as they felt they should have to enable them to do their work as it should be done . . . they simply divided the funds they had as fairly as they knew how between the different institutions."

This suggests the query at the outset of organization, whether a financial federation should assume the expense accounts or budgets of the affiliated organizations *in toto* or should announce its intention to collect as much as possible while the organizations do likewise; a query that cannot be discussed in this paper, but the correct answer to which I deem of great importance.

Denver adds to what has been quoted, a further statement that a number of needy and worthy charities have sought admission to its organization, but that the state of its treasury did not seem to justify it in assuming additional burdens. This indicates a lack of growth and expansion to meet the city's needs, which seems to me to be inherent in the failure to obtain pledges sufficient to cover the needs of the various or-

ganizations already affiliated. May I add, that there are few exceptions to the rule, that organizations, as individuals, that do not progress, will retrograde.

We find another trouble in certain cases growing out of the failure of the central organization to live up to its pledges, one of which is the pledge of immunity from solicitation by any of the affiliated organizations. This is one of the inducements held out to the subscribers to federations, of which as much has been made, probably, as of any feature in the new plan, and if this promise of immunity to those who subscribe to any of the affiliated organizations is not lived up to, to the letter, the reaction is inevitable. The pledgor is disappointed and makes up his mind that instead of being freed from the annoyance of constant solicitation, he not only is not immune, but is in fact merely contributing to another organization with a new overhead expense, that is doing him individually no good.

Again, we find that the citizens are informed that under the new plan they will be relieved of the necessity of donating to institutions through adventitious benefits, etc., which cost much but return little. Having had this inducement to subscription held out to them, they find themselves still the victims of solicitation for materials for bazaars, tickets for charity balls and theatre benefits and what not, given by individual organizations for the making up of deficits or for some unforeseen extension of their work beyond their supposed needs.

While this may not be the fault directly of the central organization, it seems to the subscriber to be a breach of contract and no explanation, that the central organization cannot control the actions of its affiliated bodies, will suffice to satisfy the pledgor to any of them. Either the inducement should not be held out at all, or the affiliated organizations should understand that a breach of faith by any of them in these regards will be visited directly upon the offending institution by its expulsion. No agreement must be made on behalf of an alliance of organizations that is not equally and under all circumstances binding upon each of them, as long as they remain members of the alliance.

I have touched lightly on certain of the most obvious reasons for failure or partial failure of financial federations and I might touch upon many more, but the limits of this paper do not permit me further to discuss that side of the question. This may be brought out in other papers or in oral discussions and I have gone into it thus for the purpose of enabling myself to indicate certain things on which I base my conclusions as to the time at which financial federations should be started.

After all, the question is not vastly different from that which is pertinent in the starting of *any* business or organization. Some doctors, lawyers, merchants, have failed where others have succeeded. I suppose it is true that nine merchants out of every ten who have started in business have made ultimate failures. The proportion is certainly greater than that thus far shown among financial federations of charities and



philanthropies. I have never heard of the conclusion being adduced from this fact, that those who are about to start in business would better not do so at present, or until those who are not succeeding have turned over a new leaf. The question—when should any individual, or firm, or corporation, start in any particular line of business—is nevertheless, a pertinent one.

### *Begin With Personal Leadership*

One thing is perfectly obvious and that is, that no business should be started by any one who knows nothing about it. The first essential to success in any undertaking is knowledge. I may *start to become* a mechanical engineer tomorrow, but I may hardly start tomorrow to *practice* mechanical engineering. The time for this second start will be on that day when my theoretical education is completed and I am ready to apply it practically.

A financial federation is a business just as much as merchandising or banking is a business. At its head must be an executive or a board, a man or men, possessing knowledge of the thing to be done, a practical knowledge of methods and a knowledge of the needs of the community. Quite obviously a bank will fail which is started by people ignorant of banking, or in a community of savages, or with a president and cashier who will run the institution for nobody but themselves and their own friends.

A financial federation of charities and philanthropies should never be started without a competent leader or leaders who possess such an understanding of the social needs and problems of a community as will enable them to pass a fairly correct judgment upon the necessity for existence of the associations that are to be affiliated, as well as upon the needs of the associations themselves as measured by scientifically prepared budgets. In other words, in all financial federation there must be a wise relating of financing to service; a correlation of the raising of money for institutions and of the community to which they minister.

It goes without saying that this is a pretty large order; that before starting to fill the order search must be made until there is found such an individual or combination of individuals (and generally it will be found to be a single individual) as will combine good executive ability with a rare social sense. In no other way may you ordinarily start such a business as that in question without fear of subsequent failure in whole or in part.

Where you will find the individual in question, it is perhaps hard to say, but it is my belief that as federations become better known and understood, and as progress is made in their development, there will be found among the personnel of these institutions young men of ability and with initiative, who have seen in the plan and its development a chance for a future career. I am sure that it should be the aim of those financial federations which are now in existence to provide in their offices



training schools for this sort of work or profession and to invite to positions upon their force of workers young men or women who may give promise of ability of the kind that bids fair to eventually make them leaders in the work of financial federation there or elsewhere. It should be as true of these institutions as of banks, that in their offices or staffs may be found the material out of which to make the future heads of other similar institutions.

This may be a look ahead, but meantime what of the present? Cleveland was one of the earlier of recent financial federations to put its theories into practice, and Cleveland has furnished leaders for federations that have since been started in other cities with apparent success. If, however, financial federation is planned for any of the cities at present unfederated, and no leader can be bought, stolen or borrowed from any other city, one must be manufactured.

#### *Agreement of Organizations*

That leads me to my next proposition—for leaders in any direction, like poets, are born, not made. A man of the right *calibre* must be found, or may present himself, who believes in the plan and is willing to undertake its execution. Being found, his first business, if he is not already fully informed concerning the undertaking, is to inform himself. His education will take time, but time thus spent is not time lost and is of the essence of the undertaking. He must know the plan adopted in other communities; he must know the nature of the organizations that are to be federated and must understand the individual social units; he must look into and analyze and fully understand the financial status of his community and its ability to support its social institutions if its funds are properly mobilized, and he must be ready to efficiently organize whatever campaign is necessary for financing such institutions as may be federated.

In all of this we have dealt with the education of the leader. When he is sufficiently equipped for his undertaking, his first essay must *not* be the raising of funds, or the immediate federation of agencies, but the education of the social organizations and of the community, for these are as necessary as is the education of the leader. This again will take study as to methods of education and publicity and will take time.

It is scriptural truth that no body can work efficiently whose members are not working in harmony. The first essential in the new organization is harmony based on mutual understanding and co-operation. Our leader will be fortunate if he shall find in the city of his choice a well organized, unitedly working council of social agencies, for then his unifying work among the institutions themselves will probably be light. If, however, there is no such unifying organization in existence, it will be well either that such an organization be started prior to the starting of a financial organization, or that the leader himself proceed to inform the various organizations of the plan which it is sought to adopt and

bring them into harmony with each other. If jealousies exist among them, they must disappear and mutual understandings must take their place; each must understand that in the new undertaking, it is to pull with all the others for the benefit of the whole with no question of individual benefit alone.

Once start a financial federation either as a separate entity, or as a group within a larger entity, and let any individual organization within the group be concerned for itself alone, or for anything else than the success of the entire group, and you have within the group an element of disintegration. The first work then must be to bring the individual organizations into harmony and the next to so thoroughly present to them the plan for financial federation that it shall be perfectly understood and that they shall be willing to pledge themselves to its adoption if shown feasible.

This pledging to the plan if it appears feasible is in my judgment as far as at the outset your leader may safely ask the organizations to go, for until he has actually undertaken to mobilize the financial resources of the community, he will hardly be able to pledge the institutions full support. He can as yet only promise to *make the attempt* to obtain this full support; the community may not be ready for his undertaking and he may have to fall short of absolute success. If he is a man of vision and initiative, however, and with a will to succeed that admits no alternative, and also a man of ability to impart the knowledge of which he is possessed, I believe that if he has proceeded thus far, he will hardly fail.

#### *Analysis of Requirements*

With the organizations pledged to the plan of federation and to its support if it shall be proven a feasible plan in the community in question, the next step must be to study the needs of the organizations and their budgets and subscription lists of previous years. I shall not attempt here to outline methods for such study, whether it be by an individual, or through a properly functioning committee, or a social council, or otherwise. A determination of the budgets and resources of the institutions in previous years, and of the budget needs for the current year, affords the basis on which to start the final work of organizing the community for the raising of funds to meet the budget demands.

Our leader may have been proceeding in the education of the community contemporaneously with his education of the institutions, and probably will have been; but in any event this must be taken up at some point in his progress. The community must be taken into his confidence and that of the institutions and must be fully shown their needs and the whys and wherefores of the proposed new plan. Some of this education of the public will be through the press, some of it may be through the work of the organizations themselves among their patrons, some of it may be by lectures or talks by well-informed persons; but be the means

what they may, the public must be made to understand the plan and to share in the leader's enthusiasm for it.

In order to obtain the co-operation of the public, your leader will have found at some step in his progress that it is necessary to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the strongest men and women, both financially and socially, in the community. He must make these the actual backers of his undertaking, and without them he will not succeed; nor do I think that it will be difficult in the majority of cities to so present the plan that many leading citizens will cordially indorse it, and co-operate to make it a success; especially will this be true where the leading commercial organization of the city has had the plan presented to it and has on its part given its endorsement. It is with me axiomatic that finance is a business and must be conducted as a business, by business men and women. To this I will add, as of course, that it cannot, nevertheless, be conducted for social organizations without combining with the business management the finest and highest social sense.

### *Conclusion*

I have not attempted in this discussion to outline a method of campaign, whether by correspondence, by personal interview, by a whirlwind campaign, or otherwise; the only question that I have been asked to discuss is the single one to which I have attempted to address myself, *When Should Financial Federations Be Started.*

My conclusion is that they should be started when there has been obtained in the community a leader of sufficient initiative and ability who is either educated to the knowledge of the social and community needs, or shall so educate himself, and who is a man of proven business and executive ability, with a working knowledge of the plan of financial federation; when, also, the organizations which are sought to be federated have been given an understanding of the plan and have approved it, and have been brought into complete harmony among themselves; and when, finally, the community in which financial federation is to be attempted has been educated to the plan and to the needs of its social organizations and has been won over to their and its indorsement; then, and only then, should financial federation be attempted.

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### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. Mr. White's paper was followed by spirited discussion, delegates from various sections of the United States bringing out many interesting observations on the progress or problems of federation of agencies. One delegate spoke of the necessity for conservation of effort as regards finance and workers, following the example of the federal government in its policy of conservation of labor, wealth and food. We cannot conduct the work of charity without capital and capital is useful only as it can be commandeered into service. Success in charitable work depends upon the amount of personal interest taken, but it is not possible to hire all the work done.

2. *Father John R. Maguire* of Bourbonnais, Illinois, warned against duplication of charitable work.

3. Then followed a discussion on the war chest idea.

4. *M. I. Berger*, secretary, Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago: In Chicago there are three groups of charitable organizations: Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. The Protestant group has entered into neither a financial federation nor an association other than the Central Council of Social Agencies. The Catholic group federated this present year after having carefully studied the effects of financial federation, both social and financial. The Associated Jewish Charities, a financial federation, has met with satisfactory success. Take, for example, the last fiscal year which began May 1st, 1917, with a shortage of \$15,000.00. Unusual war-time costs and expenditures necessitated increased disbursements over previous year amounting to \$150,000.00 and set collection goal at \$750,000.00. With many drawbacks the required funds were raised and the year ended with the insignificant deficit of \$747.00, which has since been wiped out.

5. *I. Edwin Goldwasser*, executive director of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City, related the experience of the Jewish societies in his city. They carried out their initial federation campaign in 1916 and by January 1, 1917, they had 55 societies federated. The original plan called for 21 societies, but it was found that 34 additional societies had asked to be admitted. By the close of 1917 they had a total fund of \$2,000,000. They have now finished their 1918 campaign, as a result of which they have a federation embracing 86 societies with 71,000 contributing members, and a total annual subscription of \$2,900,000. Their societies range from the very large, with large funds, to the very small, with modest capital. The Jewish schools receive annually from the federation \$125,000.

6. Others who participated were: *Otto W. Davis*, Minneapolis; *J. M. Hansen*, Youngstown; *Raymond F. Clapp*, Cleveland; *Thomas J. Riley*, Brooklyn.

## SOCIAL AGENCIES AND PUBLIC OPINION

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman, Roscoe C. Edlund, Director, Baltimore Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies*

More than ever are social workers in these days interested in problems of publicity and educational work. New developments must be presented widely and effectively to win public support, and the general public in these war times must be brought to understand and appreciate the importance of the work of health and social agencies in helping to keep the people of our communities efficient. Publicity is not only necessary if social agencies are to carry forward their part in maintaining the morale of the people, but nothing can itself more directly contribute to this end than wise and continuous educational work, giving every one confidence that our necessary undertakings are going steadily forward.

With all the calls of the present day on public attention it is essential that social workers (and all others who must help to mould public opinion) shall sit at the feet of the best masters of the art. That is what we have the privilege of doing today.

Before introducing Professor Park there is one point of view about publicity and social work that I would like to present. We who are connected with various societies, and especially those of us upon whom falls the burden of raising funds, have been accustomed to think of publicity as a means to an end. Too often our educational work has waited until the pressure for money became acute, and our publicity has then taken all its color from the need for contributions.

I wish to suggest that publicity and educational work are an important end in themselves. The charity organization society, for example, has not only the obligation of caring for families in distress and organizing sympathy and effective help for them, but it has also the duty of arousing the general public to a consciousness of the existence of large numbers of such families in their midst and of the further fact that such families owe their difficulties very largely to society's failure to realize the problems involved and to take steps to prevent the conditions that lead to poverty, disease, crime, and all other forms of distress.

The sooner we realize that educational work is an end in itself, and that all our organizations should consider publicity as a primary duty, the sooner and more surely will we bring about a state of society in which such efforts as ours will no longer be necessary.

In Baltimore our Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies has set aside not less than \$8,000 or \$10,000 for educational and publicity work. We regard this as just as distinct a contribution to social work in a community as any other phase of our activities. This is the theory upon which we expect to develop our educational work in the future, not simply as a means of financing our other activities, but as one of the functions for whose discharge we exist.

Continuous publicity is a means of democratizing social work and socializing democracy.

Without further preliminary I wish to present to you the speaker of the morning, a man who has had many years of newspaper experience, followed by study and observation in many different countries, and by a thoroughgoing study of underlying principles of philosophy and pedagogy, a writer of practical articles and books on publicity work that are known to many of you, a teacher in the University of Chicago, who will lead us in an informal discussion this morning of *Methods of Forming Public Opinion Applicable to Social Welfare Publicity*.

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## METHODS OF FORMING PUBLIC OPINION APPLICABLE TO SOCIAL WELFARE PUBLICITY

*Robert E. Park, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago*

We have learned, during the present world war, a great deal about a great many things, and among others, that it pays to advertise. Advertising has made it possible to sell government bonds to the people



direct, instead of through the banks as middlemen. But in selling bonds to the people we have, at the same time, to speak in the technical language of the advertising man, "sold" the United States. In advertising the Liberty Loan the government has advertised its purposes in this war. People who subscribe to the United States war bonds subscribe at the same time to the aims of the United States, to the principles upon which these aims are founded, and to the methods of the government in carrying them into effect. In order to sell Liberty bonds to 17,000,000 individuals in the United States it has been necessary to convince the great mass of the people that this is a just war, and to invite their co-operation in carrying it on. The advertising campaign which marketed the Liberty Loan has done as much as any other one thing, perhaps, to make the cause of the United States and its Allies the cause of the American people. It has paid the United States to advertise.

It is a good thing that public institutions have to go directly to the public, now and then, for funds. It is now pretty generally recognized that one of the most effective ways of keeping a public institution alive and vigorous is the need of getting and keeping the interest and the co-operation of the people who support it. To do this it must advertise. To use again the language of the advertising man it must sell its services to the public. A campaign for funds in this way becomes not merely a method of raising money, but a means of public education. At its best, advertising is always a form of pedagogy, and the social agency's most effective appeal, as William H. Allen has pointed out, is one that is conceived and carried out as a more or less disinterested form of public education.

There is another consideration. A government or an institution that advertises, and advertises effectively, is likely to be a democratic institution, and a democratic government. Under the new democracy, which is just now emerging from the wreck of our existing party and parliamentary government, a public institution, which is any institution supported by the public, will no longer expect to take money from the community, either in the form of gifts or taxes except upon condition that it can make the people of the community intelligent and responsible participators in its enterprises and its tasks. Under the City Manager plan of municipal government, where each department is expected to justify itself directly to the people, it has seemed to me that success was likely to depend finally upon the use which the government was able to make of the stereopticon and the moving picture.

A few years ago a friend of mine, who himself writes advertising, related an anecdote which has lingered in my memory. It was at the time when the manufacturers of breakfast foods and the southern and western fruit growers were teaching the American people to make their breakfasts of fruits and cereals (a ration appropriate to urban and sedentary people) rather than the traditional ham and eggs of our rural ances-

tors. A couple of advertising men were working together upon an advertisement of a breakfast cereal. "I wonder," said one of these men to the other, "I wonder if people eat this stuff because they like it, or simply because we make 'em do it."

The inference seems to be that we, who in our daily lives are so constantly exposed to the hypnotic influences of the advertising man, are no longer free agents. My own impression is, however, that just at present we are liable to overestimate the influence of publicity. Writers on the psychology of advertising, social workers and idealists, exaggerate, it seems to me, the extent to which the public has been and can be manipulated by the press, agitation, and other forms of advertising. Practical advertising men do not have quite so romantic a conception of their profession. They do not conceive of the advertising writer either as a sophist or a wizard. They would, perhaps, admit that clearness of statement, with sufficient emphasis and sufficient repetition, might sell anything once. On the other hand there is a maxim which is older than any special psychology on the subject, to the effect that it does not pay to advertise something that the public does not want.

### *The Magnetic Attitude*

It sometimes seems to me that the social agencies have formulated their publicity policies under the impression that they are trying to sell the public something that the public does not want. In spite of this we speak hopefully of social advertising, on the general principle, perhaps, that advertising can somehow do the impossible. Let me illustrate by a quotation from a recent pamphlet on *Publicity and the Financing of Social Agencies*:

We are called at this time, while war is raging and ravishing, to keep alive and active the finer feelings and vital concern of every man and woman of intelligence and means in our midst toward their lowlier neighbors, who toil sore and yet cannot buy; toward the babes who languish because they need but cannot get doctors, nurses and life-giving sustenance; toward the sick who suffer on beds of pain in our hospitals and sanitariums; toward the friendless girl who is tripping along lightly toward destruction; toward the fatherless and the widows who know not where to lay their heads.

This is not what an advertising man would call a good "selling talk." It is not expansive and cheering. It suggests that the social agencies are on the defensive. It puts too much emphasis on the distressing situation, and not enough upon a program of action. Let me add, by way of parenthesis, that "selling," as the advertising man uses the word, is not necessarily a commercial term. I sell you when I have convinced you, not intellectually and tentatively, but permanently and, so to speak, habitually. What the advertising man seeks to establish in the man he sells is not an opinion, nor an idea, but a habit. The appeal which touches the receptive heart but does not lure the active and constructive mind does not "sell" anything; it establishes no habits. In the end we learn to resign ourselves to pain and distress, particularly if the pain is not in us but in our neighbor. This is but

an application to advertising of the school teacher's maxim that we learn by doing.

I do not wish to seem too subtle in my criticisms of social advertising, but it seems to me I notice a disposition among the social agencies to regard the war as an inconvenience rather than an opportunity. It is no doubt a hardship to be compelled to complete for funds with all the suddenly improvised organizations which are attempting to do war work. It is not good advertising policy, however, to advertise that fact. It stirs subtle, silent conflicts in the public mind and this inhibits the full, free flow of the tide of public sentiment upon which all advertising projects must eventually float, if they succeed. In the last analysis, all our advertising is a matter not, as our psychologists of advertising seem to believe—a matter of the individual, but the public mind.

Besides, war work is everything that contributes to national efficiency and the measure of social efficiency is the extent to which rational methods have been applied to the problems of poverty, crime and disease. At a time when the whole nation is aroused, as it has never been before, to the necessity for wider and wiser control of the common interests of the community; when the whole world has been stirred to a sort of passion for international right and social justice it should be less difficult rather than more to gain recognition and support for the work of the social agencies.

It seems to me social agencies are disposed to direct their appeals too exclusively to the so-called finer and hence feeblér instincts. But these finer sentiments are too exclusively the luxury of a leisure class. A wisely directed publicity campaign should seek to take social service more completely out of the ideal and show its intimate connection with the plain, practical interests of our daily life. Social workers understand better than most people how intimately crime, poverty and disease are connected with so practical a thing as unemployment. We are all beginning to understand how easily every other value represented by civilization is destroyed when people lose, as they can most easily do, the slowly acquired habits of persistent labor. One way to interest the public in the work of the social agencies is to state social problems in definite terms of profit and loss to the community.

#### *Financial Support Versus Co-Operation as Basis of Appeal*

The criticisms upon social advertising which are here suggested amount, in general, to this: For purposes of successful publicity, social agencies are still too much inclined to hold to the earlier, individualistic, other worldly, and, if I may use the word in this connection, evangelical tradition. There is too much emphasis upon individual need and not enough on social utility; too much stress is put upon sentiment and not enough on action. Appeals are directed too exclusively to getting financial contribution, rather than intelligent co-operation.

In fact, it seems to me that social science and social practice generally, in spite of the progress of recent years, is too exclusively concerned with effects rather than causes. It is still too concerned in its task to be relief, rather than prevention and cure.

If the social agencies have not always conceived their problems in a way to gain the full co-operation of the community; neither have they stated their case so as to most effectively capture and hold the interest of the public. This is due in part to historical causes. The social agencies came into existence in order to direct and control, under the complex and artificial conditions of urban life, the natural impulses of neighborly and community co-operation; impulses, which, in smaller and more primitive communities, functioned automatically. In doing this, however, they have, as in the case of the organized charities, come between the giver and the need, the individual and his problem.

The social agencies are not alone in this respect. In politics, religion, art and sport, we are represented now by proxies where formerly we participated in person. All the forms of communal and cultural activity in which we all formerly shared have been taken over by professionals and the great mass of men are no longer actors, but spectators. Just as the average man, under the influence of professional politicians, has been relegated to the role of a mere taxpayer, so he has been reduced by the social agencies to the position of a mere contributor.

It is pretty generally accepted that a large part of the restlessness, the thirst for novelty and excitement, so characteristic of modern life, is due in part to the fact that we have been deprived, under the artificial conditions of city life, of most of the natural outlets for the expression of our interests and our energies. So far as this is true the solution of the problems, not merely of the social agencies, but of the church, the theatre, politics and the saloon—all the agencies that are now competing for our spare time—is some method by which the individual can regain a sense of personal participation in the institutional life about him. To achieve this is to achieve democracy. For in the last analysis we mean by democracy participation, practically and imaginatively, in the common life of the community.

#### *A Press Bureau for Social Agencies*

We have learned something during the present war about social advertising. We have also learned something about press bureaus. It is an interesting fact that England started the war with a censorship—a censorship so severe that, for a time, it seemed to Englishmen as if almost any one knew more about the movements of the English army than the English people. America, on the other hand, declared war and established forthwith, not a censorship, but a press bureau. The American press bureau is called at present, *The Committee on Public Information*. The Committee on Public Information is, however, performing the



functions of a press bureau and George Creel, who is at the head of it, is the press agent of the United States.

The press bureau has become during this war a weapon, quite as important as any other, for both offensive and defensive warfare. The vital part of an army, as of a community, is its morale and morale may be weakened or sustained by a well directed press bureau. It has occurred to me, that the time has arrived when the social agencies should have a press bureau. In fact, they already have one in the *Survey* magazine. But it should be locally as well as nationally, organized, and its activities should be extended.

What could a press bureau do for the social agencies and for the community?

The first thing that a press bureau should do for the social agencies is to mobilize and organize them. It could do this by establishing between them a community of purpose and a morale that does not now exist. Morale means will, and community morale means community will, and this is something more than esprit de corps, or mere formal organization.

The second thing which such a bureau should do is to make news—social news. The world is in a process of reorganization. The problem of making the world safe for democracy involves making democracy safe for the world. The problems of the twentieth century, both scientific and practical, are predominantly social and political. The social agencies are accumulating in the course of their daily work, the experience and the knowledge which must form the basis for any scientific solution of these problems. The social agencies are every day experimenting with the principles of a slowly growing science of social life. The social agencies, moreover, give us most of our social legislation. To make this legislation effective, it must have the support of the community. One way to educate community is through the press.

#### *Requiring and Using a Fund of Information*

Hitherto, newspaper publicity, as far as the social agencies are concerned, has consisted largely of hard luck stories. We have approached the public, like the traditional beggar, with a piteous gesture. Novelty and human interest, we have assumed, were the only qualities in a piece of news that captured the public attention and got space in a newspaper.

The fact is, however, that the human interest story, which was the *chef-d'oeuvre* of the *yellow journal*, is losing its standing in the newspaper world. The re-write man, who has been accustomed to give the literary touch to these romantic incidents of daily life, has written himself out. The stories have been told so often that they are now quite conventionalized and cease to interest. The newspapers are going in at present for social service. They are introducing departments that are intended to be educational, like Dr. Evans' articles, widely syndicated,



upon health. The *Chicago Tribune* has established under the title of *The Friend of the People*, a bureau of information upon municipal matters. It has become very largely a complaint bureau. It is making itself a substitute for the aldermen who has hitherto functioned locally chiefly as a friend at court in the relation between the individual citizen and the city government. Furthermore, the *Christian Science Monitor* has now demonstrated that there is an increasing number of people who are rather more interested in social welfare and social politics than in those half-fact and half-fiction stories which still so largely fill the columns of the daily newspapers. All this suggests that we may, perhaps, look forward to a time when the work of the social agencies will occupy as much space in the daily papers as Wall street and the sporting column.

There are two difficulties. The social agencies do not advertise, as perhaps they should do. Departmental news, like that of the churches, of books and of the theatres, gets into the papers most easily when it finds a place next to a special kind of advertising; book notices next to book advertising, theatre notices next to theatre advertising, etc. For it should be remembered that the modern newspaper is a commercial institution, made to get circulation. The second difficulty is that most of the information which the social agencies are able to furnish is likely to be based on case studies and is therefor personal and private, and confidential. Case studies do not ordinarily make news, but local studies will.

There is an increasing number of interesting and important local studies going on in various parts of the country. Some of these have been made by social agencies. Others have been made by universities. Some of the most important have been made by the telephone companies and other commercial bodies. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, spent something like thirty thousand dollars in constructing a rent map of Chicago, for advertising purposes. If some agency could be established to collect and fund this information it would become a valuable source of social news as rapidly and as often as it could be employed to interpret local events. Such information spread abroad through the press would tend to foster a widespread and intelligent interest in social problems and, incidentally, in the work of social agencies.

One of the values of social surveys, where they have been conducted on a scale broad enough to enlist the interest of the whole community, consists in the fund of news about the local community which they produce. Information of this kind may well find a place in courses in community civics which are now popular in the public schools. In this way the schools will serve to lay the basis for a more intelligent understanding of the facts of community life. The social survey, when it be-

comes, as it has in Cleveland, a permanent institution, may and does perform the service not merely of a permanent bureau of social research, but of a bureau of publicity, as I have conceived it, for the social agencies.

Since this was written my attention has been called to an interesting fact, namely: while most of the funds which support social welfare enterprises are provided by representatives of the capitalist class, many social workers are socialists. This, it has been suggested, is one reason why the appeal of the social agency is so frequently based on superficial and sentimental grounds. The social worker and social benefactor cannot get into the same universe of discourse and cannot therefore talk about fundamental problems. On the other hand the "class-conscious" social worker does not always realize that most of the fundamental reforms which his knowledge of conditions compels him to favor can be perfectly justified on intelligible grounds of national efficiency which is, or should be, a common interest of both capitalist and laborer.

### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Hornell Hart*, research fellow, Helen S. Trounstone Foundation, Cincinnati: I have listened with intense interest to Professor Park. It seems to me the essence of the problem is democracy, and this depends upon obtaining the inward consent, as Miss Addams so aptly said. You can't get the consent of the people interested without intelligent publicity. I had an experience in Milwaukee. The City Club of Milwaukee had a number of Civic Committees, each making investigations along special lines. These committees issued periodical reports on various matters, which you would take to be rather dry, but the newspapers in the city of Milwaukee handled them and gave them splendid space. I am confident that what our speaker has told us about developing publicity through research is entirely true. It will take time for the papers to appreciate the value of the method, but I am entirely confident that it can be developed and that we can achieve a safe democracy only through that sort of education.

2. *Karl de Schweinitz*, general secretary, Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity: The *New York Evening Post* commented editorially not long ago upon the modern method of obtaining a "scoop." Formerly the city editor depended upon his reporters for exclusive stories. Now, the editorial explained, he goes into a room by himself, shuts the door, and thinks out his "scoops." What the *Evening Post* referred to was the importance of opinion as news. The Washington correspondence of such men as David Lawrence and Lincoln Colcord, the special articles of writers like William Allen White and Herbert Sidebotham are more and more becoming the news. These men are writing not the news of action, but the news of opinion. They are concerned not with what people are doing but with what they are thinking.

This has an important application for social work. Many social workers are engaged in what, from the newspaper point of view, are routine jobs. The care of families, for example, while it may be productive of human interest stories, does not make news. Social work, on the other hand, is continually concerned with methods and movements which should be admirable material for special articles and editorials. Social workers should cultivate the acquaintance of the special writers and the members of the editorial staffs of newspapers. Such acquaintance may become a means of socializing the public.

There has been much talk about democracy and publicity. I am not at all sure that the terms are synonymous. Publicity is simply a

means to an end. The Standard Oil Company, for instance, is one of the most copious users of publicity in the United States, but I am not altogether convinced that the Standard Oil Company is democratic. Democracy is not an institution. It is not something that can be achieved once and for ever. Democracy is a state of mind. True democracy can be attained only by constant effort. The easy thing is to let other people do our thinking for us. It is only by continual struggle that we maintain that spirit of intellectual initiative which is the essence of democracy. Publicity rightly used can be of great assistance in this. But we must remember that publicity is only a means—a means that has been undertaken as effectively in Germany as in the United States. The democratic value of publicity depends entirely upon who uses it and how it is used.

3. Ernest F. Boddington, Charity Organization Society, New York: Having spent considerable time in the publicity department of the Liberty Loan Committee of the Second District, immediately prior to joining the C. O. S. about ten days ago, I think I can speak of that work with a certain amount of authority. In fact, as I listened to the main speaker today I was constantly thinking of the methods we used in that campaign, and figuring how some of them could be applied to our publicity campaigns for welfare work.

When Mr. de Schweinitz spoke of certain advertisements he saw, he was referring, perhaps to poster work or to newspaper advertising. Of course, I do not know what methods were employed by the publicity bureau of the third Federal Reserve district, but I know that in the second, or New York district, analyses were made of the results of each class of appeal, from articles in such publications as *The North American Review* to those in the smallest trade paper. And the field was thoroughly covered, as I can attest, for I remember in one afternoon contributing articles to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and *Saucy Stories*.

These articles set forth, first and foremost, the purposes of our government—that is to say of ourselves—in entering and prosecuting this war. Over and over again at conferences the necessity of educating all classes of the community in democracy was emphasized. We were urged to get away from the notion of having the comfortable well-to-do people from any certain section of the city do the whole work. We felt that if we could enlist as many individuals as possible to do it, we should make this loan a success, that we should pave the way to make all future loans real American successes, and that we should make the problem of the war much less difficult of solution.

Professor Park has said things which, to a newspaper man with more than a quarter of a century of experience, even if with less than a fortnight of experience as a welfare worker, were inspiring, because it seems to me he indicated not merely methods of obtaining publicity, but those animating ideals, which, if consistently followed, must inevitably obtain for us the kind of publicity we desired.

I can understand that, having these ideals, many of us may have become superior to what has been referred to as the "human interest story." We know that at Christmas and at other times when we want \$100 for this special case, or \$200 for that special purpose, a story of a certain kind will always bring the results we desire. We use these means in emergencies, but we feel, very properly, that they are not the means by which constructive work can be done in educating the community to consistent and continuing contributions to welfare work. But let us not run to extremes; let us not imagine that because, as Professor Park has pointed out, the police court human interest story, of much fiction built on a little fact, no longer gets into print in the big dailies, that

the human interest story is no longer wanted by the newspapers. That condition will never arise. Can you conceive a situation in which there would be more human interest stories "breaking" every day than in the re-creation of a world? And that is what we as welfare workers have to face at the end of this war.

We ponder these things, but from this day on, not only in this country, but in other countries as well, the thinkers will begin to plan their work. We shall be among the first to learn of these plans, these great schemes for reconstruction and regeneration. They will be communicated to us that we may assist in carrying them out. From our offices they should go to the newspapers, as the great throbbing human interest stories, and as material for appeals to the cleanest and educated democracy which we must attract and hold.

4. *Joseph C. Logan*, director of civilian relief, southern division, American Red Cross, Atlanta: I have not had any specialized experience as a paid financial man of an organization, but have had to do that work as secretary of one. Professor Park's remarks with regard to democracy interested me, because I think I have found what is my anchor in social work. Some time ago I was in a meeting of a dozen or so men, and they tried to define democracy. The result was that no two agreed on what democracy was. I had a definition of my own, which may not be original, and it was this: The measure of democracy is the measure of the conscious social effort to put the opportunity of a normal life in the reach of every member of society. Now social work is the effort to differentiate individuals, so that each one shall have the opportunity for a normal life. That is fundamentally and ideally democratic.

I think the other feature of chief importance in Professor Park's speech was the idea, never to be sure you have gotten over a thing by talking. I have the idea that the church was wrong in giving so much time to preaching. I tried at my church to suspend the night service, to divide the people into classes led by teachers, and prepare to take up some work that was practical during the week, and give reports at the following Sunday night meeting. Our work requires participation on the part of the people we attempt to help. I remember one case of a man, half-witted, who asked me for a suit of clothes. I said if he would wash his face and brush his hair I would help him, but he wouldn't do that. I had this gratifying experience with the president of our association. He had been active only about three years when he was elected, and I went out to see him personally. When I walked in he said, "Logan, I was just thinking while I was waiting for you, how little I thought three years ago when you asked me for a donation to a widow's pension that you would make a philanthropist out of me!"

5. *Homer W. Borst*, general secretary, Associated Charities, Jacksonville, Florida: The only proposition I have to make is for young and inexperienced people. I came into this publicity business with the idea that we did not dare to tell the truth. I have very good antecedents for that idea. There are still many people in social work who do not avoid giving the impression that they feel that if only enough money were available they could do all the work necessary. You can afford to say frankly that with respect to your organization this is not true. No social work organization has made any real contribution to unemployment, for example, by making unemployment the basis of an appeal for money to be used as relief. And the human interest story,—tell the truth about it. You don't have to tell the public that you made a family self-supporting unless you did it. Your very failures can be made to show why you need additional support.



6. *George Eisler*, director, Americanization Executive Committee, Cincinnati: I have been engaged in practical publicity work among foreign-speaking people for the last ten years. Nothing has been said here about the fact that democracy depends upon the ability to read the printed page. If we are to be truly a united people we all will have to speak one language—the English language. I have noticed with regret in our largest municipalities where we have a large percentage of foreign-speaking population, that those who are engaged in social service activities among them have been giving immigrants little notices first in English, which they could not read, and added thereto in Slavic, Hungarian, Roumanian, Polish, Italian, Russian, Greek, and other tongues of sometimes from a half dozen to a dozen different languages, all on one sheet of paper, quite often of the size 6x9 to 16x22.

As a matter of fact, none of these were ever read or paid attention to, because the material was not prepared with a view of understanding individual and social psychology of the various linguistic groups and nationalities. For instance, a Slav has a natural-born grudge and is prejudiced against a Hungarian. As soon as he sees something in Hungarian, no matter how beneficial the notice might be to him, he refuses to read it or act upon the suggestion contained on the printed page.

You have the same situation with the other groups, and therefore your efforts have not resulted in anything practical because of the refusal to consider the social psychological relations between the different groups. I plead with you to give more attention to this point. To me Americanism is a matter of the spirit. It is a psychological condition and unless we older Americans will Americanize ourselves first we will not be able to do very much with the so-called "foreigner." Whatever an immigrant is in our environment or whatever he is expected to be largely depends upon how much you and I will do for him in a constructive and practical manner, ascertaining his needs and serving them in a practical manner, according to the best accepted standards.

7. *Frederic Almy*, secretary of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, spoke in part as follows: If Missouri, as is said, means "Show me," Buffalo is to that extent in Missouri. Until shown, I am not persuaded as to what I have heard. Our annual reports are issued to win converts more than to tell what we have done. *Hornell Hart* has just said that social work must be democratic and not autocratic. I believe it may well be autocratic in a sense. I have heard it said that the Buffalo C. O. S. "puts its face into everything," and I have been called a boss, but if so I mean to be a good boss. I want everyone who has influence to have power also, but I want him to have a mighty uneasy seat, so that if he misuses his power he can be put out quickly.

8. *Professor Park* said, in conclusion: I agree so fully with everything that has been said on both sides of this question, I haven't much to say in rejoinder. I agree that we shall continue to have the "human interest" stories in the newspapers, but I don't think we should confine our newspaper publicity to those cases of personal delinquency or personal distress that have what newspaper men call "human interest."

I believe that we ought to encourage men to write opinions over their own names, but I believe that we want to get a great many more facts in the papers. One reason why, in my opinion, a larger number of newspaper men now write over their own names is not because we are expanding the editorial at the expense of the news-columns, but because the editorial man is beginning to realize that he is not all-wise and we now are beginning to demand that the news shall be interpreted by men who are experts and have special knowledge.



Finally, one point has been made here with which I cannot agree. I do not believe that democracy is a state of mind in the sense perhaps that Boston is a state of mind. Democracy is, to be sure, a state of mind, but behind it there is or should be a set of fundamental habits and habits are important. They are quite as important to society as they are to individuals—without them there would be no routine and no efficiency. A great deal of what we do as individuals or as groups of individuals must be done automatically. If we had no habits most of us would not get out of bed in the morning without a moral struggle!

Revolution is a glorious experience no doubt, but perpetual revolution is impracticable. The acquisition of habits and routine represent, therefore, a great and necessary economy.

## ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES OF THE STATE

*R. E. Miles, Director, Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, Columbus*

If there were such a thing as a bureau of vital statistics relating to organizations instead of to human beings, I hazard the assertion that its records would exhibit a very high birth rate during the past few years. As a nation, we might almost be said to have adopted the motto: "Count that day lost whose low descending sun sees no new organizations formed." As an indication of desire for accomplishment, this activity is admirable; for its efficiency, less can be said. In not a few instances it has seemed to be a case of—"We don't know where we are going, but we are on the way." Have we not now reached the "thrift" stage, when economy should be practiced in organizing as well as in spending? The need for effective social accomplishment is and will be greater than before; the man and woman power will be less. From these conditions there can be but one conclusion: through the best possible organization and planning of work, effort must be made to count for the most. How can we bring this about?

I have but a portion of this subject to discuss: *The Organization of Social Forces of the State.*

First, what are the *social forces*? The recent change of name of this National Conference is testimony to the expanding conception of what should be included within the term. A glance at the list of divisions of the present program indicates that the social worker's interest is no longer limited to *charities and correction*, but includes public health, mental hygiene, and industrial and economic problems. This is distinctly to the good, showing as it does that the social worker intends that his angle of vision shall cover his entire field.

In a battle or campaign, the center of conflict often shifts from one point to quite another, and the commanding officer must be prepared to transfer his troops and supplies to meet the new line-up. Social generalship must do the same, and I venture to predict that, more than ever before, social forces, if they wish to be at the center of conflict, must turn resolutely from the relatively negative and remedial, and

must push forward the positive—they must drive for better economic and industrial conditions—public health, both physical and mental, education and recreation.

To what end shall societies toil ceaselessly to alleviate poverty, if the cost of living is found to outrun income? Why the vast effort devoted to bearing a burden of sickness which should never have occurred and of poverty and crime springing from mental defect which might have been prevented? How maintain and raise the community's ideals and efficiency, but through better schools and higher types of recreational activities?

#### *Breadth of Purpose Advocated*

My first plea is, therefore, that the organization of social forces must be of a broad and positive character, with clear recognition of the increasing importance attached to the standard of living, health, education, and recreation. Through closer working relations between the national bodies, the National Conference of Social Work, the National Educational Association, the American Public Health Association, the National Recreation Association, the National Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, and between the local bodies affiliated with them or having like purposes, the organized relations of the social worker should be such as to constantly remind him that no proposals aiming to raise the standard of living, improve the public health, offer enlarged opportunities for education and recreation, can be foreign to his interest and action as a social worker.

In a second way, also, the organization of social forces must be inclusive, in that it must harness public and private agencies in the same team to an increasing degree. The time is past, if it ever existed, when each could successfully pull its own load alone. What more potent social forces than departments of health, school boards, and industrial commissions? By no means the least valuable of the services of the Mitchel administration of New York City was the shining example under the leadership of Commissioner Woods of what the police can do as a social force when mobilized for that purpose.

Day by day sees the functions of government added to. That these government activities, new and old, shall be carried on efficiently, adequately, and in harmony with private efforts, needs no demonstration. The attempt by the present mayor of New York City to dismember the department of health rightly stirred the social forces of New York to active effort to defeat it, as a serious menace to the city's welfare.

In many places, inadequate appropriations, red tape, interference by politicians, or other adverse conditions, cause skepticism as to whether the public agency can measure up to the demands upon it. The present trend, however, is unmistakable. Government will be charged with increasing responsibilities. The social worker, therefore, must align himself with the agencies that are striving to make government more

efficient in a broad sense. City charters, legislative and administrative reorganization, budget and accounting systems, taxation, and many other similar measures must be recognized as properly claiming the social worker's organized attention.

In a word, therefore, the social worker must more than heretofore concern himself with industry, health, education, and recreation and with the success of governmental activities. The organization of social forces must definitely recognize this necessity and provide requisite machinery.

#### *Advantages of the State as Unit of Organization*

To those who aim at fundamental social improvement, the state, in this country, offers itself as the territorial unit for which in many respects working plans prove most practicable. The underlying reason for this is that the state is the basis of our legal structure. The federal government is a combination of states, and possesses only such powers as have been delegated to it by expressed or implied provisions of the constitution, the other powers of government remaining with the state. In the opposite direction, cities, counties, townships, and school districts are created and controlled by the state through its constitution or statutes. Thus the principal regulations in industry, health, and education are found to be embodied in the state law.

For practical reasons, also, the state is found in many respects to be the most feasible unit to work with. For example, few local communities can afford to maintain institutions for mental defectives or the insane; state control and management of all minor penal institutions is now advocated as offering advantages which can not be secured under local control. A further consideration is that an advance step can be taken in a single state without waiting for the entire country.

In the organization of social forces, therefore, our attention must be given to the *state* as being an important, if not indeed the most important unit, especially in the positive type of program which must now be urged.

What form shall the state organization of social forces take? What usually happens in a state is of course that various groups spring up from time to time, each with its own special interest. Thus, we find state charities aid associations, state prison associations, state mental hygiene associations, state social hygiene societies, state public health associations, state tuberculosis leagues, state rural life associations, state child welfare societies, and others.

So far as funds permit, each maintains its own office and executive staff, and tends to develop its own program largely without reference to the others. In many instances, the same individuals are found in several organizations, being interested in the different subjects. The practical result is, to a considerable degree, duplication of expense, and competition instead of co-operation.

The condition thus developed is similar to that of the allies on the

western front, where each was playing his own game, though presumably co-operating with the others. The remedy is the same—centralized leadership.

The method which I have to urge is that of a single comprehensive state organization, equipped with a specialized staff; relating its work with the various specialized national organizations on the one hand and with local organizations, whether general or special, on the other; making its office the assembling point and clearing house of social information and data and the headquarters for discussion of social programs; determining through discussion the most advantageous "priority" among the various measures claiming support. Such an organization should not attempt to replace or diminish the activity of local organizations, but on the contrary to stimulate them and make them more effective by getting them to pull together.

#### *Ohio Institute as Example*

The Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency has already made a beginning, though only a beginning, along the lines laid down. Its Department of Social Service, under the direction of Mr. Fred C. Croxton, actively promoted a number of measures before the last Ohio legislature. Among those passed were the following:

Appropriation of \$100,000 for a building and \$12,000 for equipment for the Bureau of Juvenile Research, which was created in 1918 and had never been provided with facilities for conducting its work. The Bureau is recognized as potentially a most important agency for ascertaining the causes of delinquency and dependency.

An appropriation to the Institute for Feeble-minded of \$250,000 for eleven cottages, \$24,000 for equipment, and \$25,000 for a tubercular hospital. This increase of capacity was estimated to provide for 650 additional inmates.

Appropriation to the Hospital for Epileptics of \$270,000 for eleven cottages. These were expected to house 600 additional inmates.

Creation of a state commission to conduct a study of health insurance and sickness prevention, and of old age insurance and of the application of health insurance and old age insurance to Ohio conditions. The sum of \$25,000 was appropriated for expenses.

Amendments strengthening the workmen's compensation act, one increasing the death benefits and extending the payment period, the other giving the Industrial Commission authority to exceed the usual limits for medical care in special cases.

A law increasing the state allowance to blind children in special classes in public schools, authorizing home training of blind children, and providing for standards of instruction.

An injunction and abatement law facilitating the closing of disorderly houses and the elimination of commercialized vice.

An amendment to the law reducing the hours of labor for women from 54 to 50 hours per week, from ten hours to nine hours per day, excepting in mercantile establishments on Saturday, and providing for one day's rest in seven.

A law prohibiting foremen and other employees from charging a fee from persons seeking work, advance in pay, or the retaining of jobs.

Laws establishing courts of domestic relations in several counties.

In dealing with mental defectives at least, the measures above noted constitute a greater advance than has been made by the state in any recent year. The increase in accommodations for mental defectives is approximately one-third over the present. The successful experience at this legislative session may be attributed in large degree to the better co-operation among the social interests of the state, which the Institute systematically developed.

Upon the entrance of this country into the war, it became immediately evident that a most important factor in the production of food and other supplies was labor, and that the available supply should be utilized to the utmost, at the points where most needed. A plan for the mobilization of labor was therefore outlined by Mr. Croxton and submitted to the governor, contemplating the extension of the state system of free employment bureaus. The objects of the plans were:

- a. To lessen the time lost by workers in seeking new jobs.
- b. To aid employers in securing help to take the places of those enlisting for military service, or of those leaving for other causes, or to secure additional help as business expands.
- c. To aid farmers in securing help.



d. To make it possible for the authorities in referring help to give preference to certain industries producing the goods most needed by our armies or by those of our allies.

e. To lessen the idleness on the part of floating laborers in the state.

f. To produce team work among the various localities of the state.

g. To make it possible to co-operate most effectively with other states and with the federal government.

The plan was approved by the governor, who requested Mr. Croxton to take charge of the organization. The bureaus thus established, operating in conjunction with those already under the Ohio Industrial Commission, and now numbering twenty-two in all, furnished practically all the labor required for the construction of Camp Sherman at Chillicothe, and between May 5 and November 17 reported a total of 173,031 placements.

Subsequently Mr. Croxton was appointed vice-chairman of the Ohio branch, Council of National Defense, and chairman of the division of Labor Mobilization and Industrial Relations. Upon the governor's recommendation, he was later designated as the Federal Food Administrator for Ohio, thus bringing about a close correlation of state and federal war activities in Ohio. For these war services the Ohio Institute is contributing Mr. Croxton's whole time to the state.

The social survey conducted by the Institute in Portsmouth at the instance of the Associated Charities of that city led to the establishment of a strong Bureau of Community Service, replacing and absorbing the existing social agencies. Previously the work had been conducted in a very inadequate and fragmentary way; but after hearing of the conditions presented to them by the survey, all interests combined in an energetic campaign, which resulted in a budget nearly ten times as great as before and a corresponding enlargement of the community's social program.

In February, 1917, Mr. James L. Fieser, formerly superintendent of the Columbus Associated Charities, joined the staff of the Institute as associate director of the Social Service Department. His services were immediately engaged by the Columbus Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of organizing a new department of social service in the chamber, the object of which was to promote a more thorough knowledge of the social needs of the city, of the work being done by existing organizations, and the best means of supporting them effectively. Although upon the outbreak of the war much of Mr. Fieser's time was devoted to the Red Cross, he was able to get the social department well under way. The department is now being carried on in a promising manner by his successor, Mr. Fieser having been permanently commandeered by the Red Cross in September as director of civilian relief of the Lake Division.

From May to August, the office of the Institute was the headquarters of the Red Cross for forty-five counties in southern Ohio. At the beginning of the war, few chapters were in existence and the rush to organize overwhelmed the existing Red Cross facilities. In this emergency, the Institute offered its assistance, the director, Mr. Miles, serving for this period as associate state director. Chapters were organized in every county, and co-operation and advice were furnished as to methods of instituting work. The director is now acting as secretary of the Federal Milk Commission for Ohio, appointed by the United States Food Administration.

It may be seen that the normal activities of the Ohio Institute have been considerably invaded by war demands, which have caused it temporarily to defer its efforts in certain lines where it would otherwise be active. Nevertheless, it is believed that the war service which is being rendered primarily as a patriotic duty will have valuable results in the social field.

Linking work of the foregoing character with work for improved budget and accounting methods and other business procedure for governmental agencies, as in the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, has distinct advantages. The obstacles encountered in the prosecution of a social program are often financial. An instance comes to mind where a main reason assigned by an official of a social department for his resignation was the restrictions imposed by the excessively detailed appropriation and other similar red tape. It is sufficiently obvious that flexible and efficient financial procedure is necessary for a successful conduct of social activities.

#### *Practical End in View*

Organization is a means to an end. It consists of getting those people who have common ideals and purposes to work together sys-



tematically to achieve those ideals and purposes. That form of organization is best which will bring about the maximum result with the minimum effort and develop an ever increasing understanding of community needs.

The war has taught the community as never before to act as a whole and to tackle seemingly impossible responsibilities. If any one had ventured a few years ago to predict the raising of the vast sums which have recently been subscribed to war purposes as outright gifts, he would have been laughed out of court. It seems clear that the social forces must put their programs and strength in a centralized form which will be comprehensive and important enough to command the attention and support of the whole community. Centralized organization of social forces of the state offers a most promising opportunity for achieving this result.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. Answering a question as to the principle of centralization and leadership as represented in the Ohio Institute of Public Efficiency, *C. M. Bookman*, director of the Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, said that while the institute is a voluntary organization, all interested agencies come together naturally under its leadership. Formerly, each organization sent its own delegation to the legislature. The result was so confusing that the legislature couldn't understand what the social workers wanted. Now they have a coordinated program with solid backing.

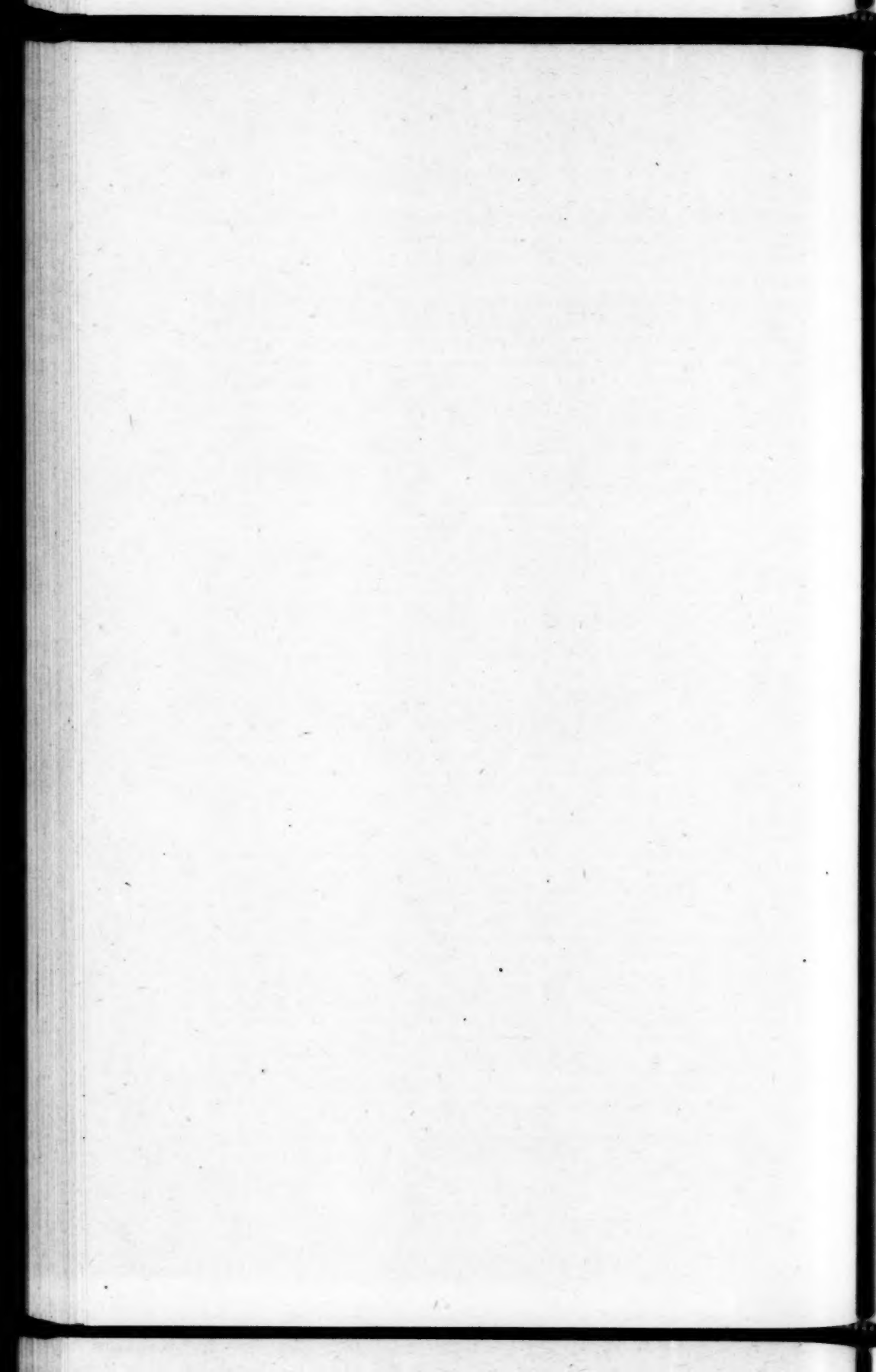
2. *Roscoe C. Edlund*, director of the Baltimore Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies, raised a question as to tactics of the Ohio institute in securing legislation. Is it the custom for the institute itself to lead in presenting and pushing all desired legislation, or instead to arrange for the organizations most interested to handle their several bills? If the latter is done, what additional support is given? How avoid the danger that in a centralized program for legislation, the misunderstood or unpopular measure may vitiate the success of the rest of the program?

3. It was explained that the institute acts primarily as adviser to all agencies in securing legislation, but itself stays in the background.

4. Answering a question as to the application of this idea in other states, *Mr. Edlund* explained that the situation varies. Maryland, he pointed out, is a small agricultural state, with half the population and most of the wealth of the state in Baltimore. The Baltimore Alliance, including in its membership several state-wide societies, and itself chartered for state-wide activities, is attempting to a limited extent to perform the legislative services for that state which the Institute does in Ohio. The alliance also maintained this year a legislative reference bureau to serve as a central clearing house of information about all social legislation introduced and its progress.

5. Answering the criticism that the Ohio Institute might become fixed and institutional, it was explained that its advisory committee is representative of the entire state and that it is engaged in many activities in which legislation is only a minor phase. Research is one of its chief functions.

6. Among those that participated in the discussion were *George Eisler*, Cincinnati; *Guy T. Justis*, Denver; *Barry C. Smith*, New York; *Robert E. Bundy*, Columbus, O.



X.

**SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE WAR  
AND RECONSTRUCTION**

19

## DIVISION COMMITTEE—1917-1918

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Prof. George H. Mead,  
Department of Philosophy, University of Chicago.

### *Vice Chairman*

W. Frank Parsons,  
Director of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, Washington.

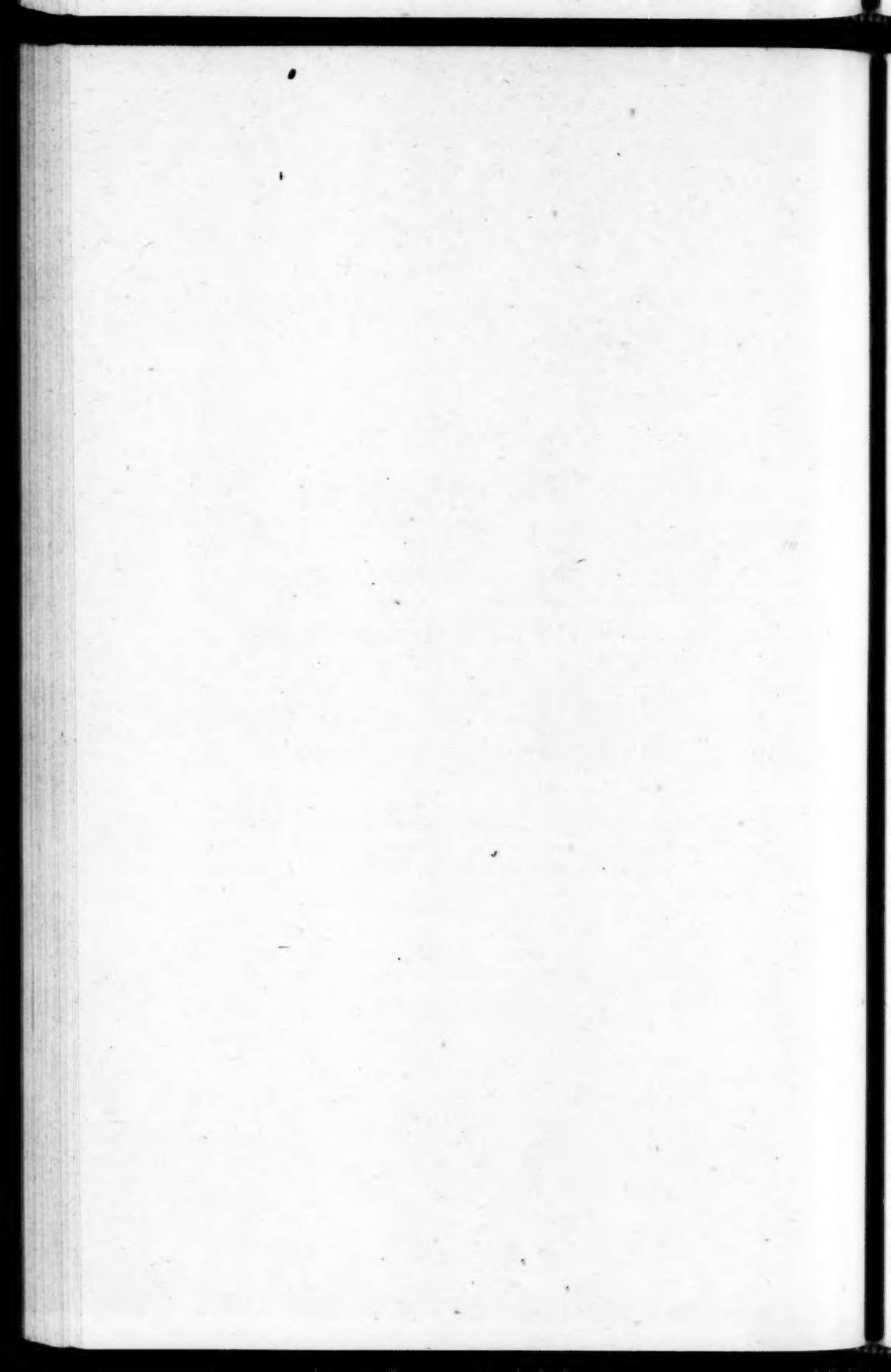
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Thomas W. Salmon, M. D.....	New York	Emma C. Winslow.....	New York
William F. Snow.....	New York	Lucy Wright .....	Boston

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The last named meeting occurred in conjunction with a session of Division VI on Industrial and Economic Problems, under the chairmanship of the chairman of that division, Mrs. Kelley.





## SOCIAL WORK, STANDARDS OF LIVING AND THE WAR

George H. Mead, Chairman of the Division; Professor of Philosophy,  
University of Chicago

### *Domestic Policy and International Adjustment*

The program of the English Labor Party is one of the most important of the war documents. It has lifted the war, by its definition of the social issues that the war has made conceivable and possible, into a struggle for a new order of things. This new order of things when accepted makes of the war an entirely different struggle. It stands in this manner upon the level with the greatest of President Wilson's papers. The League to Enforce Peace, the right of self-determination of nations, the demand for full security of the small nations, all of these are part of the *magna charta* of an international society. But they approach the form of this international society from the outside, and by their structure they do not consider the inner nature of communities which may belong to such a society. The demand that diplomacy shall be open, that it shall be under the control of the people, is, to be sure, a step toward a reconstruction of inner order; but these measures also look toward the outer relations of nations with each other.

The program of the English Labor Party, on the other hand, is that of a country which approaches the problem of international life from the inside. In a cruder form the Russian revolution undertook also to reconstruct Russia from within from the standpoint of a society of peoples who can regulate their international affairs without armed conflict. They too have assumed that wars arise from an inner order of the states, and that a change in that order is the essential step in eliminating warfare. That they failed was due in part to their inadequate conception of the economic and political structure of the modern community, and in part to the failure of the allied communities to realize the strategic advantage of the Russian attitude. There remains this in common between the English Labor Party's program and the Russian revolution, that they assume that changed inner conditions, within the countries involved in this world war, would make war itself impossible.

The emphasis in both undertakings has been laid upon change in the economic conditions of the laboring classes. In the program of the Bolsheviks this change was to be accomplished with the sweep of a single revolutionary movement. The capitalistic society was to be at once set aside, and a new order substituted. Unfortunately the plans for this new order of things were hopelessly impracticable, and had been taken over not from constructively thought-out social programs, but from gospels of the revolution. Its tenets were those which aroused to battle those who were not on all fours with the forces which were at work in our industrial society, not in touch with the methods which in our pragmatic age must be adopted in changing social conditions.

In both these respects the program of the English Labor Party stands in sharp contrast with those of the Russian revolution. The changes that this program advocates are in the direction of those that have been steadily at work, and have been vastly stimulated by the efforts to attain supreme efficiency in the life-and-death struggles of the nations. The demand for a standard of living in determining wages, for the government direction of the wealth produced by the community toward the welfare of the community, the definition of the living conditions which should obtain throughout the nation and especially among its members who are economically the weakest, of the socially necessary education, and of the opportunities for political control for the groups which have been for various reasons politically handicapped, and finally of the foreign policy which such a renovated society must demand—these tenets are but further developments of movements which antedate the war, and which the war has heavily underscored. Nor have the English Labor Party presented their program as one which can be at once attained, nor indeed have they ventured to sketch in detail the actual changes which must take place. They confidently indicate the directions which are already plotted in recent social history, and they recognize that the method of advance here as in the domain of physical and biological sciences must be experimental.

#### *Progress, Aristocracy and Legislation*

Now the application of the experimental methods to the solution of social problems has hitherto been subject to a capital difficulty—the absence of recognized social values by which to test projects of reforms. Who was to assure us that any scheme of social betterment was not fraught with losses which would outweigh what advantages it promised, even if they could be attained? The order of society as it exists carries with it certain values which have been secured. We have art and science, the culture which is the distilled essence of our past, and a system of training which fits at least certain classes to attain these values. The projects of social reform seem to endanger these achievements. We are still living under the psychology of a religious philosophy which accepts a world in which the absolute values are the possession of the few. Ideals, moral elevation, beauty of character, as well as the wealth, culture and the constructions of art and science, are regretfully recognized as the possessions of the minority and a small minority of the community. *Beati possidentes*. Projects of fundamental reform threaten these absolute values, for on the one hand they fasten the attention upon the interests of the mass of the community, and upon interests which appear material and mechanical, and, on the other hand, they have to do with changes which can be brought about by legislation and can be enforced by the police power of the community. These absolute values of religious experience, of art and creative science can none of them be attained in this fashion. Intelligent ordering of society may favor their appearance in those who are endowed for such achievement. They cannot be legislated

into existence. To test our social and spiritual vigor by the results which can be assured by legislative enactment promises to level all values to those which can be attained by change in the external conditions in the community. Such programs are denounced as leveling, bound to arrest the free expression of the creative minds, and eliminate the great personalities together with the cultured few who can sit beside their nectar in their golden houses girdled with the gleaming world, those favored few who keep the beauty and distinction of the past alive by enjoying them.

Perhaps we are not perceptibly nearer a solution of the problems of the absolute values of goodness, beauty and truth, if these values are absolute, but we are nearer a statement of the things that are so worth while that they can form a usable test of programs for social reconstruction, and whatever the social import of religion and science and art may be, we recognize that these things that are worth while cannot endanger this import. We are confident of this, for science has become the method of social progress, and social progress itself has become a religion; and the most dominant form of modern art, the novel, has been the medium of the imagery, the concrete pictures, by which the minds of men of all groups and classes have passed into each other. If there is such a thing as a culture that exists by itself, careless of mankind, it must soon atrophy and die.

*Social Work Emboldened by the War*

It is these things that are so unquestionably worth while that they are the tests of social undertakings and hypotheses, that the social worker stands for and has stood for. We may generalize them as the standards of living. They connote health, and education, and opportunity to realize enough of the social world in which we live to interpret our lives, and the opportunity to exercise the part in social control which our occupations and capacities demand. I have no intention of analyzing these standards of living either in their earlier or in their present war statements. I desire only to emphasize their growing authority and the change which this authority added to the program of the social worker brings to the social worker himself. Since the days in which we accepted the doctrine that the poor, being always with us, constituted the field for good works, the laying up of treasure in heaven, and the means of perfecting the character of the charitable—especially since the western world accepted the doctrine of the Manchester school that the economic process carried by it not only its own control but the direction of the life of the community—there has been a slow accretion of community assistance to the handicapped, to those in misery, the submerged members of the community, which has uniformly begun with private charity, that in its turn has become more and more organized, passing with varying success into the legislative enactment.

It is this series of changes with which the social workers have been identified. They have never spoken with authority. They have carried

with them the burden of responsibility for unhealthful social conditions which the community has been unwilling to acknowledge, and has accepted only in meager fashion and always with protest. And this reluctance of the community to acknowledge their responsibility for the conditions which the social workers have undertaken to present has had its effect upon the social workers. In great measure they have had to assume the attitude which would bring them such measure of success as they gain. They could not come as the prophet who spoke the words which they had received from the mouth of the Lord; nor in their effort to assist those immediately overborne by conditions within and without them, could they base their appeals upon judgments of public policy, or condemnation of social injustice. These could be made the platforms of a political party, that of the radical groups of various types. To present them as grounds for help to those in distress, would have closed both the minds and the pocketbooks from which assitance had to be sought. The social workers have had in great measure to come with the compliance of the beggar, the beggar in the cause of humanity. The social workers have been in great degree committed to the presentation of cases, and cases which they dared not generalize, and the method of approach has in great measure molded these who have used it.

In the meantime organization has given the prestige which comes with numbers and system, and without authority they have become impressive. The passage of uplift measures into legislation has brought the weight which attaches to what can be enforced by the court. Still more important has been the recognition of scientific method, the traffic in tables of statistics, which inevitably generalize the case, and slowly force upon the community in impersonal fashion the moral of the misery which a charitable response comfortably covers up. But the passage of remedial individual assistance into remedial legislation has been occasional, and had not been sensed by the community as a fundamental shift in the method of social control. Mr. Roosevelt did indeed realize that there was a reality implied in social work that offered a new observation point from which to get the range upon the enemy, and incorporated a program of social work into the platform of the Progressive party. However, Mr. Roosevelt inevitably remains the dominant issue in any campaign in which he is involved, and it was impossible for him or the community to feel the actual import of the material which he had incorporated in the tenets of the Progressive party.

It is against this background that the war has come with its revolution in methods and standpoints of procedure. In securing efficiency the government has committed itself to a living wage, to a program of adequate housing for its employees in the shipping yards, to the principle of collective bargaining. The Federal Suffrage Amendment, with the endorsement of the President, has been started on its road toward adoption. The federal amendment abolishing the sale of alcoholic liquors is before the country, and prohibition has been accepted as essential to the efficiency of our soldiers. There has never been a record in control of



venereal diseases dependent not only on the control of the men, but upon the co-operation of the surrounding community such as that obtained in the cantonments of our armies in this country.

The war has brought a sense of dependence of public effort upon individual economy, not simply in financial savings but in the avoidance of waste, such as we have not seen before. In the conduct of the government there has been a recognition of the right and expediency of the government's making as large a use of the income of the country as the needs of the country, in our exigency, require. If a continued prosecution of the war demands finally the conscription of capital to meet the country's necessity there is an attitude both in the country at large and in the government which will undertake it. The present war has gone further in advancing the social program which social workers have recognized as essential to reaching and attaining the welfare of the community, than any of us have dreamed could be reached in several generations. For not only have such positive measures as I have listed above been actually undertaken, but the acceptance of these measures as the conditions of efficiency in the entire community organization and conduct of the war, has at last clothed these programs and those that are their champions with an authority which they have not before possessed. If any undertaking as huge and momentous as this war is on foot such a program is essential to its success, and any nation in the struggle that neglects it is handicapping itself as definitely as if it omitted part of the program of munitions and big guns.

#### *Continued Progress or Reaction After the War?*

Will it be possible for governments falling into the hands of reactionaries to maintain that in times of peace such a program is not only unnecessary but would be actually destructive of the institutions and the social goods which they conserve? Such claims will indeed be made, together with such disparagement as is possible of the value of these radical measures during the war. They will be admitted as valuable for the organization of popular support—especially the support of the laboring classes, whose devotion had to be secured at any cost. It would not be difficult to forecast a *post bellum* treatise of Mallock in demonstrating both the lack of economy and the lack of justice in the social program even during the war. However, these reactionary attempts to discredit the social organizations and tactics with which the war is being fought will not produce any other effect than to solidify those who are in advance and in principle opposed to them. It will be their political power in high and low places which we will have to fight, not their ideas.

The social programs in operation in England and in France and those we are putting into operation in America have been effective, not because they are technical military measures, to be discarded with the dying down of the battle; they have been effective because they have increased industrial efficiency, because they have revealed the sources of wealth taxable for common social purposes, and methods of taxation

which do not dry up the springs of wealth; because they have indicated not only the manner in which children should be trained for social efficiency but the conceptions of common good in whose interest men recognize that such methods must be used. Most important of all, they indicate the conditions under which the interest of all the people can be secured for common ends; and their success in war time has demonstrated that they can be inaugurated and that they do produce the results which they have promised. In other words, they have become the touchstone of all political undertakings which claim to enlist the interest of the whole community.

Class legislation always advances as a program for the common good, and however acute and destructive may be the criticism by which the social scientist overwhelms it, the average man caught in the wheels of a society organized largely in the immediate interest of the few, sees no escape from those measures which secure him his livelihood as a part of the whole mechanism. The situation will be changed after the war, when men can apply to these undertakings the test of meeting the conditions which the war has shown alone could carry the whole country with it; and conditions immediately after the war will favor the application of this test, for the problems which the world will face, while not hanging for their solution upon military success, will be so international in their character, will demand such united action on the part of the whole community, will so definitely face the issue of removing the causes and occasions of war, that governments will need the same unanimity in the communities back of them for their solution.

It has, of course, been the history of wars in the past, with the possible exception of the Boer War, that the general weariness and reaction after the high tension which fighting carries with it, have left democratic issues, that call for large vision and sustained interest on the part of all, to the mercy of those whose immediate profit lies in exploiting the situation, and this private interest is most naturally found in so handling the vast debts which war leaves behind that the financial group may make their profit out of them. The stakes will be higher after this colossal struggle than they have ever been in the past, and there will be astute minds engaged in reaping their *post bellum* harvest. Still we can reasonably hope that the other issues of getting the world again on its feet—proper caring for the wounded and disabled, demobilizing forces such as have never before stood under arms, organizing the supply of materials for which all nations will be crying, refashioning the international fabric, will be so dominant that community interest will perforce remain vivid and possibly united.

#### *Projection of War Programs Into the Future*

However, optimism in this regard is unwise. It will be true then as before that it will be the unexpected that happens, and we may be bitterly disillusioned in the immediate outcome of the peace. But even disheartening results will not take away this achievement of war. Whether our communities arise sooner or later to their social tasks, they will have the touchstone of the social programs of the war—of labor conditions, of

child welfare and education, of housing and sanitation, of control of venereal diseases, of proper political representation of all groups in the community, of common democratic statement of the issues at stake,—to apply to campaigns and platforms. I do not mean that such programs will be the actual issues involved, though they will certainly be part of aims which will be sought in the political struggle. This program will be the test of the common interest and the community good to which every political campaign must lay claim. An intelligent, effective community response is dependent upon such a social program; and measures and men whose interest finds them in opposition to such measures will be forced to admit they do not seek the aroused, intelligent response of the whole country. The agencies of this war have forced even reactionary governments to discover how the community as a whole can get into a public undertaking with sustained interest; and the method, being based on human social psychology and the economic and political structures of our communities, has the same validity in times of peace as in times of war.

But apart from the recognition of the new authority of the social program, there are practical considerations that deserve attention. The success of the program after the war is in large measure dependent upon the manner of conducting it during the war. A vast store of social statistics such as America has never gathered before with reference to her population, is gathering in the Provost General's office. It contains other information beside that bearing on military features. Men are catalogued with reference to occupations and capacities. Vital statistics with reference to their families are accumulated. The effort to determine how many can be spared for the fighting force without dangerously depleting the working force at home, gives a picture of farming and industrial conditions which are new. The direction of laborers to occupations where they will be most effective starts us on a project of labor distribution which the government has never faced in the past. Beginning of vocational training for adults and development and intensification of vocational training for children are already under consideration. It is of the highest importance that those who realize the necessity of knowledge for the direction of social effort should come into touch with these efforts and further the methods which will pass naturally into the operations of peace. The veil which has been lifted from the contraction and spread of venereal diseases in communities which have never before faced the situation must not be allowed to fall again. The housing programs undertaken for industrial communities suddenly called into existence must be so carried out that they will be permanent, and remain as evidences of the duties of our communities for the housing of their workmen.

The problem of properly training the physiques of our children and older citizens must especially be faced, that the illogical conclusion be not drawn that only by arousing the fears and enmities upon which depend the program of a nation in arms can we obtain a physically fit generation. The opportunities for insurance of those in the war zone

must be studied and feasible plans for universal governmental insurance must be worked out. It is of peculiar importance that the interest in education should be intelligently utilized to give us not only efficiency, but the attitude of social responsibility that will extend beyond the exigencies of this conflict. The willingness to recognize the individual child or man or woman as a precious asset to the community, whose conservation must be secured even by changing formerly fixed social conditions, must be emphasized and generalized in such forms that they will reach into times of peace. Through the actions of the state councils of defense and their subsidiary committees throughout the state, the information in regard to the favorable conditions of conducting the war should come to all our citizens and through interest in what they can do, that sustained interest which is necessary to the conduct of the war be kept in being. From such neighborhood centers an intelligent interest in conditions which will face us after the war will radiate into the problems of industry and democratic control. The spread of knowledge of our crops, the actual measures in selection of seed and method of cultivation which are known to the experts but still hidden from most of our farmers should be carried out in such fashion that the machinery will continue in operation when peace is declared. The whole problem of farm labor must be studied under favorable conditions not only for the good of the whole community, but for the special advantage of the rural community. The lists of possible fields of intensive work all looking toward social reconstruction now and after peace is declared could proceed for many pages. They present the only opportunity for legitimate profiteering which the war offers. The social worker in his organization should speak with the authority after the war with which so many of them are speaking now.

Finally, should there not arise out of this organization and the trained men and women gathered here, a central body which will make it its business to come into touch with all the war-time social activities, to fix the location of the social material which is coming into being, to indicate possible lines of development as well as exploitation, to serve not only as a clearing house, but as a means of stimulating and directing other groups of individuals in fashioning out of our present activities the social balance which the community can draw from the conflict? It would lead, perhaps, not to such a program as that of the English Labor Party, but to a statement of what the conditions are which will be necessary for an intelligent response of the whole country to the national and international problems we must face in the immediate future.



## RED CROSS RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN FRANCE AS AN EXAMPLE TO THE UNITED STATES

*George W. Simmons, Manager, Southwestern Division, American Red Cross, St. Louis*

As a representative of the national organization of the American Red Cross it was my privilege to spend two months in France and Belgium this winter, where I had opportunity to observe there the work of this magnificent organization. I thought I knew something about it before I went abroad, for I had been thinking Red Cross, and talking Red Cross, and sleeping and dreaming and eating Red Cross for six months; but I found I really had no appreciation of the extensive and perfect organization we have on the other side. When I realized how that organization was built up I marveled the more at its efficiency. Last summer, you, the American people, gave to the American Red Cross one hundred million dollars and said, "Spend it for war relief." That was a good sized order. I defy any business man to take that amount and create over night a corporation which can spend it intelligently, yet so well has the organization done under the able leadership of Mr. Henry P. Davison, the chairman of our War Council, and the men associated with him, such as Major Grayson Murphy, James H. Perkins of New York, and the others, that, starting with the first commission which went to France at that time, they have built the organization from the top down, jumped into many emergencies, and have met them with an efficiency that is truly astonishing.

Now the Red Cross comes back to the people and says, "Last year you gave us a hundred and six million dollars to spend for you. Here is the accounting of our stewardship. This is what we have done with every dollar of it. All has been made public periodically. Out of that we have spent \$108,000,000, and not one penny for expense account,—the two millions over the original gift having been accumulated as interest in the banks. Now comes the time when we say to you, if you want this war work to continue and if you want to spend your money for war work (and if you don't want to do so now, you better go down into Mexico, or Germany,—there is no place for you in the United States), we submit that you cannot find an organization which can do better than to spend for war relief 102 cents out of every dollar you give to it." In the first place, such operating expenses as are necessary are borne from other funds of the Red Cross, secured from membership dues. Beyond that, practically all the higher priced positions are filled by men who volunteer their services and pay their own expenses and thus are able to serve their country by placing at its disposal the result of their business experience and achievement.

### *Prepared for Reoccupancy of Belgium*

I wish I might take you to Belgium, where I saw Col. Ernest Bicknell, Red Cross Commissioner to Belgium, and for a week went



with him through the institutions established for the care of cripples, widows and orphans, and for the upbuilding of the refugees, and the housing of them. Even in Paris and its vicinity we have a number of large chateaus loaned to the American Red Cross, and have there erected many buildings which have been sold to the refugees and furnished, (to be paid for on easy terms that can easily be met) out of what these people earn, plus advances made by the government. Then when the war is over they can take these portable houses to northern France and Belgium. In Belgium we are operating largely through the "Children of the Yser," which has some fifty-seven colonies of children under the direction of able Belgium men and women,—yet the American people are furnishing most of the clothing and food for them. One experience was where little children were lined up on both sides of the steps of an institution as we came in, singing the first verse of America. That was their way of showing appreciation. One little girl was pointed out to me by the sister in charge as having come from behind the lines in Belgium, almost starved and terribly frightened. She was asked at her first meal in the institution if she would have an egg. "What, a whole egg for me, all alone, at one time?" And she went on to tell how sometimes it was a week between eggs, and then one egg had to be divided between her and her two brothers. In a room in that building was a dormitory where cribs were lined up, and every crib had a gas mask hanging on it,—which told its own story.

I wish I might show you as an example of the magnificent work done in France the immense hospital and school near Toul, where seven hundred children from the frontier are being cared for under the direction of Dr. Maynard Ladd of Boston. There we teach the French mothers how to raise their babies on the American plan, and Oh, how those mothers chatter at us when we won't let the baby have his bottle every time he cries for it; when we substitute pure condensed milk and a sanitary nipple for the dirty wine or beer bottle of sour milk which the mother has been carrying around and pushing in the child's mouth whenever he whimpers, they think we are cruel; but in a little while, when they see the little bodies of these babies grow pink under the daily scrubbings of the American Red Cross nurses; when they cry less and coo more—Oh, how thankful those mothers are that you are imprinting upon the future citizens of France your American progress and civilization.

It was at Toul that I saw a little boy, whose story I have told many times—little Gaston Tyrol. He was just eight months old when I saw him, and he weighed less than eight pounds, but he will come through under the scientific care of Doctor Ladd and his associates. Madame Tyrol, when her farm had been destroyed and when her husband was fighting in the trenches, went back to that little farm to work. Every time the Germans saw her in the field in the day time, they dropped a shell down on her, and she had to run to the cover of

her dug-out. There she remained burrowed like an animal under ground day after day and week after week alone. At night, however, she came out with her gas mask around her neck, and alone under the stars she plowed and sowed and reaped thirty acres of wheat. Last August she took ten days vacation to give birth to her baby. When she left the baby with Dr. Ladd at Toul she had no hatred in her soul for the Germans for what they had done to her, but she stamped her foot in womanly vexation because they would not let her work in the day time when she could accomplish so much more than when they made her work at night. Then she said to Doctor Ladd, "Good-bye, Doctor, I must go back to my little farm. I know you Red Cross people will take good care of my baby, but France needs my grain more than my baby needs me."

Madame Tyrol is typical of the women of France who have been paying the price over there and who have made the French men the fighters they are today. It is no wonder, therefore, when we see what these women have had to contend with that General Petain said: "But for the assistance of the American Red Cross I doubt if we could have held out, and by this time the war might have been over." And that, of course, meant a German victory.

#### *System of Red Cross Supervision*

From various base points where the hospital is maintained we run a number of teams consisting of a Red Cross doctor, Red Cross nurse, Red Cross chauffeur, and a Red Cross car. Each team has a certain number of villages assigned to them where they hold clinics at regular intervals and take care of civilian population in the surrounding country. Those who in the opinion of the mayor of the town cannot afford to pay are given this service free, but those who can afford it are charged what a French doctor would have charged. The money thus collected is set aside by the Red Cross to be expended exclusively for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the French doctors who have died in the war.

Not only are we thus benefiting the civilian population, but we are practically eliminating contagious disease in the territory surrounding the American military camps. And we have helped to make the American army the healthiest army in the world. The report on venereal diseases which I saw indicated .034 per thousand, or less than one-third of one per cent, a figure not reached in any of the large cities in the country. Furthermore, the day I saw the figures there had not been one single case of alcoholism reported in the entire American Expeditionary Forces.

We are doing a great work in Paris and vicinity as well as in many other parts of France in handling the refugees who come from the devastated areas, as well as those who come from behind the German lines and are returned into France through Evian. At that beautiful

city, high over Lake Geneva and on the Swiss border, we are receiving and examining about five hundred children every day, and maintaining a great hospital in two of the big resort hotels of that famous watering place. We have almost entirely prevented the spread of contagious disease in France, which was the result of the promiscuous entry of diseased children in Germany. These refugees come through at the rate of some twelve hundred every day, and for them homes are found in all parts of France.

Tuberculosis was spreading very rapidly throughout France when the French government called upon the American Red Cross to assist them. In cooperation with the Rockefeller foundation and under the able direction of our own Doctor White, we are making rapid progress in the anti-tuberculosis campaign, which will remove this scourge from over-burdened France.

In Paris and in the suburbs surrounding it, we are doing magnificent work, which I had the privilege of inspecting in the company of the chief of our department of civil affairs, a man who has done more perhaps than any other to make the American people thoroughly beloved by the French people. I refer to Homer Folks.

#### *Effect on French Morale*

Possibly the most important thing that the Red Cross has done has been to help to reestablish the morale of the French people at the time when it was down near the breaking point. It was only a year and a half ago, in the coldest winter that France had ever known, when coal was selling at more than \$100.00 a ton, that a French soldier coming home for his ten days "permission" found his wife and his children starving and freezing to death, and he would not go back to the trenches—he preferred to stay and die with his loved ones rather than leave them in their extremity. Then you came to her rescue and sent your American Red Cross there, and today it is a mighty different story.

Up and down the lines of the French army a representative inquires of the French soldiers, "What do you hear from the folks at home? Is there anything they need?" And the soldier replies, "I had a letter from my wife yesterday. She tells me she has plenty of fuel and food to last all winter, and that an American doctor is coming to see the baby." When you remember that many big cities have not had an able-bodied doctor in them for almost three years, do you wonder that now the French soldier goes back into the trenches a different man, absolutely determined to fight it out to the finish, because he knows that even if he pays the supreme penalty and gives his life for France, that his friends from America will surely take care of the loved ones he leaves behind him.

When your Red Cross went into France, we did it on this broad principle as outlined by our Chief, Henry P. Davison: The fact that the United States entered this war in 1917 when there were no new

issues involved, is an admission that it has been our war from the start, although we as a nation did not realize it for almost three years. Therefore, until we can take our place in the line with the military strength commensurate with our resources, we, the American people, through our agent, the American Red Cross, extend to you who have been fighting our fight for us all these years, the friendly handgrasp of a hundred million American people to let you know that we appreciate what you have done, and now we are in it with you to see it through to a successful finish.

I bring home from France the firm conviction that the final determination of this war will come when the American people recognize that it is not a war of armies and navies, but is a war of nations. Unless we think as a nation, and act as a nation, we cannot fight as a nation. At first we did not back up our men over there as well as we are doing now. Instead of a half million men whom we probably have in France today, we will send three million men, or possibly five million men, a year or two hence. Then we shall learn what it means and what kind of sacrifices we here at home shall be called to bear. Right now we are asked to enroll some twenty thousand trained nurses for foreign service. Surely, that is one of the first obligations of Red Cross, for if we send our boys over there to fight for us, the least we can do is to take care of those who are injured.

The greatest danger that we have to face today is the German propaganda, because it is so insidious that we often do not recognize it and are apt even ourselves to unwittingly pass it along. The German propaganda is trying to create not only discord among our people, dissatisfied with a little inconvenience that the war is causing us in the matter of our daily lives, but is also trying to create friction between us and our allies. Fortunately we are now becoming more and more alive to this fact and realize the effort that the Germans make through their insidious propaganda to accomplish what they cannot do by force of arms.

One of the biggest men in England said to me, "I would a dozen times rather fight the German army than I would the German propaganda, because you can tell where to find the German army and you never can tell under what disguise the German propaganda is going to come up or where it will show its ugly head."

Today upon the broad democratic principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, we select the best flesh and blood of our nation and send those young men over there to fight, and perhaps to die. That is right. We also have the obligation as a nation to say to the man who is building ships, or mining coal, or growing grain, or doing anything else in this country, in fact to say to every man and woman in this country what their share in winning the war is, and see that they do it. Beware of a German peace offensive which would endeavor to bring a termination of hostilities on any other basis than a righteous peace.



There can be no peace unless it is based upon righteousness. This is a conflict of Christianity, against Kaiserism, and if God ever spoke to a nation on this earth, and called it to his service, he is calling us to his service today. It makes no difference how we serve, but every one of us must serve through the channels in which that service can best be rendered. Remember that the casualty lists will soon be coming back to us in immensely increased numbers. Thus far they have just been mere names to most of us and they have not been brought close to home, but we must all be prepared to receive that notice which the government sends to the families of those who have made the supreme sacrifice and given their life for their country. Pray God that those of us who remain here at home may by our every thought, word, and deed, prove ourselves worthy of those loyal men who are dying for us.

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## THE WORLD'S FOOD AND WORLD POLITICS

*Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago*

Nearly a decade ago, in addressing this organization, I reminded my colleagues of the social utility of compassion and cited gradual changes in the governmental approach to national problems for which humanitarians had been responsible.

May I tonight draw your attention to the profound modifications now taking place in the official relationships between a group of nations and suggest that these changes in international politics are also due to the operation of the same basic human emotion.

It would be possible to illustrate something of this elementary change from the governmental recognition of the Red Cross and its service in co-operation with government officials in Belgium, France, Italy, Servia and Roumania. But, perhaps, because I have been somewhat identified with the Federal Department of Food Administration, I find it easier to trace this shifting of values through governmental action in regard to food supplies.

There are such unexpected turnings in the paths of moral evolution that it would not be without precedent if, when the producing and shipping of food on the part of great nations was no longer a commercial enterprise but had gradually shifted to a desire to feed hungry people with whose governments they had entered into obligations, that a new and powerful force might be unloosed in the world and would in the future have to be reckoned with as a factor in international affairs.

In these dark years, so destructive of the old codes, the nations are forced back to their tribal function of producing and conserving food in contrast to the methods of modern commerce. All food supplies have long been collected and distributed through the utilization of the commercial motive. When it was commercially valuable to a man, to a firm or a nation, food was shipped; when it was not commercially valuable, food was withheld or even destroyed.



At the present moment, however, the Allied Nations are, as you know, collecting and conserving a common food supply and each nation is facing the necessity of making certain concessions to the common good that the threat of famine for all may be averted. A new internationalism is being established day by day; the making of a more reasonable world order, so cogently urged by the President of the United States, is to some extent already under way, the war itself forming its matrix.

Does the present state of affairs indicate a new order—the substitution of the social utility motive for that of commercial gain, energized pity for that of business enterprise? Mr. Hoover has recently said: "The wheat loaf has ascended in the imagination of enormous populations as the positive symbol of national survival. . . . We have in the distribution of this commodity above all others a duty that far transcends mere commerce. . . . The spirit of commerce must pass from gain to exalted idealism."

But all this implies, of course, a revolution in the governmental relationships between nations.

It is said that there was no one in August, 1914, who could have told precisely what the world's stock of wheat amounted to, although there were many men who knew enough about world wheat production and wheat consumption to predict price changes with approximate accuracy.

The dealer for the most part concerns himself only with the profit and is not primarily concerned in feeding the world unless the world can pay for it. Even Joseph, who made the historic record in feeding the hungry during the seven years of famine in ancient Egypt, charged such prices for his grain that the Egyptians were so stripped of their property and land and of their very personal liberty, that to this day they have not recovered them. The nations in their long exchange of food stuffs so constantly discuss tariffs and commercial rights that at moments international politics itself seems a mere atavistic survival from an earlier period into an age of commerce.

This means that in their intercourse with each other, they have exhibited that aspect of national life which is least human and least spiritual. In their diplomatic intercourse, the nations were so concerned with their self-interests, that they evolved no desire for social co-operation. This lack of co-operation may account for the fact that the various efforts made at the Hague and elsewhere to establish more human relationship were comparatively futile and they may have deserved the limbo to which they have apparently been relegated.

John Dewey has recently attributed the failure of recent discussion of international courts and leagues to the fact that there was nothing upon which to focus the scattered moral energies and to make operative a new moral idea. The enthusiasts, having nothing to work upon, were obliged to consider only the negative proposition of preventing war, they had none of the positive incentive which arises from looking after economic and social needs.

Is not this coming together to feed the world a recognition of a great

moral obligation and is not the generous attempt to fulfill it constantly bringing into existence new obligations which may form the natural and normal foundation for a genuine international government?

Up to the present moment the nations, in their foreign relations, have totally lacked that modification which has come in their domestic policies by the increasing care for the poor, the concern for the man at the bottom, the protection of children, which have led to all sorts of ameliorative legislation during these later years.

In domestic affairs modern states to some extent at least consider the real interests of the citizens. Slowly and gradually they have learned to formulate the lessons from experience and to embody them in permanent governmental institutions.

All this is analagous to the foreign policy evolving between the Allied Nations in their efforts to relieve the starvation and distress of the prolonged war.

Is the present lack of organization between the nations, the dearth of human relationships in world politics, at last to be corrected, because an unspeakable disaster has forced the nations to consider together the primitive questions of famine and of pestilence? Is a new international ethics arising from these humble beginnings, as the defense and feeding of the dependent members of the tribe laid the foundations of tribal loyalty and of national existence itself? In spite of the great mass of social data accumulated in the last century, in spite of widespread intellectual training, there has been no successful attempt to reduce the chaos of human affairs into a rational world order. Society failed to make a community of nations and is at last tragically driven to the beginnings of one along the old primitive folkways, as if in six thousand years no other method could have been devised.

To make a hasty review of the situation and starting with our own experience in the United States, you all recall the abnormal speculation in wheat which took place in the harvest of 1916, made possible by the entire dislocation of transportation in the world's wheat trade. The serious results of this period of speculation furnished overwhelming evidence to Congress of the necessity for some form of governmental control and after much discussion a Department of Food Administration was authorized. The new department was thus from the beginning identified with a world situation and one of its earliest publications made an analysis of the world's resources and stated the obvious causes for the world-wide deficit. The department stated that this food crisis was due, first of all, to the poor harvest of 1916 in both hemispheres, illustrated by Argentina, which has long been an exporting country, but that year had barely enough wheat for its own use.

In addition to the universal bad harvests, the war had made a tremendous diversion of man power from the fields to the firing line. Forty million men were in active army service, ten million had already lost their lives or were helplessly disabled, twenty million men and women were supporting the armies by their war activities, such as the manufacture of

munitions, and perhaps as many were in definite war industries, such as shipbuilding. Of course, not all these people were before the war directly engaged in producing food, but many of them were, and others were transporting or manufacturing it, and their wholesale withdrawal wrought havoc both in agriculture and in industry.

The European fields, worked by women and children and in certain sections by war prisoners, were lacking in fertilizers which could not be brought from remote ports nor be manufactured as usual in Europe, because nitrates and other such materials are essential in ammunition.

The U-boats constantly destroyed food-carrying ships, over a million tons were torpedoed in four months of last year and many remote markets had become absolutely isolated. Owing to this greatly lowered production and to the dearth of ships, more than one hundred million people in Europe have come to depend largely upon what can be sent from the United States, upon what the American farmer can raise and the American women can save.

Mr. Hoover, appointed by the President as head of the Department of Food Administration, had been in intimate contact with the backwash of war for two and a half years and even then had come to see that the political relations at least between Belgium and her Allies had completely shifted from the commercial to the humanitarian. To quote from a speech he delivered last month: "For three years three million bushels monthly of North American wheat, largely from the charity of the world, has been the daily bread of ten million human beings in Belgium and Northern France. To those who doled out this scant allowance, wheat became indelibly the precious symbol of life and to those who received it the symbol of the greatness and the charity of America."

With such a background it was to be expected that the Department of Food Administration should from the beginning have carried out comprehensive plans; should have announced that the situation was more than war, that it was a question of humanity and that the obligation on the part of the United States to feed Europe had become actually independent of any political or military events which might intervene in the immediate future.

The department has undertaken to know, as well as human beings can, what food supplies are available, especially those that have critical value in conducting the war; how much must be set apart for the armies and the Allies to keep them going; how much must be reserved for the actual needs of our own people. The Food Administrator constantly confers with the representatives in Washington of the Neutral as well as of the Allied Nations, that there may be as equitable a distribution as possible of existing supplies. It is all considered from the point of view of needs of the whole.

It is easier to do this because each of the Allied Nations, in addition to feeding the soldiers and the munition makers who are directly concerned in the tragic business of "winning the war," has also become responsible for feeding its entire civilian population. The appointment of

food controllers, the issuing of bread cards and the system of rationing, is undertaken quite as much in the interest of just dealing in food supplies as for food conservation itself. At the present moment, the British government itself has undertaken the responsibility of providing the British Isles with all its imported food, and other belligerent and neutral nations have been obliged to pursue the same course in order to avert starvation. Commercial competition has been suppressed, not in response to any theory, but because it could not be trusted to feed the feeble and helpless.

In the United States we are at present importing so little food that our system of control is applied to exports and our savings have the over-sea needs constantly in mind. In an address made by Mr. Hoover at Pittsburgh, April 8th, 1918, he said: "Every export from the United States today is under control. It is controlled that it may serve the positive military ends of the government." To transfer this concern for food into the international field is to enlarge its functions enormously as well as to increase its proportions. The Allied Nations have seriously tackled the problem of producing with the utmost economy of human labor the largest possible amount of food and of distributing that food to the points of greatest need, they have been forced to make international arrangements for its distribution, exactly as intelligently as they are producing war supplies and sending out soldiers to fight an international cause.

The methods of this food distribution have been enormously influenced by the experience in Belgium. Fifteen million dollars each month are lent to that unhappy nation by the United States, which has taken over the responsibility of feeding her beleaguered population. This amount is spent here for food and its value is carefully considered by the Division of Research in Nutritive Values in the Department of Food Administration. This Division undertakes to know, as well as science can tell, what are the necessary daily rations to maintain health and strength in the several occupations, and how the requirements can best be met from the stores on hand. Such words as adequate nutrition and physiological values have been made practical issues and the administrative world represented by governmental officials is today seriously considering the production of food and the feeding of human beings in the light of pure science.

I need not remind my audience that all this on a huge scale is exactly the sort of experimentation which has been back of the most successful governmental action within the nations. It is no small achievement to have devised a workable method for the collective purchase of food, to prohibit profiteering in "the precious stuff that men live by," even for the duration of the war. The Food Administrator for the United States certainly reported progress the other day when he said: "Our food exports are directed towards but a few hands on the other side of the water. The European governments have been compelled to undertake, as the consequence of shortage in supplies, the single-handed purchase of their supplies both for civil and military purposes. There has grown up an



enormous consolidation of buying for a hundred and twenty million European people—a phenomenon never before witnessed in the economic history of the world."

With this accomplishment may we not hope for world order in other directions as well? Certainly some of the obstructions are giving way. An English economist has recently said: "The war has, so far, in Europe generally, thrown the custom tariffs flat." Are they, perhaps, disappearing under this onslaught of energized pity for worldwide needs? And is a motive power, new in the relations between nations being evolved in response to hunger and dependence as the earliest domestic ethics had been? Is it becoming clear that nations cannot oppose their political frontiers as an obstacle to free labor and exchange without suffering themselves and causing suffering; that the world is faced with a choice between freedom in international commerce or international conflicts of increasing severity? Under this new standard of measurement, preferential tariffs inevitably disappear because the nation denied the open door must suffer in its food supplies; the control of strategic waterways or interstate railroad lines by any one nation who might be tempted to consider only the interest of its own commerce, becomes unthinkable. All that then would be necessary to secure the internationalization of the Straits of Bosphorus would be a demonstration of the need in Western Europe for Russian wheat, which is now exported so capriciously; the international building and control of a railroad into Mesopotamia would depend, not upon the ambition of rival nations, but upon the world's need of the food which could again be secured from the capacious valley of the Euphrates by the restoration of the canal system so long ago destroyed. Servia would be assured a railroad to the sea through a strip of international territory, because ready access to seagoing ships is so necessary to a nation's food and because one of the principal causes of the economic friction that so often lie behind wars is the fear of countries that have no ports lest the neighboring country through which their export and import trade has to pass should hamper and interrupt the transit.

But such action would establish at least six out of the fourteen points laid down on January 8th by President Wilson as a program for the permanent peace of the world. It would, moreover, be not a counsel of perfection, but an actual achievement. This widespread response to the human demand of supplying food to the world may become the great factor in securing a permanent peace at the end of the war. To declare that this is a "war to end war" and that the next peace commission must provide for an enduring peace is, of course, not enough. Never was so much said about bringing war to an end forevermore, as by the group of Allied Nations who waged the last campaign against Napoleon. They declared in the grandiloquent phrases they used so easily and which we rather avoid, that their aims were "the reconstruction of the moral order," "a regeneration of the political system of Europe," and "the establishment of an enduring peace founded upon a just redistribution of political forces." But Napoleon was "crushed" and none of their moral hopes



were fulfilled. The mere protestations were too negative, there was no real basis upon which to build the new world order.

It is possible that the more sophisticated questions of national grouping and territorial control would gradually adjust themselves if the paramount human question of food for the hungry be fearlessly and drastically treated upon an international basis. The League of Nations, destined to end wars, upon which the whole world led by President Wilson, is fastening its hopes, may be founded not upon broken bits of international law, but upon ministrations to primitive human needs. The League would then be organized *de facto* as all the really stable political institutions in the world have been.

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### PROTECTIVE WORK FOR GIRLS IN WAR TIME

*Maude E. Miner, Secretary, New York Probation and Protective Association; formerly Chairman of the Committee on Protective Work for Girls of the Commissions on Training Camp Activities*

The Committee on Protective Work for Girls, appointed by the Commission on Training Camp Activities of the War and Navy Departments has since October 1, 1917, been securing the appointment of protective officers in cities and towns near the training camps, aiding in the establishment of places of detention for girls and promoting educational work through its supervisors and field workers.

#### I. PROTECTIVE OFFICERS

For the organization and promotion of the protective work, district supervisors have been appointed. Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin has been organizing and supervising work in the Southern district; Miss Virginia Murray in the Southeastern district; Miss Mabelle B. Blake in the Northeastern district; Mrs. Edith J. Mitchell in the Eastern district; Miss Jessie F. Binford in the Central district, and Mrs. Lola G. Baldwin in the Western district.

From Fort Worth, Atlanta, Boston, New York, Chicago and Tacoma, the supervisors have been working out into the surrounding states and cities, making surveys of the girl problem in the different camp communities and towns and cities near camps, organizing local committees and securing additional protective officers and increased provision for safeguarding girls.

As the result of the efforts of the Committee on Protective Work for Girls and the local committees, 75 protective officers have been placed at work near 30 of the 32 national army and national guard camps, near 10 naval training camps and stations, at 7 aviation and embarkation camps and forts, and in 6 cities where large numbers of soldiers and sailors are stationed.

Trained women of previous experience in social work have been chosen as protective officers. Some have had experience as probation

officers; others have worked in juvenile protective associations and in different organizations dealing with girls. In order to secure a group of competent workers, it has been necessary to create an employment department under the committee.

The difficulty in getting a sufficient number of women with special training for this work has shown the necessity of training courses for protective workers. Three such courses with lectures and opportunities for field work have been held—one in New York City at the New York School of Philanthropy, in cooperation with the Girls' Protective League; another at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, in cooperation with the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, and a third at the Boston School of Social Workers, in cooperation with the Women's Patriotic League of Massachusetts.

In many cities where protective work has been established, local committees have been organized and the work developed under a Girls' Protective Bureau. One protective officer is the director of the bureau and others are appointed to help in the work. In several communities volunteer patrols have worked under the bureau. The local committees in some cities are a part of existing organizations; in others they are independent of other local organizations; in a few, as in Petersburg, Va., and Greenville, S. C., they have been appointed officially by the mayor of the city.

#### *Duties of Protective Officers*

The work of protective officers is varied. They do scouting work on the streets, in and near the camps and about the amusement parks to discover young girls who are in need of protective care and those who are becoming delinquent. They frequently take these girls to their homes, talk with their mothers and do personal follow-up work with the girls.

Protective officers go to dance halls, moving picture theaters and other amusement places to observe the character of entertainment, to see whether ordinances are being enforced and to find girls who have been reported as runaways from home. They investigate the cases of runaway and stranded girls who have come to camp cities in search of men who have promised marriage, and often arrange for these girls to return to their homes in other cities. The marriage of young girls with soldiers has become increasingly a problem, especially in states where marriage laws are lax.

Protective officers visit the camps on Sundays and other visiting days when there is a great influx of young women to them. They stay after many of the visitors have gone to discover young girls who are lagging behind. If, as in some camps, dances are given in the barracks on Sunday afternoon, they attend these. If girls hide in the trenches, as they have occasionally done, protective officers go down and take them out. Protective officers discover whether regulations regarding the admission of women are being observed and in many instances have brought

the necessity of more strict regulations to the attention of camp officials. These reports show the necessity of uniform regulations concerning the admission of women to the camps, the need of greater care with regard to the granting of passes, and the naming of a closing hour so that visitors will leave the camp before dark.

Protective officers observe the conduct of women employees in the camps and when necessary make recommendations concerning better supervision of women workers in the camp laundries, post exchanges, restaurants and in the amusement places in the camp and camp zone. As the result of a report with regard to eleven girls at one camp who were diseased or immoral, they were discharged from the post exchanges and laundry. One concessionaire who employed young girls in the post exchange admitted that it was not necessary, but said he preferred to employ them as they sold more merchandise to the soldiers. Investigations were made concerning immoral conditions in the laundry at another camp where provision for the housing, transportation and supervision of the workers has been inadequate.

As the result of a questionnaire sent out, protective officers have reported that approximately 5,000 girls and women are being employed within the camps and in the telephone exchanges, post exchanges, restaurants, laundries, offices and hospitals. The telephone operators have been carefully supervised by chief operators and matrons employed by the telephone company, who are on duty day and night. Chief operators have discharged some girls who were making appointments over the telephone, but such fine discipline has been maintained among the group of workers that no serious complaints have come. Difficulties have arisen among workers in other departments, such as laundry and post exchange, where there has not been sufficient care taken in the employment and supervision of the workers. The absence of an *esprit de corps* among these other workers has also made supervision still more essential.

Protective officers are constantly being called upon to assume greater responsibility for supervising women employed in the amusement zones and the concessions just outside the camp. Many young women appear as workers in the small stands, booths, restaurants, stores and amusement places near the entrance to the camp. At Green Park, near Camp Lewis, concessions have been granted to 56 out of 2,000 applicants, ranging from \$250 for a small stand to \$10,000 plus percentage of profits, for a vaudeville house. The supervision of the three hundred or more girls employed in this park brings a great responsibility to the protective workers in that camp district, and demands a large force of protective officers.

To lessen the moral problems among women employees in the camps and the camp zones it is important that employment of women be limited to necessary work; that no girls under 21 years of age be employed; that suitable housing facilities be provided by the government; that physical examinations be required and that a plan be adopted for the enlistment and military control of all women working for the government in connection with the military establishment.

The investigations of protective officers have not only shown that the women should be under government control, but that all such places as post exchanges, laundries, restaurants, hotels, theaters and other amusement places in the camp or camp zone should be under the control of the government. It is clear that no more private concessions should be granted by camp commanders and that existing concessions should be withdrawn. In view of the serious problems which have arisen in places where private concessions have been granted, and the serious problems which will inevitably arise if this system is allowed to fasten itself more completely upon the camps, it is imperative for the government to take action in this.

Protective officers help in enforcement of laws where young girls are complainants against men for criminal assault and other serious offenses. They do not enforce laws against vice or go out to the streets to arrest prostitutes. Although most of the protective officers have police power in the city or town, or power of deputy sheriff in the county, they do not use this power except in cases of extreme emergency.

Because of the lack of probation officers in many of the camp communities, it has been necessary for protective officers to do some probation work for delinquent girls, making investigations in cases of young girls who have been arrested, arranging for physical or mental examinations and receiving girls on probation or securing their commitment to institutions. Lists of young women named by soldiers as sources of venereal infection have been given by camp officials to protective officers for investigation, and medical treatment has been secured for many of these girls. The large amount of work to be done with delinquent girls in connection with the courts and the Red Cross clinics has shown the necessity of organizing a force of probation officers and medical social service workers.

#### *Volume of Work; Chief Problems*

The reports received from protective officers for the six months from October 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918, showed the number of girls cared for by protective officers as 3,820; the number of illegitimate births and pregnancies 71, for forty-three of which soldiers or sailors in the service were responsible; the number of runaway girls as 204. The number reported as suffering from venereal disease was 270. Eighty-eight girls were examined for their mental condition and 42 were found to be feeble-minded. Twenty-one bigamous marriages were reported, seven in which soldiers have been previously married and fourteen in which the girl was already married. Sixteen violations of the federal white slave act were reported and thirty cases of criminal assault and statutory rape.

Although incomplete, these figures are indicative of the situation as observed and reported by protective officers. There is a girl problem in the camp communities which differs greatly in different towns and cities. Up to the present time, it has not become a serious problem



through increased numbers of illegitimate births and pregnancies. After thorough investigation, it may be said that none of the many sensational stories which have been heard in camp communities or announced in newspapers, regarding the large number of pregnant girls who claim soldiers and sailors as fathers of their children, has been found to be true. The story of fifty or more pregnant girls in a camp town is usually found to be based on the experience of some one or two girls in the community. Of 217 fornication and bastardy cases in the municipal court in Philadelphia from October 1, 1917, to March 1, 1918, 30 involved men who were in the draft or who had joined the service after the offense was committed, but in only one case was the man in the service when the offense was committed.

The girl problem has increasingly been found to be a problem of venereal disease. It has been discovered that young girls were infected—girls who have been at work in the towns and cities and who do not belong to the ranks of professional prostitutes. Not until increased facilities are available for the physical examination and treatment of diseased girls and accurate records are taken, will the truth about this part of the problem be fully known.

Feeble-mindedness is an important factor in the girl problem, but as yet we have almost no facilities in camp communities for diagnosing or caring for the feeble-minded.

Very few serious crimes by soldiers or sailors against young girls have been reported. One such case in which two 13-year-old girls were complainants was referred by the protective officer at Camp Dix to the judge advocate and was tried by court martial. The official order was given that the soldier be sentenced for five years to the Atlanta penitentiary and dishonorably discharged from the army. A soldier from Camp Doniphan was arraigned before the district court charged with rape. The complainant was a girl 15 years of age. The judge of this court arranged a marriage, and the case against the soldier was discharged.

D. R., 15 years old, was taken in a raid on a house in Rockford, Illinois. The girl's confession involved two soldiers who were turned over by their commanders to the local police and indicted for rape. One soldier confessed in writing. In spite of conclusive evidence of guilt, the other, who was vigorously defended by the major who was assigned for this service, was found *not guilty* in the circuit court.

The dispositions in cases tried by civil and military authorities indicate clearly that much more satisfactory results are obtained when cases involving soldiers are tried by the military authorities. Some of the civil courts are very unwilling to take cognizance of these cases, and others are very lenient in their attitude toward them, apologizing in some instances for the arrest of the soldiers. It is advisable that uniform practice be observed concerning this and that, if possible, all cases involving soldiers be turned over to the military authorities.



### *Governmental Responsibility*

As the protective work has increased in the vicinity of the camps, as cities, counties and private organizations have failed to provide salaries for a sufficient number of protective officers, and as the necessity of centralized control of workers for most efficient work has been clearly demonstrated, it has become evident that the government must make provision for this important branch of work and assume responsibility for it.

Small communities are utterly unable to cope with this increased social problem which has arisen as the result of the coming of the camp. It is not worth while to argue that because they sought to have the camp come to them, they must meet and solve the problem which came with the camps. They simply cannot do it. If there is a serious health problem in a camp community, the government does not wait for the small town to solve it. It sends its own health officers to grapple with it. If there are law-enforcement problems concerning the sale of liquor to soldiers, the government sends its Department of Justice agents to ferret out offenders. Since there is need of protective work for girls, both for the sake of girls and the sake of soldiers, it is the responsibility of the government to send its own workers to do it.

Adequate government funds must be appropriated for this work, so that officers will be assigned where and when they are needed and not according to whether salaries are available in one community or another. Some cities that now have one officer should have six or eight officers. More colored workers should be employed for work in the southern cities and Mexican workers for work along the Mexican border. At least 200 women protective officers should be assigned to this duty, and the number of these should be increased as the need is demonstrated.

This force of protective officers should eventually be organized as a part of a Women's Army Corps, which should be a part of the military establishment. Government funds should be available for the salaries of these workers, as for nurses, telephone and telegraph operators, laundry workers, ambulance drivers and other divisions of women making up this Women's Army Corps. Provision for enlistment, physical and mental examinations, uniforms, and training of workers, would be similar to that made for the other divisions.

## II. HOUSES OF DETENTION AND REFORMATORIES

The lack of suitable places of detention where girls could be held temporarily and of reformatory institutions to which they could be committed has led to a campaign in many communities to secure increased facilities for the care of stranded and delinquent girls.

Investigations and work of protective officers revealed the fact that there were in many camp towns and cities no places where young girls who were stranded or runaways from home could be cared for apart from a jail, that there was no provision for separation of the

different classes of offenders in the jails, and that many of the jails were unfit for habitation. Little girls, eight, ten and twelve years of age were in the same cells with murder witnesses; young girls who had run away from home to marry soldiers or to try to get work in a camp city were in the same cells with hardened prostitutes; and girls who had never been exposed to venereal disease were associated closely with infected women. Girls were being released because judges refused to sentence them to jails, or were being sent to jails for thirty days instead of being committed to suitable reformatories. Many jails had no matrons, and girls and women were entirely under the care of men jailors.

There is need in nearly every camp community of at least one detention place supported by city or county or both, where girls can be held, where there is segregation of different classes of offenders and where there is provision for complete physical and mental examinations. The character of this place of detention varies in different communities according to the local needs and available facilities. In some cities it is virtually an extension of the station house or the local jail and receives girls under the same authority; in others it is a voluntary home and receives only girls who come voluntarily, even though it has been designated by the court as the place to which they shall go. In both cases the place of detention is usually a private house which has been rented or purchased and remodeled for this specific purpose. The cost of a place of detention for an average group of fifteen girls with adequate matron service is approximately \$5,000 a year.

The efforts to secure places of detention for girls in camp cities have resulted in part as follows:

**PETERSBURG, VA.**, has established a house of detention, which was opened February 1st. A city ordinance provides for commitment of girls to this pending their trials in the court. The city council appropriated a fund of \$6,500 for the place of detention and the salaries of workers.

**SAN ANTONIO, TEX.**, has opened a Woman's Building. A fund of \$10,000 was appropriated by the War Camp Community Service for this and for protective workers. This building has detention quarters and also rooms used by the Department of Civilian Relief of the Red Cross for stranded women and children. The average number of persons cared for each night is thirty.

**CHARLOTTE, N. C.**—City and county officials voted to combine a house detention and place of commitment and have paid \$25,000 for property for this institution.

**SPARTANBURG, S. C.**, has secured a place of detention called Carolyn House, to be maintained jointly by the city and by the Girls' Protective Bureau. The city gave and repaired the house; the Protective Bureau has supplied funds for matron service and maintenance.

**GREENVILLE, S. C.**, received an appropriation of \$2,500 from the War Camp Community Service toward a house of detention and the city has promised to help in the support of this.

**COLUMBIA, S. C.**, was urged to increase the facilities in its house of detention and to provide for others than dependent children. This has been done and additional funds have been granted.

**NEWPORT NEWS, VA.**—A fund of \$250 a month was raised by the local committee toward the house of detention.

**CHILLICOTHE, O.**—A small house with three rooms has been given for a place of detention and turned over to the Protective Bureau.

**PATCHOGUE, L. I.**—Two rooms have been given for use by protective officers as a place of detention.

**REDWOOD CITY, CAL.**—A house of detention has been secured for care of girls in San Mateo County.

**TACOMA, WASH.**—The New Shield Home of the W. C. T. U. has given one of its floors for use for stranded and runaway girls.

**ANNISTON, ALA.**—A house formerly used as a school has been promised at a

nominal rental of \$25 a month as a place of detention, and county officials have agreed to help in supporting this.

PENSACOLA, FLA.—County officials voted to appropriate one-half of the cost of a house of detention.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—The Chamber of Commerce voted \$2,500 for a house of detention on condition that a fund of \$2,500 be given. A request has also been made for use of three vacant cottages at the City Hospital for care of diseased girls.

MACON, GA.—County commissioners and the city council have promised to co-operate in the establishment of a detention home.

AUGUSTA, GA.—Investigations have been made regarding a detention home and recommendations submitted to city officials.

HOUSTON, TEX.—One individual has promised to finance and to pay rent and salaries of workers at a house of detention for three months.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—A temporary home, Euclid House, has been opened by a committee of women and the sum of \$6,000 raised for this.

ATLANTA, GA.—County officials voted \$5,000 for opening Buckhead Home as a place of commitment and \$5,000 for a ward at the City Hospital for diseased girls. The Buckhead Home has been opened.

EL PASO, TEX.—An appropriation of \$3,500 has been made by the city for a house of detention for the younger girls, and one individual has promised to secure an additional \$3,500. The county will pay the per capita cost of maintenance. A model ward has been secured for infected girls and the Red Cross has given twenty-five beds for this.

FORT WORTH, TEX.—A hospital ward for infected girls and women with a capacity of twenty beds has been secured and a large house with room for sixty-five girls has been promised as a detention home. Efforts to secure a detention house for younger girls have not been successful.

The efforts to secure appropriations from cities and counties for the rent and maintenance of these places of detention and their immediate establishment have been unsatisfactory. Even after appropriations have been secured, it has been difficult for local officials to rent suitable houses and to arrange for repairing them quickly and providing the necessary personnel.

#### *Federal Appropriation Sought*

To meet the urgent need of the present moment it became clear that the government must help to provide these places of detention or at least grant some funds for them. Consequently, a request for an appropriation for this purpose was included in the memorandum prepared by the chairman of the committee to be submitted to the Secretary of War. Although the full amount was not allowed in the appropriation it has been decided that part of the fund of \$250,000 will be available for houses of detention.

The necessity of having more delinquent girls committed to institutions for long periods of time and the lack of facilities in reformatories, especially in southern states, were responsible for the urgent request made by this committee for an appropriation from the President's emergency fund, for increasing facilities in reformatories. It was found that many of the young women discovered by protective officers needed to be sent to reformatories where they could remain for a longer time than in a city or county jail, and where they would receive the necessary medical care and industrial and moral training. The need for additional reformatory facilities was found to be greatest in four states—South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and Texas. It was also very great in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. The plan included the erection of one or more cottages at existing institutions and provision for additional personnel, including women physicians.

The appropriation requested in the original memorandum of the

committee was for \$1,000,000, including \$225,000 for protective and probation officers, \$260,000 for houses of detention, \$500,000 for reformatories and a small amount for administrative expenses. The appropriation granted was \$250,000 for providing facilities for the isolation and custody of infected women, so that its expenditure is necessarily limited to institutions.

A Committee appointed by the Committee on Protective Work for Girls, to help in standardizing institutions which receive girls and women committed by federal courts and institutions receiving federal funds, made recommendations concerning the expenditure of the fund of \$250,000 and the types of building to be erected. One type was a rectangular cottage for thirty girls, complete in itself, with kitchen, living room and single bedrooms on the first floor, and with single rooms on the second floor and sleeping porches at both ends of the building. Another unit for 60 girls consisted of two cottages with single rooms and sleeping porches and a small building between the two containing dining room, kitchen and recreation room. It was recommended that buildings be of simple construction, erected at minimum cost.

An appropriation of \$40,000 has been authorized for the South Carolina institution. At the 1918 session of the legislature in South Carolina, a bill was passed creating a reformatory for girls and appropriating \$40,000 for this.

Mrs. Martha P. Falconer who has had long experience in reformatory work, has been granted a leave of absence for six months to supervise the work relating to houses of detention and reformatories, under the Law Enforcement Division.

A step forward in improving standards of industrial training and work within the institutions will be taken with the passage of the Prison Labor Bill, providing for purchase by the government of products from institutions where wages are paid to workers.

### III. EDUCATIONAL WORK

Educational work has been done by supervisors and field workers of the committee, who have gone into communities where little was known about protective work and have told of the needs and methods of accomplishment. Meetings have been addressed by workers; many conferences have been held with groups of public officials; and conferences have been established to bring together workers of different organizations dealing with girls.

As a result, it has been possible to secure improved laws and ordinances relating to dance halls and moving picture theatres in some of these cities, to secure better lighting and policing of public parks, to secure the appointment of additional Travelers' Aid Workers and official policewomen, and increased support and help for the protective work. In Texas aid was given in securing the passage of two bills—one raising the age of consent from 15 to 18 years, and another penalizing persons contributing to the delinquency of minors. Protective work-



ers in South Carolina urged the passage of the bill establishing the state reformatory.

Groups of women have been awakened for the first time to realize their obligations for girls in the community and to understand the relationship between the girl problem and the moral and physical welfare of their sons in the training camps. The hearty response which has come to the little educational work which has been done has shown the need of a big campaign of education which will reach the mothers, the girls themselves, and the men who can help most in protecting girls.

In planning for this educational work, permission was given to the committee by Secretary of War to extend the field of this work beyond the limits of the camp cities to the important industrial cities where the need is great.

When a program of educational work was being formulated, the Committee on Protective Work for Girls received the generous offer from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of utilizing the services of Dr. Katharine B. Davis, as director of educational work. After various conferences it was finally decided to place the work of Dr. Davis under a Department of Social Hygiene, and to postpone the carrying out of the broader education program of the committee.

To secure protection for girls, it is not enough to surround them with greater safeguards, through securing protective officers and improved laws and institutions. Some effective way must be found for utilizing and organizing the patriotic service which they would render and for bringing to girls a greater understanding of safeguarding themselves. In order that young girls, some of them the wives of soldiers, may not become increasingly a part of the problem of prostitution and that the greatest protection for all girls may be secured, the women of the country must be mobilized for greater service. The need for workers in the military camps affords an opportunity for mobilizing immediately one big group of women. The increasing needs for workers in connection with the army in Europe and in military hospitals in the United States give still other opportunities.

Girls at work in offices, munition plants, and in every industry must constitute the great *reserve corps of women*, and realize that the work they do day by day is an important factor in winning the war. As all girls are fired through a deeper patriotism to put into their service the very best they have to give and to live up to the highest standards, there will be created a kind of spirit, which will be a powerful protective force. The women of America must reveal through their work the deeper meaning of service and through their clearer spiritual understanding must help to build up stronger character in the country's girlhood.



## SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN CAMP COMMUNITIES

*Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, Committee on Protective Work for Girls,  
Commission on Training Camp Activities, War  
Department, Washington, D. C.*

Texas has one-fifth of the army of our country, distributed in four cantonments and thirty-one military posts. San Antonio may be taken as a typical camp city of 110,000 population, plus 70,000 soldiers and a large number of civilians who are necessary for the maintenance of a camp, and in addition a considerable number of illegitimate camp followers. With the mobilization of thousands of men adjacent to a city with a population between 100,000 and 150,000, we have presented to us a housing problem that the country has never known in peace times. While the soldiers themselves are cared for in their camps, their wives, mothers, and the increased numbers of employees coming to the city, must all be housed with the civil population.

A very short time before war was declared San Antonio was an open city with a Mexican mayor. The segregated districts for prostitutes and gambling were advertised with large signs, some even with electric signs. We find in the Southwest few social agencies developed to the extent of the many social agencies of the East. It is necessary for the trained worker to work without tools,—hence she makes progress slowly. It is encouraging to note, however, the splendid spirit of the people of Texas and the manner in which they have grappled with their problems of mobilization.

*Manner of Attack*

On her first visit to the city, our district supervisor spends five or six days collecting data. Then she meets the city officials and frankly talks matters over with them, usually finding that they are not specially interested. The next move is to meet with various organizations in the city, such as the chamber of commerce, the Rotary club, various religious organizations and women's clubs. She then meets again with the city officials. After this a committee, including representative citizens, is appointed. This committee does the community work and directs the policy. (Dr. Katherine B. Davis is doing work in educating such groups.) After these preliminary meetings, a mass meeting is held and an attempt made to raise funds. San Antonio, whose interested citizens at first thought she had no problem, when properly informed were willing to contribute \$10,000 alone to the problem of women who came to them as a result of the mobilization program. They contributed much other money for many other purposes, but this amount was for the woman and girl problem alone.

Definite facts concerning girls from the immediate community are obtained. This is necessary to get local officials to cooperate, as they nearly always plead that the delinquent cases are from outside communities, and hence they have no responsibility in the matter. The types of cases vary greatly. There are the girls who secure a uniform and change their clothes on the outskirts of the camp in order to gain an entrance; there are the girls who come to "get rich quick." This is true especially of girls from rural districts who leave a \$3.00 or \$4.00 a week job for one at the fabulous wage of \$8.00 a week. We find many rescue homes advertising in the following manner: "Christian Home—No Questions Asked—Stay as Long as You Wish—Baby Placed." These advertisements occur in the daily newspapers. An advertisement which drew a number of girls to San Antonio was one in which "strong, young, healthy girls" were wanted to come to San Antonio "to dance with soldiers." Many girls answered the last advertisement, coming in to San Antonio, some of them not having more than 25 cents when they came to the city. These girls were received in the commercial dance halls, 2½ cents a dance. There was no municipal dance hall regulation at this time. The awakening of a social conscience in the community in regard to situations of this kind can best be accomplished through the aid of local committees.

As a result of the efforts of the various organizations the following social legislation has been passed in Texas:

1. Age of consent raised to eighteen years.
2. Law regulating contributing to delinquency of young girls changed from parents only being liable, to every adult indictable.
3. Texas did go dry, notwithstanding bitter opposition by certain forces.
4. Regulation of venereal diseases made possible.
5. Suffrage bill passed.

#### Progress in San Antonio:

1. \$10,000 fund raised.
2. Detention homes provided for delinquent girls and care for stranded wives and relatives of soldiers.

There have come to our attention some cases of prostitutes who have married enlisted men in order to get the allotment and allowance, but a bigger problem is that of the marriage of young, ignorant girls. Illegitimacy and rape are not as serious problems as we might expect. Where there is a clear-cut case of rape, military action is very quick and definite, although the men are given a fair trial.

## WORK OF THE SECTION ON REFORMATORIES AND HOUSES OF DETENTION

*Martha P. Falconer, Director, Law Enforcement Division, War Department, Commission on Training Camp Activities, Washington*

The results of the investigations of Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick along the Mexican border while our troops were stationed there in 1916 led the administration at the outbreak of the European War to adopt a vigorous program that by its recreational and suppressive measures aimed to protect our forces from venereal disease. The older attitudes in regard to prostitution have changed. No longer do we hear the argument for segregated districts. The idea is not tolerated, in view of our need for the greatest possible military efficiency. An excellent program of law enforcement was adopted to protect our men against prostitutes—but it was early discovered that if the women and girls who are arrested and convicted of prostitution or vagrancy are simply given a small fine and allowed to go, it means they go back to the same life which caused their arrest, and actually little has been accomplished.

### *Origin of the Service*

Provision for additional, suitable facilities for the care of women and girls—the work of the Section on Reformatories and Houses of Detention—was precipitated by the commitment in federal court of nineteen girls in Greenville, South Carolina, to the National Training School for Girls, Washington. This was last February. The nineteen girls arrived in Washington, to find that the National Training School was full to capacity. They had been sent from South Carolina because there were no facilities there for their detention. Where were these girls,—and the others who would in all probability be arrested under the program of law enforcement which the federal government was effecting in camp communities—to go, for treatment for venereal disease, and the training which would equip them to lead useful lives?

### *Plan of Activity*

The nineteen girls were finally placed in the excellent care of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Framingham. To provide additional facilities for the custody and care of other girls and women who are a menace to the military establishment, President Wilson set aside \$250,000 from his emergency fund. To expend that sum of money so that additional detentional and reformatory facilities for girls and women be available as quickly as possible, and to standardize facilities already existing and new ones established in this work, was the task assigned to the Section on Reformatories and Houses of Detention. It has been the further aim of this direction to make accomplishments in

this line the foundations of a permanent program for the care of delinquent women and girls.

The South had practically no facilities for such work, yet the larger proportion of the training camps are located in the southern states. Temporary provision had to be made immediately, while local programs were being developed. The Massachusetts Reformatory for Women had room for a number of girls sent through the federal court, and excellent institutions in other states were found willing to receive girls from camp communities in the South. Up to this time, about eighty girls have been sent to Framingham. It is to be hoped that use will be made of the other available reformatories which are nearer the place of commitment, as for example, the Missouri State Training School for Girls, at Chillicothe, and the Iowa Reformatory for Women, at Rockwell City. When girls are thus sent through federal court the Department of Justice pays the board, which varies with the per capita rate of the different institutions.

Meanwhile locally the work must be developed in two ways: Legal machinery must be established whereby girls and women can be held on long-term sentence, and standardized institutions must be provided for their care. Representatives of the Law Enforcement Division of the Commission, and local committees and individuals in cantonment cities and states, have been active in arousing public sentiment, and in preparing bills to be introduced in state legislatures, and ordinances in city councils. It is the work of the Section on Reformatories and Houses of Detention for Women and Girls to develop and standardize suitable places of commitment. The principle underlying both kinds of work, and the accomplishments effected, should be the foundation of continued, permanent work in the care of delinquent women and girls.

In all our work we have urged, whenever possible, the use of remodelled old buildings, rather than the erection of new structures, that the work may be started quickly and with economy of material and labor. Old school buildings and former houses of prostitution have been remodelled to serve as excellent detention or "clearing" houses, where all young women and girls arrested, with the exception of hardened prostitutes and "repeaters," can be held while awaiting trial.

Everywhere there is forced upon us a growing realization of the menace of the immoral colored girls and women, and the difficulties in many of the states of arousing public sentiment to make provision for their care. Virginia is the only state which has a reformatory for colored girls alone. Of course, in many states they are handled in the same institution as the white girls. But in a number of states there is nothing save a short jail sentence spent in idleness in unspeakable surroundings. It has been a part of the policy of this Section to meet whenever possible with groups of interested Negro citizens in the different cantonment cities and to urge them to plan and make some start in work for their women and girls that can later be taken over by the

state. And we have sought to force upon white citizens realization of the fact that the problem of the immoral colored girls and women directly affects them, and is theirs to face as much as it is for the colored themselves.

In a number of houses of detention colored girls are detained in the same building with white, but on a different floor, or in a separate wing. In two camp cities I recall it is planned to use a nearby cottage for colored under the same general management as the white division.

### *The Institutional Problem*

It has been the work of this Section not only to provide additional material detentional and reformatory facilities, but to standardize facilities already existing and those established. In all of the institutions developed we have insisted that suitable employment be given the women and girls detained. In the detention house in Newport News the girls do sewing and mending for the Quartermaster's Department. Other detention houses do work for the Red Cross, besides the work incident in the upkeep of the house.

There comes into the detention house no single type of camp follower. There is the silly little runaway girl who ought to be sent home, the feeble-minded woman for whom permanent custodial care is needed, and, in large majority, untrained, irresponsible, neurotic girls, many of them diseased, for whom long-term commitment to an institution for treatment and training is necessary if they are to be made efficient citizens.

Many of the southern states have passed excellent state health laws providing for the custody and medical treatment of women found suffering with venereal disease during the period of infection. But unless this regulation is accompanied by laws for a long-term commitment to an institution of training, which will provide, upon dismissal, "follow-up" or parole care, the good accomplished is only to a very small degree permanent. There have been excellent detention hospitals established. They are scientifically conducted as hospitals, are clean, and the women and girls show good spirit. In conversation they individually assure you, "Sure, I've had my lesson. When I get out I'm going to get a job and stick to it!" But, unfortunately, facts prove that in many cases when a girl goes out after thirty days' intensive treatment, with instructions for the next six months, it is but to return within possibly the following month. The city of New Orleans has been operating an admirable detention hospital for several months. In that time one girl has been enrolled as a patient four times. This is no fault of the hospital. It has done its work well. But the state of Louisiana, or the city of New Orleans, supplies no legal means by which these women and girls can be held beyond the period of infection, nor is there as yet any suitable institution to which they can be sent, or any established social service work to follow up cases after they leave the hospital.



How can we most quickly make provision for long-term commitment, by which we mean at least six months or a year, to a suitable place of treatment and training? Wherever there has been any beginning in a state program it has been the policy of this Section to develop and enlarge this. The South Carolina situation in regard to white girls will be solved with the completion of the Industrial School which is being built with federal aid. So in North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama and Arkansas. But in few states is there even a beginning upon a program for women, and it has been necessary to develop local ordinances and city or county institutions for their care. The use of city farms has seemed advisable until state reformatories for women are established. Prohibition, and an abundance of work, have had a splendid effect in clearing city farms of male occupants, so that in some cases it has been fairly easy to secure these facilities for women's use.

#### *Standard Requirements for Reformatories*

Whenever federal aid has been used for new buildings or to suitably equip old ones, certain requirements are established.

The location of the farm must be sufficiently isolated that the danger of troublesome outside intrusion will be minimized. But entirely to secure the institution from trouble-makers, and for the effective custody of some of the difficult women, potential guards in the person of farm help should be employed. During the period of adjustment it may be well to secure military guard to insure against trouble from the outside, as well as to avoid the possibility of disturbance from within. Everywhere delinquent women and girls must be made to feel that the government is interested in them, to come down harder and harder upon them as they prove a menace to our efficiency, and the program we offer must be constructive but firm, and must reveal the distinction between a reasonable amount of freedom and an opportunity for license. When such great demands are being made upon us all, to work or fight, there is no reason why this class of women should be allowed to be in idleness. The prejudice which exists in the South against women's engaging in manual labor makes this point sometimes rather difficult to accomplish.

These farms must be located on sufficiently tillable areas to permit the women to engage in agricultural work, as outdoor work furnishes so great an opportunity for rehabilitation of character, and because our country at the present time is in need of further agricultural development. There must always be a woman superintendent in charge of all the women committed to the farm, including their work, recreation, daily household provision and discipline. She must have the power to employ and discharge her co-workers, and must be responsible solely to a mixed board, or committee, of interested representative citizens, who have the entire management of the farm, and who select the superintendent. A program of work and recreation, to include agricultural work, must be established for the women, that there may be some work

of rehabilitation of character accomplished along with physical rehabilitation.

Such farms, which include detention hospitals, are needed at once, and again our policy has been to secure, if possible, land with some building on it, which can be repaired and converted into the necessary equipment. One city has bought an old automobile club for its city farm building for women.

Modern reformatories for women and girls, which, as separate institutions, should exist in every state, should be developed as industrial schools or colonies, located on a farm in the country. In some states where there are good state reformatories the entire problem of the care of delinquent girls and women in this unusual time has been handled through these established channels. Girls under eighteen should be committed for the remainder of their minority, with the idea of parole after two years' training in the school. Women should be given, if possible, an indeterminate sentence involving long-term parole. This is necessary if a complete program of rehabilitation and training is to be effected to supplement the plans for medical treatment which are being pushed by the Public Health Service.

The institutions must be in the hands of women, for it is a woman's job to work with women, and the women and girls committed have frequently seen a great deal of the wrong kind of men and very little of the right kind of women. Agricultural work must be developed as a feature of the place, for its rehabilitating and economic value. Fundamental academic work must be given in a school which it is possible for each woman or girl to attend some time during the day. There must be sewing, handwork, and a complete course of training in the domestic work involved in the conduct of a house,—including the laundry work. All of the work involved in the upkeep of the institution should be done by the women and girls, under direction as far as possible, for this develops a sense of responsibility that nothing else can. The humanizing and socializing effect of good music cannot be over-emphasized. The power of group-singing has been strikingly proved by the work of the camp song leaders.

Group consciousness and a sense of the individual's relation to the morale of the community can often be developed by a carefully guided system of self-government. High types of women are willing to undertake institutional work with delinquent women and girls, provided the life and spirit of the place be held at a sufficiently high level. Frequently college women will employ their excellent training in this work, and prove valuable aids in guiding a self-government system.

Everywhere we have received splendid co-operation of state and city officials. The work of the Section has of necessity progressed only as has the work of local and federal law enforcement. Its work is to develop and standardize institutions for the care of girls and women who are a menace to our men in training, but it aims to work in effect-

ing this war program so that the effort and money expended will contribute towards the establishment of an effective, permanent program for the care of delinquent women and girls.

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### HOW THE PUBLIC MAY HELP

*Katharine Bement Davis,\* Ph. D., General Secretary, Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York*

There is just one answer to the problem raised by Mrs. Falconer, and that is, *Educate the public*. Because of the war we have been given an opportunity to talk straight from the shoulder on the problems of prostitution and venereal diseases. People have not realized that there is only one way of meeting the problem, namely by education. There was a more or less general feeling that prostitution was necessary and that it could not be entirely wiped out.

A disease that affects more people than tuberculosis, and is more prevalent than any contagious disease except measles, is gonorrhea. It is hardly conceivable that this disease and syphilis, the most terrible scourge of mankind, should not have been fought and controlled like small-pox or yellow fever. The reason is, because everyone knows that these diseases are the result of wrongdoing—therefore to talk about them is taboo.

The head of the National Public Health Service has said that where malaria exists it means we must do away with swamps; and, in the same way, to get rid of venereal diseases we must do away with the cause and source of the disease. Prostitution is the great transmitter of venereal disease. If prostitution is a necessity, let us recognize it as such and make the best of it. If it is not, let us blot it out. The experience of European armies in this war has shown its destructiveness to fighting efficiency. Thank God we have Secretaries of the Army and of the Navy who are back of the movement to eliminate it entirely from our own forces. One result of their efforts is shown in the fact that our army in France is using for other purposes a hospital which was built for venereal diseases. Only one-tenth of one per cent. of our soldiers are thus afflicted. This is the greatest record of any army in Christendom.

A well known military man said recently, "We have done all we can in the army, both by education and by treatment. We can do nothing more till the general public does its part." There has been some criticism of the rigid prophylactic measures adopted by our War Department. This same opposition was found in England at the beginning of the war, among church people and social workers. They felt it was only another method of regulating prostitution. As a result of this opposition the English army was materially handicapped. However, our

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army and navy do not stop with the prophylactic treatment. They also put forth consistent efforts to educate the men to the belief that safety lies only in continence. They are using every possible method to teach the boys self-control. Every man must attend lectures on hygiene, where he is told of the dangers he runs through self-indulgence, that the only way to keep clean is to stay away from the source of infection, and that at this time a man is a traitor who takes any chance of rendering himself unfit to fight.

It has been proven to be shameful truth, through the statistics of the examinations of the drafted men, that venereal disease is more prevalent in civilian communities than in the army.

It is quite as important that local communities should be educated as that the men of the army and navy should learn self-control. Indeed, if the war is to be won, it will be by the efficiency of labor as well as of fighting men.

Women are gradually securing more and more influence and political power. It is up to them to help the government in its campaign. Organizations of women, such as clubs of all kinds, have been asked to use a part of their program in educating themselves along these lines. They must help form public opinion. We have an opportunity such as we have never had before. The leading physicians of the country are taking the stand that continence is compatible with the highest physical and intellectual development. The United States government is behind us. If we take the stand now that we will blot out prostitution and venereal disease, we have the opportunity of the centuries to bring it to pass.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder*, superintendent, Reformatory for Women, Framingham, Mass.: When the extent of the problem involved in the care of girls and women from war camps became evident, the United States government asked the existing reformatories to help in their care. The Massachusetts Reformatory for Women offered to care for 150 women. To date (May, 1918) we have 26. All, so far, are from the southern camps. They are children really. They have worked in the cotton mills since they were 9 or 10 years of age. Then came the big emotion, and they drifted to the camps! Now they are in a reformatory in the North, getting the education they should have had long ago. Having arrested them, the question is, will the government hold them long enough to cure them of venereal disease? They are 100 per cent gonorrheics and 68 per cent syphilitic. The federal government needs a law relating to venereal disease similar to the Massachusetts law, which holds venereally infected persons until they are "no longer a menace to public health."

2. *Albert S. Johnstone*, secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Columbia, S. C., said that the Governor of South Carolina was responsible for much of the social work of the state. The social legislation put through includes:

1. Insitution for mental defectives.

2. Institution for delinquent girls.
3. Injunction and abatement law.
4. Any woman convicted of a crime must be examined for venereal disease and cared for until a "reputable physician shall certify in writing that such woman is free from all transmissible venereal disease."

3. Others who have participated in the informal discussion were: Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Alexandria, Va.; Gertrude Gogin, New York, and Arthur W. Towne, Brooklyn. They made the points that any appeals that are made to the patriotism or to any other motive of these girls must be backed up by a definite program by personal improvement; and that the juvenile court should be given authority to grant all permits for child marriages. Girls who present problems in connection with southern training camps were described as ranging from nine to eighteen years of age. Many girls of twelve or thirteen are married to soldiers, some of whom have wives elsewhere. The governor of Virginia called a meeting of those concerned with problems of the girls around army camps.

### THE FUTURE PROSPECT OF LEADING WAR TIME EFFORTS AND MOVEMENTS

This discussion was entirely informal. Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York presided. The range and character of organizations of great prominence during the war were reviewed, and the question raised as to the projection of these efforts into the period to follow the war.

1. *Professor E. C. Hayes*, University of Illinois, Urbana, said there will be two kinds of war work continued when the war is over. There will be an unusual activity of government, and unusual activity of private agencies. Some of the war activities of the government will demonstrate the possibilities of work as to the outcome of which we were formerly in doubt. Take for example the food situation. Will manufacturers be allowed to decide whether they will or will not keep their factories going, or shall we decide what should be done, and what is necessary to industry and social welfare? Some industries, as cattle raising, have decreased because they were not protected from fluctuations due to congestion in traffic while en route to market. Will there be an attempt to control such situations? Most of us have prejudices for or against the extension of government activity, and many who favor it have been accustomed to think the action demanded cannot be obtained. We are going to find that much that we thought impractical can be done successfully.

One of the things called to our attention is vice. The war has attracted our attention to the situation and we have found we can control it in war camps. We will have to make the entire nation a great war camp. The private agencies as well as the government have found what steps to take in regard to various lines of industrial activity, and in the war camps. This knowledge will be extended and continued in other groups after the war. By cooperation of state, federal and private agencies with regard to housing, labor employment agencies and other activities we have been able to demonstrate what can be done.

We shall need a strong leadership in working out new relationships between the permanent groups after the war. We never could have done the work now being done without the aid and backing of the government.



2. *George B. Mangold*, director of the Missouri School of Social Economy, said: The war has produced a great deal of mechanical co-operation. Today we have twenty-two million Red Cross people who have, to a considerable degree, acquired the habit of working together. Mechanical co-operation must develop into spiritual co-operation in order to make itself finally successful, and it is precisely this that I think will occur.

We are asked what is to become of the social workers after the war. In the first place, there are a large number of untrained individuals who have entered social work. They will be absorbed. The better ones will be retained and the others will find much to do in the new avenues of work that will have been created. The war has pointed out our weaknesses and our sore spots, and we need to keep our eyes on them afterwards. We will have to work for the mental, physical and social efficiency of our people as we have never done before. A tremendous increase in the amount of social work will be necessary to produce that efficiency which we must attain.

In the second place, when we see the government take over industries such as the railroads and others, we come to the realization that our social welfare is more important than the welfare of any individual or group of individuals. If the needs of society are predominant in time of war, is it not true that they are also most important in time of peace? We shall soon be convinced that the individualist is socially reactionary and undesirable. The result will be an industrial and economic readjustment of vast import. If such an outcome does not follow we will have missed one of the real opportunities brought forth by the war. And throughout this change the social worker will have ample opportunity for usefulness.

3. *Shelby M. Harrison*, department of surveys and exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, called attention to the fact that people nowadays on a vast scale are awakening to the realities of their group life. He said that out of the present crisis should be developed methods and machinery for continually recording social facts and getting information about social movements before the people.

4. *Mrs. E. B. Palmer*, executive secretary, Work for the Blind, Cleveland, spoke of the difficulty in securing work for the civilian blind and suggested that hereafter there should be adopted in connection with this group in our population the methods which are in use in belligerent countries affecting soldiers blinded in battle.

5. *Ernestine L. Friedman*, of the National Board, Y. W. C. A., New York, described the efforts of her organization to meet the needs in training camp communities for wholesome recreation. She suggested that the same measures be followed in treating the recreation problem in industrial centers.

6. *Charles H. Patterson*, general secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New Orleans, spoke of the stimulation of social service which has resulted from the war and raised the question as to the continuation of this spirit after the war. He mentioned the abolition of New Orleans' noted red light district as an example of reform with regard to which social workers would need to be alert and watchful in the days to follow.

7. *Arthur H. Burnett*, director of the Cincinnati Public Health Council, advocated the extension to civilians suffering from industrial injuries of similar provisions to those that are being made for soldiers that are physically incapacitated.

8. It was voted that it was the sense of the meeting that request should be made of the proper authorities to have the care of civilian cripples included in the provision made for the care of war cripples.

9. *Mrs. Nelle G. Burger*, president of the Missouri Women's Christian Temperance Union, Clark, protested against the breweries destroying enough grain to produce 4,000,000 loaves of bread daily. She said that it required one pound of coal to produce one pint of beer; that last year 1,300 breweries used 3,000,000 tons of coal, while schools and churches were closed for lack of fuel, and while children of our own and allied countries were crying for bread.

10. A resolution was presented and referred by the chairman to the Committee on Resolutions of the Conference, demanding that the liquor traffic be stopped and urging upon President Wilson the use of the power which he has in respect to establishing war-time prohibition.

11. *I. Rubenstein*, superintendent, Federated Jewish Charities, Milwaukee, called attention to the need of enlisting and training men and women for service at home in connection with local agencies, and to the beginning in this direction that has been made in Milwaukee and Chicago. "What would it profit the nation," he asked, "if we win the war and sacrifice the spiritual and moral welfare of women and children at home?"

12. *Armand Wyle*, superintendent, Jewish Orphans' Home, Rochester, New York, called attention to the prospect of our having after the war a surplus of unskilled men in industry—an aggravation of the situation which gave us trouble before the war. He advocated the devotion of public employment agencies exclusively to finding jobs for unskilled labor.

13. *Dr. Anna L. Brown*, New York, also participated in the discussion.

## THE ROLE OF THE VOLUNTEER IN SOCIAL WORK

*Introductory Statement by the Chairman, Amelia Sears,  
Secretary, Woman's City Club, Chicago*

In our discussions of volunteers we are apt to lose sight of the fact that the entire fabric of social work as conducted by privately supported organizations is dependent upon volunteer service. Volunteer boards of directors, volunteer officers, volunteer finance committees and volunteer contributors, alone, make possible the work.

In large offices where a considerable number of people are employed a very fine balance must be kept between the training of the volunteer and the instruction to be given the younger members of the staff. It is unwise in an effort to do justice to the volunteer and to save him from "uninteresting tasks," to do injustice to the paid staff member, and to place upon him burdens of routine work. To my mind every type of work in a social agency is instructive and interesting, if approached as a part of the whole and with full understanding of its purpose.

With the trained social service of the country drawn upon to its capacity, it becomes evident burdens and responsibilities must be placed upon volunteers and their strength tested through capable service as others drop out.

Formerly a volunteer was to be sought out, induced to serve and inducted with great care. Today volunteers are plentiful. No ulterior considerations exist. It is the job and the volunteer's qualifications which alone are weighed.

## WAR-TIME VOLUNTEERS IN CHICAGO

*Leila Houghteling, Member of the Committee on Volunteer Service,  
Chicago*

When the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense was formed over a year ago, one of the departments created under it was the Home Charities Department. It was "established for the maintenance of existing social service agencies throughout the city and state in order that their strength and resources may be conserved and their level of usefulness to the community may be maintained during the war."

It soon became evident that one of the most important ways of helping the agencies was in the line of volunteer service, and for this purpose the department, now known as the Social Service Department, started a Bureau for Enrolling and Placing Volunteers and organized, among other committees, one on Volunteer Service. This Committee last fall was combined with a similar one under the Central Council of Social Agencies and has been working since that time as a joint committee representing both organizations. While the work of enrolling and placing volunteers has gone steadily forward, this committee has been making plans for recruiting volunteers, standardizing the use of volunteers, and helping to obtain training for them.

The first important piece of work done was in the matter of standardization. Two members of the committee called upon the superintendents of sixteen different agencies, representing practically every kind of social service in the city. The whole question of volunteer service was discussed with the superintendents and the points specially emphasized were:

- (a) What training was required before volunteers were accepted and what given by the agency.
- (b) What amount of service per week was required and what was the minimum duration of service asked.
- (c) What methods were used estimating the value of the service given, and
- (d) What were the chief difficulties encountered in the use of volunteers.

A report, based on the material gained from these discussions, was drawn up, the most important parts of which follow:

*Principles Indicated from Special Study*

The following suggestions, which seem to be fundamental to the use of volunteers, developed in the course of the conferences with the executives of the agencies:

1. It is important from the point of view of the agencies that their paid staffs should be so equipped and organized that they can train and supervise the volunteer service they undertake to use. Untrained and unsupervised service means loss of time to the agency, consequently lower standards of work, and lost

opportunity to win permanent service and friendship for the agency from the volunteers.

2. Agencies should be frank in their dealings with volunteers. Relations between volunteers and agencies can be valuable and enduring only if they are based on a mutual understanding as to the real value of the service offered to the agency by the volunteers and the limitations and opportunities of that service. The seriousness and difficulty of the work should not be minimized to the volunteer.

3. Now, when the war is inspiring the spirit of service and strengthening the sincerity of that spirit, is the time to increase the value of volunteer service, both to the agencies and to the volunteers.

In addition to these suggestions made by the executive of the agencies, the Committee on Volunteers of the Central Council of Social Agencies and of the Department of Social Service of the Council of National Defense submits the following suggestions for your consideration:

1. That each agency prepare a definite plan for the use of volunteer service for the guidance of its staff; this statement to include a summary of the purposes in using volunteers, the principles to be adhered to in using them and the requirements to be made of them.

2. That each agency prepare a definite program of training and supervision for volunteers; this statement to be for the use of the organization's staff and more especially for the persons directing and training volunteers, and that copies of these statements be sent to the department for guidance in placing volunteers.

3. That if it seems desirable to the agencies, this committee consider further the following subjects:

(a) The advisability of requiring volunteers who have not adequate experience and who are to do case work, to take such a course as that given at the School of Civics.

(b) The standardization of the training provided in the agencies.

(c) Methods for estimating the quality of work done by volunteers.

The committee submits the following plan for the enrollment and placing of volunteers by the Council of National Defense:

Before placing a volunteer the department shall examine into the qualifications of that volunteer in order to place those who are qualified for social work in the kind of work for which they are best fitted and to discourage those who are manifestly unable to give the kind of services the agencies need.

Volunteer service falls generally into four classes: (1) clerical work, (2) specialized work such as settlement classes, (3) occupational work, (4) case work.

(a) In regard to clerical work, the department will furnish it through the registration department of the Council of Defense, but will not assume any responsibility for volunteers referred for such service.

(b) In regard to specialized service, the department will urge volunteers placed by it to take the course in settlement work offered by the School of Civics or equivalent training, but will not at present make such a requirement. Until recently there has been no opportunity for such training and though there is no difference of opinion as to the advantage of such training, there is a difference of opinion as to the necessity for it. Later it may prove advisable to require such training. Volunteers placed by the department for this type of service will be required to make a definite pledge of service, the amount of service a week and the duration of service to depend upon the work undertaken.

(c) In regard to occupational work, the department will require volunteers who have not had adequate experience to take the course of training offered by the School of Civics or equivalent training, and to make a definite pledge of service, the amount of service a week and the duration of service to depend upon the work undertaken.

(d) In regard to case work, the department will require volunteers placed by it, if they have not already had adequate case work experience, to take the course of training offered by the School of Civics or equivalent training.

The committee feel that if an agency decided that a volunteer sent for another kind of service proves valuable for case work, the agency can make that decision and use the volunteer where his or her services will be most aluable, but the department cannot assume the responsibility of placing a volunteer for case work who has not had a minimum of training or experience as stated above.

The department will also require volunteers placed by it for case work to pledge two half days a week for three months.

### *Other Efforts of Volunteers' Bureau*

The bureau has been working along the lines suggested in the report. To do this a *case record* is kept of each volunteer and she is placed as far as possible according to her training and special qualifications. After two or three months a visit is made to the agency for

which she is working to see if her work is satisfactory from their standpoint, and she is also consulted for her point of view. The bureau, because of the pressure of work, is concentrating almost exclusively on placing volunteers for regular, sustained work. If calls come in for emergency service, the person calling is referred if possible to some other organization or individual who could help out in the emergency.

The joint committee is now carrying on a recruiting campaign for volunteers, especially men. Various speakers have offered their services and are addressing lodges, clubs, church societies and other organizations, stressing the great need and asking for recruits. Pamphlets, prepared by the committee, are distributed at these meetings and all those interested are asked to sign a pledge card which is enclosed and mail it to the office or to call in person for further information. In this way the committee hopes to secure enough volunteers to meet the many calls made from all parts of the city.

In the matter of standardization, the work is going on as outlined in the report. A letter has been sent out to the agencies of the city asking for information particularly along two lines:

- (a) What qualifications they feel are necessary for the volunteers assigned to them.
- (b) What program of training they offer the volunteers after they begin work with them.

The committee hopes in this way to have a more complete grasp of the situation in relation to the agencies and, therefore, to be able to offer them volunteers better qualified for real service.

The third effort of the committee is in regard to training for volunteers. As complete a survey as possible is being made of the courses for training volunteers offered by the universities, schools or other organizations. When the ground has been fully covered, the committee will be able to judge if adequate training is available for the various forms of social service done by the volunteers, or if further effort should be made to organize supplementary courses.

In all its various activities the committee and the bureau have as their ideal the establishing of a body of volunteer service which will be of real value not only to the agencies, but to the whole community.

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

2. *Susan M. Kingsbury*, director, department of social economy and social research, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., said, in summary: Enlistment and placement of volunteers was achieved through cooperation with various organizations by a representative committee. Placements were made by Miss Cavin of Philadelphia, who was "loaned" for this work. About 250 placements made through her in Philadelphia in six months. This work in Philadelphia was extended through the counties of Pennsylvania under a state committee with the following program: (1st) education as to need of social work given through



pamphlets;\* (2nd) education as to standards of volunteer service. About 22 groups for study have been established over the state. These groups need a state organizer to go about to crystallize results upon the basis of this preliminary educational work.

Two problems have arisen: (1) Standards for selection of volunteer workers. (2) Standards of training of volunteers who have been selected.

The services of volunteers should be on regular schedule, not casual, and they should be evaluated on the books of the society. We should distinguish between training courses and apprentice work. Wherever possible we should enlist the volunteer in a training course and require volunteers to attend lectures or special conferences for groups of volunteers. We should give volunteers something worth while doing.

Note the analogy of social service training to the training for industry. The social agency parallels the industry or firm. The social service training course parallels the industrial trade school.

The Committee on Enlistment and Placement of Volunteers, Philadelphia District, Committee on Civic Relief, Committee of Public Safety of Pennsylvania, adopted the following resolutions in conference April 17, 1918:

1. Be it resolved that we advocate placing a volunteer in a full time regular position or in a half time or more regular position for performing the normal and established work of any agency, only when the standard of work shall be that of a paid worker and that the work shall be done under the same supervision and the same conditions as a paid worker, and that, wherever necessary, the work shall be accompanied by training and instruction, e. g., through conferences, reading, lectures or classes. We further advocate that such volunteers shall be evaluated on the books of the organization as in the case of full time workers.

II. Whereas, In the case of volunteers who give less than one-half time service, we believe that such fragmentary gifts of time not only necessitate more constant and detailed supervision but also render it more difficult or impossible for the volunteer to carry through consecutive or independent work; and whereas, we also believe that irregularity further decreases the value of the work; be it therefore resolved that we advocate that work rendered by volunteers giving less than one-half time should be regular; that it should be carried on under the supervision of professional workers; that it should be accompanied by training or instruction as suggested for full time or half time volunteers; and that it should follow progressive steps. And we also recommend that less than half time work should not be evaluated.

Especially do we advocate the use of volunteer service, under the provision outlined in this section, of persons who are preparing for professional service and for all work that can be done in the surplus time of persons with a regular occupation who are equipped for social work.

III. Be it further resolved, that we discourage the use of casual volunteer service except for clerical work or errands and until the volunteer is able to give regular volunteer service she should not be used to do responsible work with people.

3. *Sidney A. Teller*, resident director of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Pittsburgh, said the energy of many volunteers is dissipated by giving a little service to each of several agencies, and thus taking up the time of several executives. It is preferable for the volunteer to give her entire valuable time to one agency, upon which she can concentrate and thus become more effective and more serviceable. A central registration bureau for volunteer workers is needed in every community to supply institutions with volunteers, and to place the volunteer where she can do the best work. Volunteers giving a certain standard of service should be listed, as well as the financial contributors to any institution. If a financial contributor gives volunteer service

\*These pamphlets may be secured from the Committee of Public Safety, Finance Bldg., Philadelphia.

in addition to giving money, the name should be starred in the list of contributors.

4. *John L. Gillin*, director of civilian relief, central division of the Red Cross, Chicago, said there is urgent need of working out a system which will quickly determine who are qualified for social work and who are not. The training course can help to do this in some cases more quickly and more cheaply than the apprenticeship system, and at less damage to the community. We should also consider the ethical question of one agency training workers and another agency coming along and taking the finished product. Possibly one way of training would be for the agency to use one section of the city as a practice field for training, with careful supervision by a teacher of volunteers.

5. *Frances Taussig*, Associated Jewish Charities, Chicago, said the solution of training in Chicago has been through the agency sending workers for training courses given by the School of Philanthropy.

6. *Stockton Raymond*, superintendent, Associated Charities, Columbus, Ohio: Do not exploit the volunteer worker. Utilize the desire to serve in such a way as to develop the worker. Volunteers must feel that the things they do are of real value and be interested in them. They must not be kept at unimportant tasks when they have capacity for more important work. We must consider the volunteer as well as the way we can profit most by her service.

7. *Ethel Bird*, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, New York: The registration cards asking for women volunteers in Illinois were humiliating to many women because the answers so glaringly showed up their lack of education. Many women did not sign up because of this.

8. Dr. *Jeffrey R. Brackett*, Boston, also participated in the discussion.

9. An *adjourned session* was held at 4:00 o'clock on the afternoon of the same day for the purpose of continuing the discussion of volunteer social work. Among other opinions that were expressed, it was said that the future of volunteer social service depends on our getting the greatest possible amount of democracy into social work; that procedure in handling the volunteer problem would be improved by better organization of neighborhood service; that the success of the volunteer was largely the responsibility of the paid worker; that through co-operation of universities and training schools with existing social agencies we should make better use of the present available supply of volunteers; that heart and brains, rather than social prestige, counts in volunteer work; that personal service should be rated on a par with financial contribution as an obligation of the average citizen toward community agencies; that it is essential to maintain high standards in social work, although training courses may well be adapted to the circumstances of the present widespread appeal for volunteer service.

10. Among others who participated in this informal discussion were: *Julia Raymond*, Cleveland; *Robert C. Dexter*, Montreal; *Eleanor Gile*, Portland, Ore.; *Sidney A. Teller*, Pittsburgh; *Selma Sullivan*, Cleveland; *Mrs. Katherine Van Wyck*, Milwaukee; *John L. Gillen*, Chicago; *Lucy B. Wright*, Boston; *J. M. Hanson*, Youngstown, O.; *Susan M. Kingsbury*, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; *Earnestine L. Friedman*, New York.

## NEW SOCIAL DATA GROWING OUT OF THE WAR

*Arthur J. Todd, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis*

I have just come from a meeting in an adjoining room which was advertised as something hot and radical, something that would probably prove highly offensive to the nostrils and the nerves of steady-going, sensitive, and conservative social workers. But I found that in so far as that meeting smacked of anything offensive to conservatism it was the frank avowal that the revolutionary is a man of feelings, emotion, temper, while the reformer or social worker is a man of ideas. I think this draws distinctly the line between the pseudo-radicals, whom Mr. H. G. Wells calls "Gawdsakers," and the real radicals, the men of science. For after all the real radicalism is not the volcanic explosion of temper because things do not feel right; it is the simple statement of unforgettable and undeniable fact. Therefore, to every social worker however much he may deplore the disaster of war which has overtaken us, beckon the new facts which are pouring in from every side and which, if properly interpreted and utilized, would help to put all social science and all social work upon a firmer foundation than we have yet known.

I think that one of the most outstanding impressions which a candid observer gets from the present war situation is a new organic sense, a perception of the real social unity of mankind. This is indicated not only by our taking up arms in defense of our comrades and allies, but it is also revealed in the world-wide participation in the war, the perception that no one or no nation can be safe so long as any other nation is faithless and on the war path.

It is perhaps too early to say just what new contributions to social psychology will be extracted from recent social situations, but I am sure at least that many of the observations which we can make now in this world laboratory tend strongly to confirm conclusions and deductions made by the students of mass psychology during the last two decades.

Not the least interesting problem, whether from the standpoint of psychology or biology, is that of the comparative contribution of the various races in the present struggle. The problems of contact between races, the problem of race mixture, of race prejudice, of the co-education of the various races, all of these problems are going to be illuminated by the record of the performances of the various races in the allied armies. It will be possible for us to test with considerable show of certainty the intelligence, the resistant power, the health, the stamina, and other qualities of such widely separated groups as Fijians, Arabs, Senegalese, American negroes, Japanese, etc. Moreover, from the record of American draft boards it will be perfectly possible to tell definitely what the comparative health standing of, say, black and white is in the United States. We are beginning to get already certain figures

that are not altogether complimentary to the native American white, and I suspect that before we get through with this struggle, a whole new chapter in the direction of race equality and race adjustments will have been written.

From another angle, a great light is pouring in upon one of our most distressing social problems, namely, the industrial scrap heap. The pressure of war, the demand for labor, has drained, for instance, the stagnant pool of East London, has poured in a stream of fresh prosperity. The reclamation service for the re-education and industrial re-placement of war cripples, the various laws for compelling vagrants to go to work, all of these measures are indicating how it is possible to use the great majority of what heretofore we have thought was mere scrap or marginal employability.

We are also beginning to get new data on the subject of the relationship between income and mortality, income and health, income and the incidence of sickness and disease; not only for adults, but also and particularly for children.

A great deal of new material is being accumulated on the subject of the organization and function of the family. The stress of war in certain places has tended to break down the traditional *mores* of the family. Ordinary standards and conventions have been disturbed. Men and women in high places have counselled actions which in normal peace times would be looked upon with suspicion. From the standpoint of the social theorist as well as the social administrator, these facts are of crucial importance.

From another quarter comes an interesting suggestion (and perhaps it is not more than a suggestion) that the stimulus of war or the new prosperity is having its effect in cutting down the rate of insanity. At least, this is a report from England. I should not care to offer this as a proved conclusion, but rather as a challenge to examine carefully the data at hand and to work out new correlations in the social background of insanity.

The huge insurance program undertaken by our federal government is bound to bring to us a lot of new facts bearing upon the practicability of government industrial insurance as well as life insurance. This experience may prove to be almost revolutionary in our whole theory of government. I count it the most radical step which the government has ever undertaken. It is a step which we were assured by constitutional lawyers a few years ago could not possibly be undertaken by our government, and yet under the stress of war neither the Supreme Court nor any other agency has seen fit to put a stumbling block in the way of its administration. Here is a silent revolution in practice which is teeming with suggestion for both the social theorist and the social worker.

From the home service work of the Red Cross we also stand good to receive an enormous mass of new material on the administration of



money relief and other forms of philanthropic service. The effect of home service work upon the old charity organization methods is being closely watched. The influence of the Red Cross in dealing with its clients and also with other social agencies cannot fail of effect upon both private and public standards. Whether it also will have a corrupting effect upon its recipients and whether it will breed a generation or two of chronic dependents, is one of the challenging problems opening up to social investigators. The effects of the wide-spread relief organization brought about through the Red Cross will also offer interesting opportunities for research. An interesting problem in social psychology as well as in practical administration will also come when the Red Cross workers who have enjoyed the prestige and open sesame of the magic name "Red Cross" return to their civilian jobs and have to face the world again as mere social workers. The Red Cross organization plus the government's insurance program will offer, furthermore, an interesting problem in the tendency towards a more or less permanent assumption by the public of many charitable functions now exercised by private societies.

Again, in the field of recreation the war is offering us a whole sheaf of new facts. The work of the war camp community service, of the American Bureau of Social Hygiene and other agencies is showing us how communities, by taking thought, can forestall the forces of evil and prevent that degeneration which comes from a policy of recreational neglect. The war is demonstrating the prophylactic value of recreation. It remains for social workers to demonstrate that if social hygiene and recreation centers are a good thing in time of war, that social and hygiene and recreation centers are equally good in times of peace for the preservation of the health and the morale of our young men and women. The facts are coming in such number and with such cogency that they only require a simple account of correlation to give the conclusion the real touch of scientific validity.

Finally the war is offering us certain facts which point to a possibility of more highly concentrating our vocational training for nurses, engineers, social workers, etc. The stress of war is putting upon us the necessity of applying some established principles of scientific management to the problem of education. I believe the successful work of our reserve officers training camps and of the short courses for various types of war workers will offer us the means of constructing far more scientifically and economically our whole education program.

It is a pleasure to contemplate, amidst the horrors of war, this delectable array of new scientific material. We are not faced with a lot of stale facts but with new material, freshly minted, and shinningly attractive. It is for this reason that I am very happy to be able to turn from an orgy of mere emotional explosion and to present to this audience a man who comes with the scientific spirit, thoroughly qualified both as a teacher and as a scientist, to indicate to us the attitude which we must



take, not only to these facts, but to our whole world situation if we are to emerge from this terrible conflict really equipped for the mighty work of reconstruction which we will be called upon to do in order to give meaning, force and effect to the war itself.

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### SOCIAL FACTS AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL WORK

*Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia*

Social work began with a theological stage, passed through a metaphysical stage, and is entering upon its scientific stage. It began, that is to say, as an expression of the theological beliefs attached to religious systems, and in its earliest phase it sought not so much the welfare of man as the favor of God. When it emerged from theological and ecclesiastical tutelage, it speedily became subject to all sorts of arbitrary opinions and "isms." The metaphysical stage of social work, in other words, is the stage in which social work has escaped from the domination of theological and religious systems, but has not yet fully come under the domination of scientific truth. In such a transitional stage social work is under the domination of more or less arbitrary opinion. Hence this stage is characterized by numerous divisions and factions in the field of social work. Fads run riot, and workers in one part of the field are apt to claim that their work is alone important, or they see the whole field of social work from the standpoint of some one narrow interest. On account of the conflict and antagonism there is a lack of cooperation; hence some workers become persuaded of the futility of their efforts, come to regard social work as a mere "palliative," and turn to revolutionary propaganda as the hope of effective social reconstruction.

#### *What Is Scientific Social Work?*

We are now beginning, however, to enter upon the scientific stage of social work, and it may be worth while for us to enquire what such a stage really means. Of course, we have not yet gotten completely rid of the metaphysical stage in social work. There are still social workers who believe that their work may be safely carried on upon the basis of their arbitrary opinions without reference to science. There are other social workers with a little more of the scientific spirit who, nevertheless, insist upon viewing everything from the particular corner in which they are working. There are still others who, while they may not say it publicly, do not hesitate to say privately that they regard social work as a mere "palliative," and while they get their living from it, their real hopes are pinned to "the coming social revolution." Now, scientific social work will be fully reached only when

these temporary aspects of the social work of the present are transcended and a constructive social program is laid out upon which all social workers can agree, because it is based upon scientifically ascertained facts.

In other words, the scientific stage in social work will be reached when social work passes fully under the domination of science; when it becomes "transfused with the spirit and transformed by the method of modern science."

But, it may be asked, what is the spirit and method of modern science? The reply is that the spirit and method of all true science is matter-of-fact, inductive, and pragmatic, not deductive and dogmatic. Scientific work of any sort, accordingly, must base itself upon facts; not upon a few facts, but upon all the facts. Scientific social work must, then, base itself upon all social facts, not upon a few. It must come into harmony with positive social science by utilizing all the social knowledge which is available and by making its program to accord with all the facts and conditions of social life. It is, of course, true that the social science of the present is partial, incomplete, and often not based upon facts; not at least upon all of the facts. Nevertheless, social work in order to be scientific must utilize all the social facts which we have, and must unite with social science in the demand for completer knowledge of social facts. The trouble with both the social work and the social science of the present is that both are frequently trying to make too little knowledge of facts go too long a way. As long as this condition continues, we must expect the reign of fads and "isms" to continue, with a lack of thorough-going co-operation and with a consequent feeling of futility and discouragement on the part of some.

But these difficulties, which still beset social work, will disappear as it becomes more scientific. As it becomes based upon a fuller knowledge of all the facts of social life, social work, instead of being patch-work and merely palliative, will become a constructive program for all society. It will have the radicalism of science, in that it will penetrate to the causes of things and will be thorough in its efforts at both prevention and cure. It will also have the safety and sanity of science, in that it will proceed step by step by the experimental method. Unless social work can become such a radically reconstructive program for society, it will be discarded for revolutionary methods. Scientific social work must develop an all-round program of social reconstruction based upon a full knowledge of all social facts, and if it does not have such a program it is not worthy to be called scientific. Social work cannot afford to be merely palliative. It must build for the future. But if it builds for the future, it must build upon a basis of fact. It must penetrate to the roots of social maladjustment and remove the causes as well as heal the evils which have already sprung up. The program of constructive scientific social work can scarcely be acceptable to the conservative any more than it is to the revolutionist.

*Starting with the Community Unit*

Scientific social work will be collective, rather than individualistic or particularistic in its aims. It will stand for the whole community, rather than for some particular class or individuals in the community. Scientific social work will be community work, undertaken by the community for the community. Nor must the community be thought of as merely the neighborhood group of even a city. It may be a county, a state, a nation and, perhaps, some day even a civilization. Social facts are facts which pertain to the life of any community, whether, small or large. The point is that social work which has respect to all the facts of the social life must necessarily be community work. It will recognize that it is the community life which makes or mars, ultimately, the character of individuals.

This does not mean that the individual is going to be overlooked in any degree in a social work which is scientific. Individualistic methods of helping individuals will be preserved by scientific social work, for they are indispensable in any right social life. It is the humane, the brotherly touch which does most to help under all conditions. Scientific social work will not forget that the spirit of fraternity is an indispensable element in all normal social life, and hence it can never neglect the personal work of individuals for individuals; but as it becomes more scientific it will recognize that the larger economic, political, and cultural conditions of social life need even more to be controlled if the individual is to have a fair chance to live a normal life.

If scientific social work is work for the community, it will be fully co-operative in spirit and strive to develop a sense of collective responsibility. It will strive to organize itself upon a community-wide basis, in some such form as the work of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City; or if upon a private rather than upon an official basis, then through some form of community service organization. As social work becomes scientific, however, and as we get more and more scientifically trained social workers, it is inevitable that something like the board of public welfare idea should in time spread to counties, to states, and even to the nation. Voluntary agencies there should always be for social work, but as we become more intelligent regarding social work, we will see that these need to be co-ordinated and supervised by public agencies.

*Social Surveys, Valuation and Criticism*

If these are the characteristics of scientific social work, by what methods then can social work become scientific? The answer is by the accumulation of our knowledge of social facts, and by the training of all social workers in this body of scientific knowledge. The social scientist and the social worker are not working in two separate fields, as is so often assumed, but in the same field. There should be no such divorce between the social sciences and social work as has existed down

to the present. The only conceivable reason for the existence of social science is to serve humanity, and this is also the only legitimate reason for social work. The social scientist should be concerned in gathering the facts, in getting the accurate knowledge which the social worker needs for efficiency in his work. The two should, therefore, heartily cooperate. This is becoming rapidly recognized, but it is not yet recognized enough to save either the social scientist from impracticability, or the social worker from narrowness.

The thing which is needed, as a bridge between social science and social work, is cooperative effort. One important field of such cooperative effort is in the making of social surveys. If intelligent community effort is needed to overcome social maladjustment, we must have full knowledge of the conditions of community life. To get such knowledge is both the interest of the social worker and the social scientist. But to collect data accurately, to measure them and describe them exactly, and to estimate needs and tendencies is always the work of science. It is to the credit of our scientifically trained social workers that they have done vastly more to develop and to perfect the social survey than have our academic social scientists. Much, however, still remains to be done in the accurate gathering and generalization of social facts in which both may assist.

For one thing, social surveys need to become more a study of processes, movements and tendencies in community life than they have yet become. Modern science is essentially a study of processes and it is only by understanding tendencies that we can hope to exercise scientific control. Social facts and conditions need to be exhibited as phases of a process of development in order to be understood. The social survey, then, should be more than a "photograph of a community," it should be a "moving picture" of a community.

For another thing, the social survey, as thus far developed, has failed to find methods of getting at what the sociologist calls "the social mind," but what we might better call for the sake of clearness, "community traditions." Now, it is the social tradition, the group *mores*, which makes civilization and community life. If this is so, it is evidently quite as necessary to get at the social mind of a community as it is at the material conditions of its existence, such as, housing, health, wages, industries, and standards of living. The study of the material conditions will, of course, help to throw light upon the social mind of the community, but it often fails to reveal the standards and values in the community traditions which are responsible for social maladjustment.

Again, the survey method needs to transcend the local community to get at the facts of our national life, and even of our civilization as a whole, which are causing social maladjustment. The survey method needs to be extended from the local community to the larger community, which even more than the local community is determinative of social life in the long run. Just as we have discovered that it will not do to pass



a tramp on from one community to another, if we are going to deal intelligently with the problem of vagrancy; so we shall finally discover that it is idle to try to straighten out the social life of one local community without regard to the social life of other communities surrounding it. Community service, or social work which is scientific, must rise from the local community to the largest community with which it can effectively deal, or which is subject to its practical control. Survey work must, accordingly, become in its full scientific development a vast collective enterprise which shall reach simultaneously every local hamlet and at the same time the nation itself.

### *The Fundamentals of Social Work*

The facts which the social worker should be interested in are, accordingly, not merely the facts of health, housing, sanitation, food and income—important as these facts are—but also the political, educational, moral and religious facts of society; for all of these have a bearing upon community life and are social facts. The social worker has not been slow to recognize the importance of political and educational facts for the social reconstruction which he is trying to carry out. In social legislation of various sorts he has rightly perceived the key to the accomplishment of some of the most difficult of his tasks. It is to the social worker that society owes in no small measure the movements for compulsory insurance against the contingencies of life, such as sickness, accident, unemployment, old age, and invalidity; for a minimum wage high enough to make possible a human standard of living; for labor legislation which will protect the laborer against accident, disease, and too long hours of labor; and even for reforms in our crude systems of taxation. And to accomplish all of these things social workers have perceived that we must have intelligent voters and get rid of corrupt politics. Social workers have also recognized the full bearing of the educational system upon social maladjustment and social reconstruction. They have been foremost in advocating compulsory school attendance laws, vocational education and industrial training. They have also taken up of recent years the problem of the Americanization and social adjustment of the immigrant and the Negro through various educational agencies.

But social workers have sometimes failed to recognize the importance of concrete ethical standards, of a more general nature than those mentioned, for the making or marring of our social life; and this has been largely due to a lack of full knowledge of social facts. For example, social workers are always interested in the welfare of children; yet social workers have shown no very great interest in the questions of marriage and of the family life, with which the welfare of the child is bound up. Sociological research has shown beyond a doubt that the primary group which we call the family is the cradle of practically all of our social ideals; that it is the only natural environment for the child in which he can secure a full and well-balanced development of his



powers; and that, therefore, a normal family life is at the basis of a normal social life in general. The facts of marriage and the family in the social life are, therefore, pertinent in the highest degree for scientific social work.

Again, social workers previous to this war seemed to fail to understand that the lack of a development of an international morality in western civilization was one of the most menacing things for the future. Some, even now, fail to understand that the lack of the development of a humanitarian morality which will prevent class exploitation, class aggression, and class war is another menacing thing for our future. Finally, social workers still cling not infrequently to the old hedonistic social ethics, which makes individual comfort and self-gratification their standard of judgment instead of social conservation and social service; but it is to be hoped that the war has by this time taught most social workers to judge policies by the standard of national service, if not by that of the service of humanity.

For what shall it profit us, for example, to kill a few germs in our back yards, or to put into force in a few communities model building ordinances, or to carry through a practical program of child welfare, if our civilization goes down? Social workers need to become interested in the larger problems of our civilization, in the weightier as well as in the minor matters of social law and order, or else their efforts will prove vain. The facts concerning the carriers of our civilization, that is, concerning our religion, our moral code, our domestic, educational, political and industrial systems are of supreme interest to the scientific social worker; for these are the things which make our civilization. Our religions, our morality, our education, our business, our politics must all be transformed by social work before we can have a worth-while civilization.

All social facts are, therefore, pertinent to social work, and we shall have scientific social work only when there is due respect paid to all social facts. Nothing human is alien to the social worker. This being so, his first concern must be to so ground himself in all of the facts of human life that he will escape from all pettiness, narrowness and particularism. He must learn to think in terms of humanity instead of in terms of any one local community or any one social class. But to think in such terms requires the completest social knowledge and the most accurate valuation of that knowledge. The social worker must learn to become a scientific social thinker also. Simple good will and human sympathy are no sufficient guide for the social worker. They may furnish him warmth but not light; and in the vast reconstruction which lies ahead of us—which we must make after this war, if our civilization is not to be overwhelmed by some even greater calamity—we need the fullest light possible. We must put an end to guessing and trying to make our meager knowledge of facts go too long a way. It is only thus that we can build up by constructive work a worthy civilization and

avoid for the future that civil strife and degeneracy which threatens a greater calamity than even the present war. Scientific social work is, then, not a program of mere palliative social amelioration; it is a program of radical and rational social reconstruction based upon an adequate knowledge of social facts; and it is the only program, not revolution by force, which can build a humanitarian civilization that can guarantee "an adequate life for all."

#### INFORMAL DISCUSSION

1. *Thomas J. Riley*, general secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, said that those engaged in the administration of social agencies realize the need of a body of social facts as a basis for the efficient and progressive conduct of their work. In their records is a great wealth of valuable material derived from vital first hand contact with individuals and families. This mine of social data has scarcely been touched. The routine of administration does not give time for working up this material. Here is ready at hand a laboratory of great promise for the university.

2. *Professor Ellwood*: There are four points which I desire to stress: (a) Scientific social work requires adequate training for social workers. A college course with emphasis upon the fundamental courses in economics and sociology is essential as a basis for later technical training. (b) Social work must be placed upon a more humanitarian plane, both for the social worker and for the sociologist. Universities should make special provision for social research for the social scientist. The social worker should have sufficient time to keep up with scientific work in his field. The comparison with the field of medical training, research and practice is pertinent for sociologist and social worker. (c) The press of the social workers must not be merely practical and propagandist, but should become more philosophical and sociological. (d) Correlation between social workers and the university may be made with mutual advantage.

3. *Cyrus F. Stimson*,\* of the War Camp Community Service, New York, said that while it is possible for the social worker to be scientifically trained, it is impractical for him to keep up with science. The great mass of physicians fail to keep abreast of medical development. At the same time it is also impractical to expect the sociologist, with his primary obligation to his teaching, to assume the entire burden of research for philanthropic agencies. In at least 30 of our cities, why is it not feasible for charity organizations to have one research specialist on the staff? At the present time chambers of commerce are beginning to employ social secretaries in connection with their work of endorsement of social agencies. Cooperation of these workers with departments of sociology in universities should be at once practical and of advantage to all concerned.

4. *C. C. Carstens*, general secretary, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston, said that in Boston the cooperation of colleges and universities in the study of the data of our social agencies was sought, but so far in vain. Three years ago twenty of the case work organizations of the city formed a League for Preventive Work to attempt an analysis and evaluation of their data. Already it is evident that the work of this league's study will be

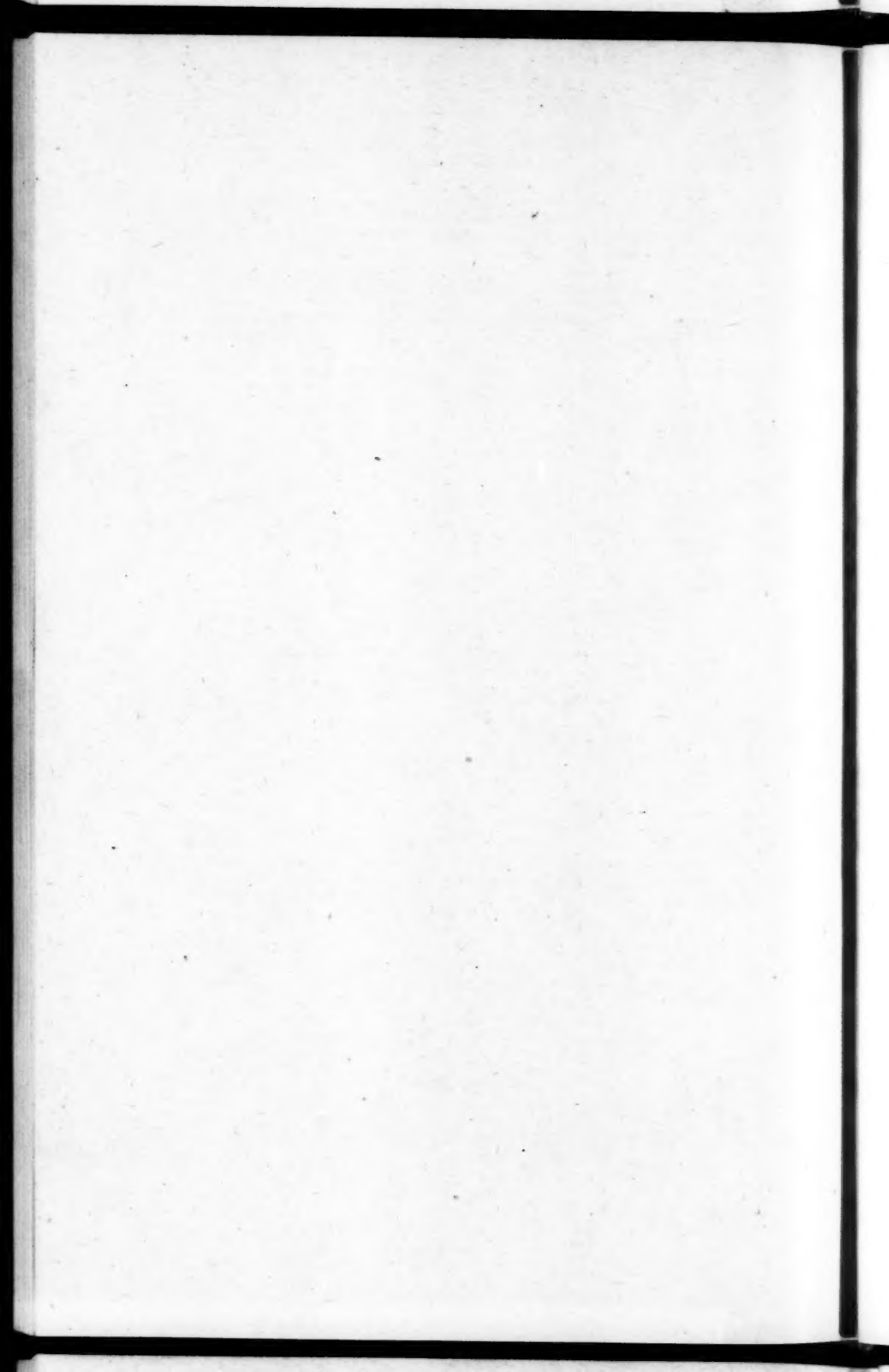
\*Uncorrected notes.

valuable for social legislation as well as for the more efficient administration of the work of these organizations.

5. *Susan M. Kingsbury*, Bryn Mawr College, said that the great difficulty in analyzing the data of social agencies is in the data. Data valuable for analysis must be planned in advance for use in research.

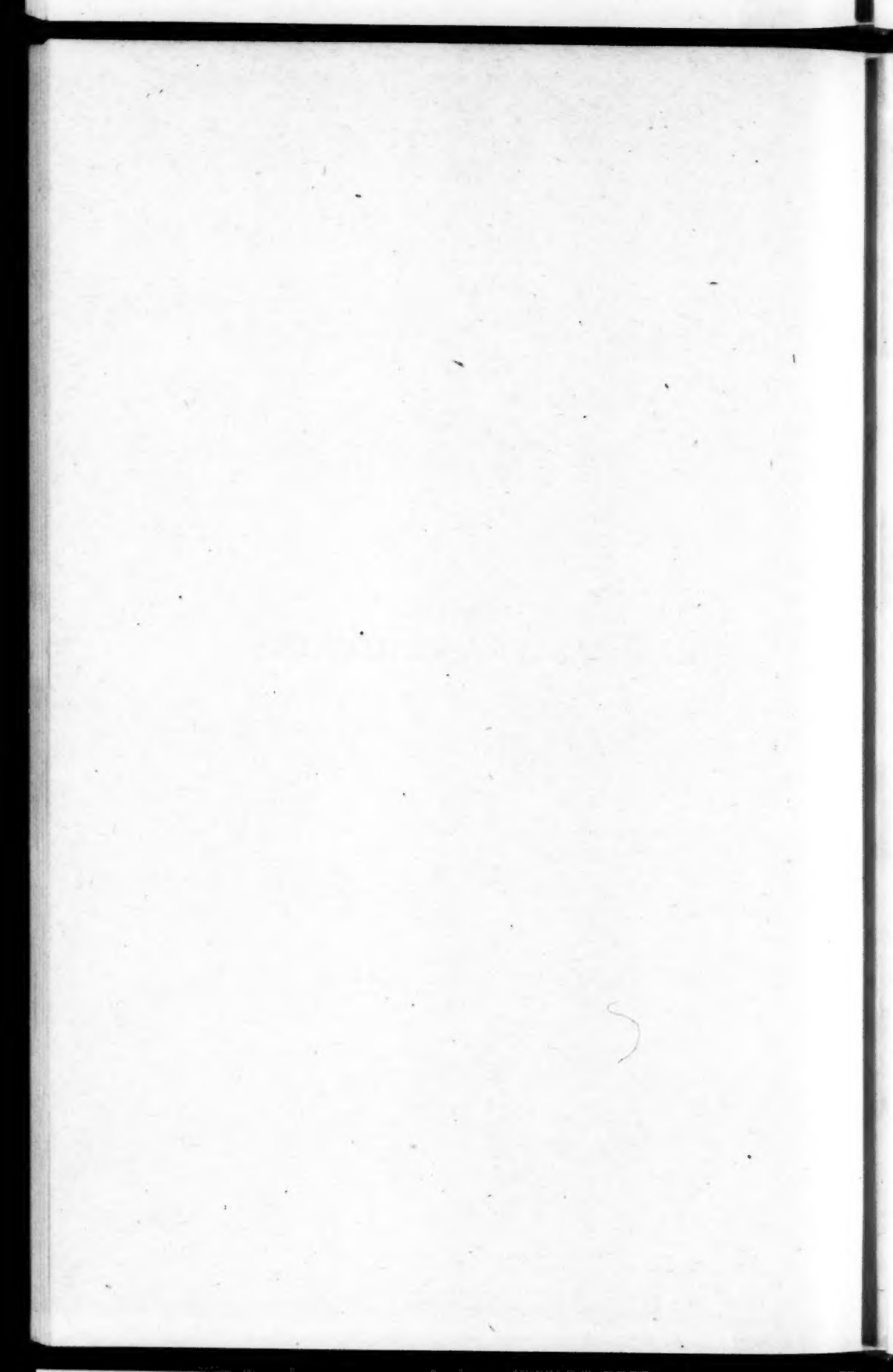
6. *Mary E. Richmond*, of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, said that social case records had no possible value as data for scientific analysis unless the people who made them were given the time to do original thinking and were capable of such thinking. A large majority of social agencies allowed themselves to become too overburdened and undermanned for their records to have any research value. Neither a "ten thousand dollar man" nor a fifteen thousand dollar man in the chamber of commerce could remedy this. Efficient organization would have to come in other ways, and when it came we might expect to have social discovery, too, as a valuable by-product of good case work. Two types of original thinking would be essential, however; the original thinking of the worker who made the firsthand contacts, and the original thinking of the research worker who interpreted these experiences.

7. Others who participated in the informal discussion, were: *Lester L. Riley*, of Springfield, Ill., and *James F. Jackson* of Cleveland.



**B.**  
**BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS**





## PART 1.

# BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF 1918

### OFFICERS.

President—Robert A. Woods, 20 Union Park, Boston.  
 First Vice President—John A. Kingsbury, New York. Second Vice-President—William A. Way, Pittsburgh. Third Vice-President—Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York.  
 General Secretary and Treasurer—William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.  
 Assistant Secretaries—Murray A. Auerbach, Little Rock; William J. Deeney, Salt Lake City; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati; Mabel Brown Ellis, New York; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Cheney C. Jones, Cleveland; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Rev. John R. Maguire, C. S. V., Bourbonnais, Ill.; Virginia McMechen, Seattle; Christian C. Menzler, Nashville; Stuart A. Queen, San Francisco; Albert E. Sinks, Wheeling; Mrs. Ray Van Baalen, Pittsburgh; Victor S. Woodward, Charlotte, N. C.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Ex-officio—Robert A. Woods, Boston; John A. Kingsbury, New York. Term expiring 1918—Arthur H. Burnett, Toronto; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville; Hastings H. Hart, New York; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Gertrude Vaile, Denver. Term expiring 1919—Katharine B. Davis, New York; John Daniels, New York; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; Minnie F. Low, Chicago; Graham Taylor, Chicago. Term expiring 1920—Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Rev. Frederick Siedenburgh, Chicago; Roy Smith Wallace, Philadelphia. Chairmen of Divisions, ex-officio—Henry W. Thurston, New York; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Albert S. Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Frankwood Williams, M. D., New York; Allen T. Burns, Cleveland; George H. Mead, Chicago; Charles P. Emerson, M. D., Indianapolis.

### PROGRAM COMMITTEE.

Robert A. Woods, Boston (ex-officio), Chairman; William T. Cross, Chicago (ex-officio); John Daniels, Brooklyn; Katharine Bement Davis, New York; Dr. Hastings H. Hart, New York.

### COMMITTEE ON NOMINATION.

James F. Jackson, Cleveland, Chairman; Mabelle B. Blake, Boston; J. A. Brown, Indianapolis; J. Byron Deason, Philadelphia; Bessie A. McClenahan, Iowa City; Maude E. Miner, New York; E. Frances O'Neill, Providence; William J. Norton, Detroit.

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston, Chairman; Edmond J. Butler, New York; George F. Damon, Kansas City.

### COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE.

W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa, Chairman; Runo E. Arne, Portland, Ore.; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Mrs. Maud P. Boyes, Chicago; Mary I. Breed, Albany; Henry F. Burt, Minneapolis; Erle Chambers, Little Rock; Helen Cinnamon, Savannah; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal; James L. Fieser, Cleveland; John J. Gascoyne, Newark, N. J.; Sadie Gober, Jackson, Miss.; Ernest R. Groves, Durham, N. H.; Frances Ingram, Louisville, Ky.; Franklin Johnson, Jr., Toronto; Guy T. Justis, Denver; Margaret Laing, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. Amy Brown Lyman, Salt Lake City; H. J. McGinnity, San Francisco; W. H. Matthews, Oklahoma City; John Melpolder, Richmond, Ind.; Benjamin P. Merrick, Grand Rapids; H. W. Moore, Monroe, La.; Herbert C. Parsons, Boston; Mrs. Robert A. Ridge, Billings, Mont.; Rev. John A. Ryan, Hartford; Mrs. W. B. Sharp, Houston; D. F. Shirk, Topeka; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia; William C. Spindler, Milwaukee; Rev. J. A. Stafford, Seattle; Victor S. Woodward, Charlotte, N. C.

### KANSAS CITY COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS.

General Chairman—Charles R. Butler.  
 Secretary—Mrs. E. T. Brigham.  
 Churches—Nat Spencer.  
 Guides—Dr. J. H. Sowerby.  
 Hotels—Frank J. Dean.  
 Halls—Louis W. Shouse.  
 Publicity—Wallace J. Ferry.

Exhibits—Mrs. Mary D. Ream.  
 Headquarters—Henry D. Faxon.  
 Membership—L. A. Halbert.  
 Reception—Mrs. Hugh C. Ward.  
 Finance—William Volker.  
 Speakers' Bureau—Mrs. W. E. Cramer.  
 Colored Delegates—Mrs. H. O. Cook.

## PART 2.

## BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1918.

10:00 P. M.

At Convention Hall; President Woods in the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Nomination was presented by the chairman, Mr. James F. Jackson of Cleveland, as follows:

For President, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; First Vice-President, LeRoy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Second Vice-President, Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Third Vice-President, Albert S. Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.

For members of the Executive Committee, term expiring 1921: Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.; Miss Mary E. Richmond, New York City; William T. Foster, Portland, Ore.; Miss M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati, O.

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1918.

9:30 P. M.

At Convention Hall; President Woods in the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by the chairman, Mr. W. L. Kuser, of Eldora, Iowa, as follows:

Your Committee on Time and Place for the 1919 Conference begs leave to submit the following report:

A number of invitations have been received, but your Committee is of the opinion that in view of the present unsettled conditions it is unwise to recommend at this time the definite acceptance of any of them.

The note of large developments in social consciousness running all through the sessions of this conference and the important new activities developing and being undertaken in all sections of the country, indicate that the 1919 conference will be of unusual significance and importance.

Your Committee, therefore, suggests that the matter of time and place for next year's conference be referred to the Conference Executive Committee, which will thereby be left entirely free, as next year's work and problems develop, to select the time and place of meeting which seems likely to stimulate the greatest possible interest and to do the greatest possible good for the entire Nation and our sister Canadian Provinces.

Respectfully submitted,  
(Signed) W. L. KUSER, Chairman,  
For the Committee.

On motion the report was received and concurred in by a rising vote.

SUNDAY, MAY 19, 1918.

10:00 P. M.

At Convention Hall, President Woods in the Chair.

A motion by Professor Graham Taylor of Chicago, seconded by Mr. Otto W. Davis of Minneapolis, prevailed to the effect that the Conference refer to the Executive Committee a recommendation that a temporary division be created to consider the uniting of the native and foreign born in America for war and reconstruction.

MONDAY, MAY 20, 1918.

2:30 P. M.

At Convention Hall, President Woods in the Chair.

A report was made on behalf of the Executive Committee by the General Secretary, recommending that in Section 9 of the By-Laws, relating to *Discussions and Debates*, at the beginning of the second paragraph, the word "informal" should be inserted, so that the sentence would read "in the informal discussion of the Conference speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, etc." The recommendation was adopted.

A report from the Executive Committee was presented by the General Secretary recommending that Section 1 of the By-Laws entitled *Membership Fees*, should be amended as follows: that the title of the section be changed to read "Membership Fees, Affiliated Conferences," and that the following be added as a second paragraph under this heading:

State conferences similar in nature to the National Conference of Social Work may affiliate with the National Conference through payment of an annual fee of twenty-five dollars and through approval of the application for affiliation by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may modify the amount of the fee in case of any conference which may be unable to pay the stipulated fee. State conferences shall be invited to pay more than the fee indicated in order to build up the service of the National Conference on behalf of the state organizations. A separate accounting shall be made of the receipts into and expenditures from this state conference fund.

A report was made by the General Secretary on behalf of the Executive Committee, recommending the amendment of Section 13 of the By-Laws, entitled "Nomination and Election of Officers" as follows:

That paragraph 2 of this section be amended by striking out the latter part of the paragraph following the word "include" in the third sentence; the third and succeeding sentences being made to read thus:

The committee shall thereupon proceed to draft a report on nominations, which shall include one or more nominees for each position. The report shall be transmitted to the General Secretary of the Conference, whenever practicable, thirty days in advance of the opening of the Conference meeting, and shall be printed in the Bulletin preceding the meeting. Whenever such proceeding is impracticable, the report shall be submitted to the Conference not later than the opening evening session of the Conference. After the submission of the report additional nominations may be made on petition of any twenty-five members of the Conference qualified to vote, provided such petitions are placed in the hands of the General Secretary by one o'clock of the day preceding the opening of the polls. Such nominations shall be printed on the official ballot and designated "Nominations by petition," and the names of the nominees and petitioners shall be posted conspicuously at the polls.

That the third paragraph of this section on *Nomination and Election of Officers* be amended by inserting at the beginning of the following sentences: "In case there is only one set of nominations the nominees shall be elected by acclamation at the business meeting"; and by prefixing to the first sentence of the present paragraph the clause: "In case there are competing nominees," so that the sentence will begin: "In case there are competing nominations the election of officers shall be by ballot," etc.

That the third paragraph of this section relating to *Nomination and Election of Officers* should be amended by providing for extension of the period during which balloting may take place, so that votes may be cast until and including Monday of the usual Conference week; the effect being to change the first sentence of the third paragraph of Section 13 by substituting for the word "third" the word "fifth," so that the latter part of the sentence shall read "Registration on the third full day of the Conference to five p. m. of the fifth day."

After discussion, these recommendations for amendment of Section 13 were adopted.

The report of the Tellers was read by the chairman, Mr. Angus P. Thorne, as follows:

The following is the result of balloting for officers of the National Conference of Social Work:

For President, Julia C. Lathrop.....	57	(Blank 2)
For 1st Vice-President, LeRoy A. Halbert.....	50	" 9

For 2nd Vice-President:

Dr. Thomas J. Riley.....	49	
James F. Jackson, Cleveland.....	1	
Lawson Purdy, New York.....	2	" 7
For 3rd Vice-President, Albert S. Johnstone.....	52	" 7

Members of Executive Committee for three years:

Robert A. Woods.....	54	" 5
Amos W. Butler.....	53	" 6
Mary E. Richmond.....	55	" 4
Dr. William T. Foster.....	50	" 9
M. Edith Campbell.....	51	
Mary Byers Smith, Boston.....	1	" 2

According to the rules of the Conference the following named persons are the officers of the Conference chosen at this meeting:

President, Julia C. Lathrop.....	1
First Vice-President, LeRoy A. Halbert.....	1.....
Second Vice-President, Dr. Thomas J. Riley.....	1
Third Vice-President, Albert S. Johnstone.....	1
Members of Executive Committee for three years: Robert A. Woods, Amos W. Butler, Mary E. Richmond, William T. Foster, M. Edith Campbell.	

Respectfully submitted,

ANGUS P. THORNE,  
DOUGLAS P. FALCONER,  
CATHARINE FERTIG,  
ANNA G. WILLIAMS,  
Committee.

The officers whose names were indicated as having received the highest number of votes were declared elected.

The action of the permanent Divisions (Nos. I-VII inclusive) in choosing chairmen for the ensuing year and committees in groups serving for one, two, and three years, as indicated, was reported by the General Secretary. Those nominated to chairmanships and memberships on committees, as shown by the following list, were elected Division by Division, up to and including Division VI.

(See list on pages 704-5.)

The following subsequent action was taken in case of Division VI:

A motion by Dr. Hart prevailed to the effect that the Conference reconsider its action in regard to Division VI. Dr. Hart then moved that Mr. J. J. Sonstebly, of Chicago, be added to the membership of the Committee of Division VI. It was seconded by Mr. Frederic Almy.

On question the chair ruled that the motion was in order.

A substitute for the motion was offered by Mr. Otto W. Davis, as follows: That in accepting the report of Division VI the Division be authorized to add three more members to the Division Committee, and suggest that they be representatives of organized labor; that this action by the Division be subject to the final approval of the Executive Committee.



The substitute was accepted by Dr. Hart and Mr. Almy.

An amendment to the substitute motion of Mr. Davis was moved by Mr. Sonstebly to the effect that the three members to be added to the committee of Division VI should be those of Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, and John C. Manning, of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C. The motion was seconded by Mr. William H. Davenport.

The motion to amend was lost.

The substitute motion by Mr. Davis prevailed.

On motion of Dr. Hart the original nominees for the Division officers and committee were elected, subject to the addition of three persons as provided in the substitute motion of Mr. Davis.

The nominations for Division VII were presented by the General Secretary as listed on p. 705, with the exception that no indication of terms of one, two, and three years for the Division committee was made. A motion prevailed to the effect that the first third in the list as read should serve terms of one year, the second third, terms of two years, and the remaining third, terms of three years. With this amendment the nominees were elected.

The appointment by the Executive Committee of chairmen and committees for temporary Divisions (Nos. VIII, IX, and X) as shown on pp. 705-6 was announced by the General Secretary, with the indication that Division VIII was established for a period of three years and Divisions IX and X for one year. It was indicated that the Committee of Division X would be enlarged later by action of the Executive Committee after consultation with the chairman named.

The following resolution (relating to the Second International Conference on Child Welfare) was presented on behalf of the Executive Committee by Dr. Hastings H. Hart (see page 702).

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Upon the suggestion of the Chair a motion by Mrs. Kelley prevailed to the effect that the greetings of the Conference should be sent to members of the Conference in service in France through communication with Mr. Homer Folks, Mr. Edward T. Devine and Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, of the American Red Cross; and to absent members of the Conference as follows: Timothy Nicholson, Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Mr. George S. Wilson, Mr. Alexander Johnson.

The suggestion by Mr. Terry, of Pittsburgh, that a resolution of endorsement of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City be passed, was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A motion by Mr. Charles C. Cooper, of Pittsburgh, prevailed to the effect that the Executive Committee consider the question of holding the next meeting during the week beginning Sunday.

On motion of Mr. Frederic Almy a straw vote was taken indicating a slight preponderance of sentiment of those present favoring the plan suggested.

A motion was made by Mr. Hornell Hart, of Cincinnati, and seconded by Mr. John Daniels, of New York, to the effect that a referendum vote of the membership of the Conference be taken in deciding the question of the weekly period of the annual meeting. The motion was lost.

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1918.

9:30 P. M.

At Convention Hall; President Woods in the Chair.

Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report:

Your Committee on Resolutions, consisting of Jeffrey R. Brackett of Massachusetts, George F. Damon of Missouri, and John Daniels of New York, has carefully considered the resolutions which have been referred to it, and reports unanimously as follows:

It recommends the adoption of this resolution:

WHEREAS, the Government of Uruguay has called a Second International Conference of Child Welfare to meet in December, 1918, and has requested the United States to send official delegates; and

WHEREAS, it is most important at this time to foster friendly relations between the United States and the other republics of his hemisphere;

Resolved, that the National Conference of Social Work earnestly requests that Congress authorize the Secretary of State to appoint several delegates to represent the United States at the Congress, and that a sufficient appropriation be made to cover the traveling expenses of such delegates.

Your Committee reports to the Conference the news that an international treaty providing for the extradition of family deserters between the Dominion of Canada and the United States has been negotiated and is awaiting ratification by the Senate of the United States, and recommends that the officers of this Conference express to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate our gratification at such a treaty and our hope that it may be ratified.

One resolution referred to your committee requests that this Conference urge upon the nations now at war the duty of providing an international council for exchange of prisoners. Your Committee recommends that the Conference take no action in this matter, leaving it to be dealt with by individual members, with public officials of this country. The same recommendation is made touching another resolution which asks that a bill pending in Congress for the aid of war cripples shall be extended to include persons crippled in industry.

Another resolution referred calls attention to the large percentage of drafted men who have been rejected because of physical unfitness, and the varying percentages between states, and urges the use of federal money, in cooperation with the states, for physical education. Another resolution asks that the President of the United States be urged to give us an immediate war time prohibition. Your Committee recommends that these two resolutions be not dealt with beyond the statements in a resolution which will be offered you by the committee itself.

One other resolution tells us that our fellow conference member, Hastings H. Hart, has just completed a continuous service of twenty-five years upon the Executive Committee. Your Committee does not offer eulogistic resolutions, for we all hope that he will again serve on that committee, by election! But we now make this honorable mention of Mr. Hart's unusual services.

Your Committee now presents to you from itself, for your adoption, two resolutions: First,

The Conference desires to record its grateful appreciation of the liberal co-operation and hospitality of the Local Committee on Arrangements and its several sub-committees, the Chamber of Commerce, the press, including the county papers of Missouri and Kansas, the Board of Public Welfare, Board of Education, Park Board, Provident Association, Collegiate Alumnae, Junior League, Minute Circle, Athenæum, St. Luke's Hospital Club, and other social service agencies, the management of Convention Hall, the Bell and Home telephone companies, the Kansas City Street Railway companies, the Jackson County Medical Society, the federal officials at Leavenworth, and churches of all denominations. The members of the Conference, as they return to their homes throughout the country, will take away with them lasting memories of the neighborliness and enterprise of the people of Kansas City, and will leave behind them their heart-felt best wishes for this city's future welfare and continued progress in the family of American communities.

No names of Kansas City citizens are given in the resolution, for many of them have done so much for the pleasure of the Conference. But we remind you that the Conference has just chosen for its first vice-president for 1919 a public official of Kansas City.

In substituting the next and last resolution, your committee recalls that the constitution of the Conference prescribes that the Conference is a forum for discussion and "does not formulate platforms," but the Committee hopes that this statement can be approved by every member of this great association present or absent:

The National Conference of Social Work renews the pledge which was made last year, of hearty devotion to our country in the effective prosecution of the war; and stands for the concentration of all the resources and energies of the people and their government for that end.

The Conference rejoices at the progress which is now being made toward the elimination of alcoholism and vice, as evils which prevent the fullest exertion of the nation's strength. It rejoices also in the growing realization of the need of a thorough system of physical and health education.

And the Conference urges upon our government that all possible preparation be made for a truly democratic representation of the nations in the making of peace and in measures of reconstruction.

On motion, the report was received and filed.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22, 1918

2:30 P. M.

At the Muehlbach Hotel; President Woods in the Chair.

Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, moved the adoption of the report of his committee, which had been presented the previous evening. Carried.

The foregoing minutes of all business sessions of the annual meeting, having been posted as required, were presented by the General Secretary and were adopted.

Adjournment.

(Signed) ROBERT A. WOODS, *President.*

WILLIAM T. CROSS, *General Secretary.*

## PART 3.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1919

## OFFICERS.

President—Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.  
 First Vice-President—L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo. Second Vice-President—Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, N. Y. Third Vice-President—Albert S. Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.  
 General Secretary—William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.  
 Treasurer—Charles W. Folds, 208 South La Salle Street, Chicago.  
 Assistant Secretaries—Rowland F. Beasley, Raleigh, N. C.; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Pearl Chase, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Roscoe C. Edlund, Baltimore; T. J. Edmonds, Washington; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Virginia McMechen, Seattle; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; L. H. Putnam, Charleston, W. Va.; J. B. Rawlings, Fort Worth; Elwood Street, Louisville.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Ex-officio—Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City. Term expiring 1919—John Daniels, Katharine B. Davis, New York; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; Minnie F. Low, Graham Taylor, Chicago. Term expiring 1920—Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Roy Smith Wallace, Philadelphia. Term expiring 1921—Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; William T. Foster, Portland, Ore.; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Chairman of Divisions, ex-officio—Henry W. Thurston, New York; Col. Cyrus B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Albert S. Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.; Joanna C. Colcord, New York; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Frances Ingram, Louisville; Maj. Frankwood E. Williams, New York; W. J. Norton, Detroit.

## DIVISIONS

## I. CHILDREN.

Chairman—Henry W. Thurston, School of Philanthropy, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.  
 Vice-Chairman—C. V. Williams, Director, Children's Welfare Department, Board of State Charities, Columbus, Ohio.  
 Secretary—C. C. Carstens, Secretary, Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 43 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.  
 Grace Abbott, Washington; Ralph S. Barrow, Birmingham; George R. Bedinger, Detroit; Frederick P. Cabot, Boston; C. C. Carstens, Boston; Arthur Dean, New York; A. Madorah Donahue, Baltimore; Joseph M. Frost, Lansing, Mich.; Sally Lucas Jean, New York; Lilburn Merrill, M. D., Seattle; Jessica Peixotto, Washington; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, Boston; Hobart H. Todd, Industry; Elsa Ueland, Philadelphia; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis; Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Cincinnati.

## II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION.

Chairman—Col. Cyrus B. Adams, Superintendent, St. Charles School for Boys, St. Charles, Ill.  
 Secretary—Leslie F. Hayford, Executive Secretary, Trustees of the Massachusetts Training Schools, State House, Boston.  
 Rowland F. Beasley, Raleigh, N. C.; Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis; Edith N. Burleigh, Boston; Joseph P. Byers, Philadelphia; Frank L. Christian, Elmira, N. Y.; Charles L. Chute, Albany, N. Y.; James A. Collins, Indianapolis; Edwin J. Cooley, New York; J. T. Gilmour, Toronto; Bernard Glueck, M. D., Ossining; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Charles W. Hoffman, Cincinnati; Major Bascom Johnson, Washington; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago; Maude E. Miner, New York; Lottie S. Olney, Columbia, S. C.; Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, Washington; John J. Sonstebly, Chicago; Arthur J. Todd, Minneapolis.

## III. HEALTH.

Chairman—Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health, Yale University Medical School, New Haven, Conn.  
 Secretary—Mrs. Bessie Ammerman Haasis, Educational Secretary, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York.  
 Carol Aronovici, St. Paul; Paul L. Benjamin, Minneapolis; Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.; Katharine B. Davis, New York; Edna G. Foley, Chicago; Charles J. Hastings, M. D., Toronto; Emery R. Hayhurst, M. D., Columbus, Ohio; Edna G. Henry, Indianapolis; Mary E. Lent, Washington; Grace Meigs, Washington; George J. Nelbach, New York; Katherine Ostrander, Lansing, Mich.; Lieut. Col. Claude C. Pierce, Little Rock, Ark.; John E. Ransom, Chicago; Maj. W. A. Sawyer, Washington; Anna A. Stevens, New York; Mrs. J. M. Taylor, Boise, Idaho; Katherine Tucker, Philadelphia; Lawrence Veiller, New York.

#### IV. PUBLIC AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

Chairman—Albert S. Johnstone, Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Columbia, S. C.

Vice-Chairman—J. L. Wagner, Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Jefferson City, Mo.

Secretary—Robert W. Kelso, Secretary, State Board of Charity, Boston.

A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; J. K. Codding, Lansing, Kan.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Washington; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Maj. Richard C. Hutchings, Washington; Florence Hutspinlar, Denver; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; W. G. Theurer, Pittsburgh; Mabel Weed, Berkeley, Calif.; J. O. White, Cincinnati; Henry C. Wright, New York.

#### V. THE FAMILY.

Chairman—Joanna C. Colcord, Superintendent, Charity Organization Society, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

Secretary—Francis H. McLean, General Secretary, American Association for Organizing Charity, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg, Pa.; Sara A. Brown, Lansing, Mich.; Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.; J. Byron Deacon, Washington; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal; Eugene C. Foster, Indianapolis; Francis H. McLean, New York; William H. Matthews, New York; Benjamin P. Merrick, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Frances Taussig, Chicago; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; George L. Warren, Bridgeport, Conn.

#### VI. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Chairman—Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Vice-Chairman—Samuel McCune Lindsay, Columbia University, New York.

Secretary—Roger N. Baldwin, Director, National Civic Liberties Bureau, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Edith Abbott, Chicago; Jane Addams, Chicago; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; George L. Berry, Nashville; Allen T. Burns, New York; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Ernestine Friedman, New York; Mrs. H. P. Halleck, Louisville; Hornell Hart, Cincinnati; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Jessica Peixotto, Washington; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Charles A. Summer, Kansas City.

#### VII. THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.

Chairman—Frances Ingram, Head Resident, Neighborhood House, 428 South First Street, Louisville, Ky.

Vice-Chairman—Howard S. Braucher, General Secretary, American Playground Association, New York.

George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; Dora Berres, Los Angeles; L. M. Bristol, Morgantown, W. Va.; Mrs. W. S. Caldwell, Omaha; John Collier, New York; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Manuel C. Elmer, Lawrence, Kan.; Corinne Fonde, Houston, Texas; George E. Haynes, Nashville; John Ihlder, Philadelphia; Bessie McClenahan, Iowa City; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Eleanor McMain, New Orleans; Fred C. Middleton, Winnipeg; Wilbur C. Phillips, Cincinnati; Mrs. Robert A. Woods, Boston.

#### VIII. MENTAL HYGIENE.

Chairman—Maj. Frankwood E. Williams, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. C. Macfie Campbell, Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

Secretary—Edith N. Furbush, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York.

Herman M. Adler, M. D., Chicago; Lewellys F. Barker, M. C., Baltimore; Albert M. Barrett, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Edith N. Burleigh, Boston; C. K. Clark, M. D., Toronto; Everett S. Elwood, Albany; Mrs. Charles Frazier, Philadelphia; Edith N. Furbush, New York; Clark E. Higbee, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Mary C. Jarrett, Boston; C. C. Menzler, Nashville; Mrs. William S. Monroe, Chicago; Thomas W. Salmon, M. D., New York; H. Douglas Singer, M. D., Kankakee, Ill.; Elmer E. Southard, M. D., Boston; Jessie Taft, New York; Lucy Wright, Boston; Major Robert M. Yerkes, Washington.

#### IX. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES.

Chairman—William J. Norton, Secretary, Detroit Patriotic Fund, 100 Griswold Street, Detroit.

Vice-Chairman—Wilfred S. Reynolds, Superintendent, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Allen T. Burns, New York; Buclah C. Bussell, Spokane; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Roscoe E. Edlund, Baltimore; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Guy T. Justis, Denver; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Bessie McClenahan, Iowa



City; Benjamin P. Merrick, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Robert E. Park, Chicago; Elwood Street, Louisville; William C. White, Milwaukee.

#### X. THE UNITING OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN AMERICA.

Chairman—Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons, 955 Grand Avenue, Chicago. Grace Abbott, Washington; Allen T. Burns, New York; Lillian D. Wald, New York. (Others to be added by appointment after adjournment of Kansas City meeting.)

### DIVISION SUB-COMMITTEES

#### I. CHILDREN

*Sub-Committee on Minimum Standards of Child Protection and Home Care*—Chairman, Arthur W. Towne, Brooklyn Society for Prevention of Cruelty of Children.

Ralph S. Barrow, Birmingham; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Chicago; C. C. Carstens, Boston; Rev. Joseph Corrigan, Philadelphia; James E. Ewers, Cleveland; Lilburn G. Merrill, M. D., Seattle; Arthur C. Pittinger, Manchester, N. H.; Florence Van Sickler, St. Louis; Edward F. Waite, Minneapolis.

*Sub-Committee on Physical and Mental Diagnosis of School Children*—Chairman, Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Cincinnati.

Elsa Ueland, Philadelphia; Solomon Lowenstein, M. D., New York; C. V. Williams, Columbus.

*Sub-Committee on the Problem of the Child of Unmarried Parents*—Chairman, Cheney C. Jones, Director of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, Philadelphia.

*Sub-Committee on Status of Social Work for Children in Rural Communities*—Chairman, H. Ida Curry, Superintendent, Children's Agencies, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

#### II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

*Sub-Committee on Causes of Delinquency*—Chairman, Bernard Glueck, M. D., Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y.

William Healy, M. D., Boston; Edith R. Spaulding, M. D., Bedford Hills, N. Y.; Katherine B. Davis, New York; Howard B. Woolston, New York; Anne Bingham, Waverly House, New York; Catherine Brannick, M. D., Framingham, Mass.; V. V. Anderson, M. D., Boston; Herman M. Adler, M. D., Chicago; Abraham Myerson, M. D., Boston.

**C.**  
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# INDEX

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Admin.	Administration,	F. M.	Feeble-minded,	Pris.	Prison,-s,-er,-s
Agr.	ive		-ness	Priv.	Private
Almsh.	Agriculture,-al	Fin.	Finance,-es,-ial	Prob.	Probation
Amer.	Almshouse,-s	Gen.	General	Profes.	Profession,-al
Archit.	America,-n	Geog.	Geographical	Prog.	Program,-s
Assn.	Architecture,-al	Govt.	Government,-al	Prohib.	Prohibition
Char.	Association,-s	Hist.	History,-ical	Psychol.	Psychological,
Chil.	Charity,-ies,-able	Hosp.	Hospital,-s		-ogist,-s
Classif.	Children,-'s	Hyg.	Hygiene,-ic	Psychop.	Psychopathic
Comm.	Classification	Illegit.	Illegitimacy,-ate	Pub.	Public-ity, the
Commun.	Committee,-s	Imgt.	Immigrant,-ation		public
Conf.	Commission,-s	Indus.	Industry,-ial	Quot.	Quoted,-ation
Coop.	Community,-ies	Inf.	Infant	Recons.	Reconstruction
Cor.	Conference,-s	Inst.	Institution,-s,-al	Recn.	Recreation,-al
Crit.	Cooperation,-ive	Ins.	Insurance	Ref.	Reference
Defec.	Correction,-s,-al	Invstg.	Investigate,-ed	Regis.	Registration
Defin.	Criticized,-ism		-ion	Regul.	Regulation,-s
Delinq.	Defect,-ive,-s,-ness	Juv.	Juvenile	Relig.	Religion,-s,-ous
Democ.	Definition,-s	Legis.	Legislation,-ive	Rep.	Report,-ed,-ing
Dep.	Delinquent,-cy	Med.	Medical	Serv.	Service
Dept.	Democracy,-ies	Ment.	Mental,-ly,-ity	S. W.	Social Work
Descr.	Dependent,-cy	Movt.	Movement,-s	Soc.	Social, society
	Department,-s	Natl.	National	Sta.	Station,-s
	Described,-iption,	N.C.S.W.	National Confer-	Stat.	Statistics,-al
	-iptive		ence of Social	Supt.	Superintendent
Devel.	Develop,-ment,-s		Work	Superv.	Supervision,-ory,
Disc.	Discussion	Nrbhood.	Neighborhood,-s		-ing
Div.	Division,-s	Org.	Organize,-ation,-	Tbc.	Tuberculosis
Econ.	Economy,-ics		ing,-ed	Trng.	Training
Educ.	Educate,-ion,-ional	Phil.	Philanthropic,-y	Univ.	Universal
Empl.	Employment	Phys.	Physical	Voc.	Vocation,-s,-al
Exam.	Examine,-ed	Prev.	Prevent,-ion,-ing,-	Vol.	Volunteer,-ary
Fam.	Family		ive,-ability	Welf.	Welfare
Fedn.	Federation,-s	Prin.	Principle,-s		

## EXPLANATION

Names of states and countries have the usual postoffice abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S. Phrases in *Italics* signify titles of papers. Author's name follows title.

The Index contains the names of all speakers at the meeting and of all persons to whom important reference is made or who are quoted. The Index does not contain reference by name to officers and members of committees, nor ordinarily to speakers whose words are not published. These may be found by reference to divisional organization given at the first of each main section of the book, or to Appendix B.

The Index contains references to all geographical divisions to which important reference is made, except where series of data or statistics are given, with many references to cities or states. In such cases the material is usually classified under general headings such as "statistics," "studies," etc.

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